

PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN CO., IND

INDIANA COLLECTION

✓

GEN


11/11/11

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01776 5832

GENEALOGY
977.3
IL682J
1928-1929



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

<https://archive.org/details/illinoisstatehis21illi>

JOURNAL
OF THE
Illinois
State Historical Society

Volume 21

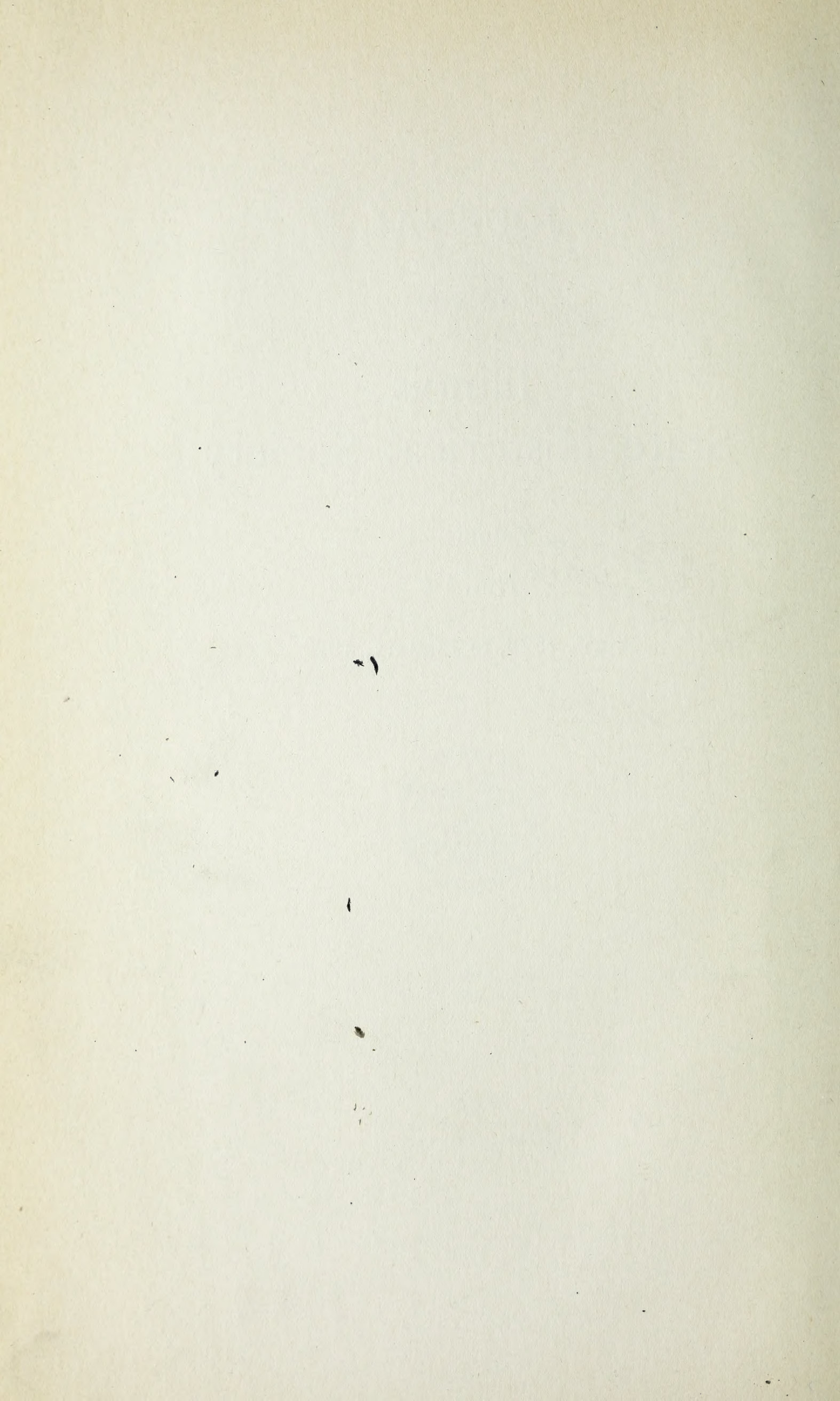
Nos. 1-4

April, 1928, to January, 1929



Entered at Springfield, Illinois, as Second Class Matter under Act of
Congress of July 16, 1894.


JOURNAL PRINTING COMPANY,
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.
1929



OFFICERS
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

President

DR. O. L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield
RICHARD YATESSpringfield
ENSLEY MOOREJacksonville
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City
JOHN MCAULEY PALMER.....Washington, D. C.

Board of Directors

CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMPJacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITHCarbondale
GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield
ANDREW RUSSELJacksonville
*WALTER COLYERAlbion
J. A. JAMESEvanston
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island
REV. IRA W. ALLEN.....La Grange
LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana
THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.....Urbana
H. J. PATTEN.....Evanston
LOGAN HAYSpringfield
GEORGE DIXONDixon
LINCOLN WELDONBloomington

Secretary and Treasurer

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents

THE PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN ILLINOIS

*Deceased.

CONTENTS.

I.	Officers of the Society.....	vii
II.	Appeal to the Historical Society and General Public	xi
III.	Diary of Mrs. Joseph Duncan (Elizabeth Cald- well Smith). Edited with introduction by Elizabeth Duncan Putnam.....	1
IV.	The Public Career of William Barton Warren. By Erwin J. Urch.....	93
V.	History of Trinity Church, Jacksonville. The Oldest Episcopal Church in Illinois. By Mrs. (Henry W.) Sara John English.....	111
VI.	Oquawka Celebrates Its One Hundredth Anni- versary of First White Settlement, 1927. By J. A. Gordon.....	159
VII.	Necrology— Marx D. Hauberg..... Charles Fremont Hildreth..... Mrs. Ella W. Brainerd..... John M. Glenn.....	166 169 173 178
VIII.	Publications of the Illinois State Historical Li- brary and Society.....	180

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(MEMBERS PLEASE READ THIS CIRCULAR LETTER.)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography, and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian Tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Co-operative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed Works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; Materials for Illinois History; old Letters, Journals.

2. Manuscripts; Narratives of the Pioneers of Illinois; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great Rebellion, or other wars; Biographies of the Pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every County either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs, a sketch of the settlement of every Township Village, and the Neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois History.

3. City Ordinances, proceedings of Mayor and Council; Reports of Committees of Council; Pamphlets or Papers of

any kind printed by authority of the City; Reports of Boards of Trade; Maps of cities and Plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in the State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Illinois; Political Addresses; Railroad Reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual or other Reports of School Boards, School Superintendents, and School Committees, Educational Pamphlets, Programs and Papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier Laws; Journals and Reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' Messages and Reports of State Officers; Reports of State Charitable and other State Institutions.

7. Files of Illinois Newspapers and Magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of Counties or Townships, of any date; Views and Engravings of buildings or historical places; Drawings or Photographs of scenery; Paintings; Portraits, etc., connected with Illinois History.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; Coins, Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statuary; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes—their History, Characteristics, Religion, etc.; Sketches of prominent Chiefs, Orators and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities, and Implements; also Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics. It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the

great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.



MRS. JOSEPH DUNCAN.

DIARY OF MRS. JOSEPH DUNCAN (ELIZABETH CALDWELL SMITH).

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION BY ELIZABETH DUNCAN PUTNAM.*

PREFACE.

Mrs. Joseph Duncan as the wife and widow of Governor Duncan is a person of interest to the student of Illinois history. She was a quiet observer and recorder of life during the formative period of the state.

Mrs. Duncan was born Elizabeth Caldwell Smith, the daughter of James R. Smith, a successful shipping merchant in New York, and Hannah Ray Caldwell. The latter was the daughter of the Reverend James Caldwell and Hannah Ogden, his wife. Both the grand parents were killed in the Revolution. Mrs. Duncan's heritage was distinctly religious and patriotic. Born in 1808 she must have heard or seen those who had suffered from the War and those who were taking part in the affairs of the young country. Her Caldwell relatives were scattered, as the children of the revolutionary martyrs had been adopted into different interesting families, and the Ogden relatives were prominent in Newark. Her father, who was born in Scotland, kept in touch with relatives there.

Mrs. Duncan's diary contains glimpses of life in the early days in New York and Jacksonville. It is unfortunately fragmentary. It begins with her school life in Newark, New Jersey, in November, 1824, and continues for three months. The last entry was written a few days before the death of her mother, Mrs. Rodgers, Feb. 20, 1825. There is a single entry in 1836, a torn leaf from another book, presumably now lost. From January 1, 1841, to January 13, 1848, it is fairly continuous.

*Miss Elizabeth Duncan Putnam passed on May 5, 1928.

Mrs. Duncan's diary is written in a small script hand in an ordinary blank book, 8 by 10 inches. It is printed just as it was written with the exception of a few minor details of illnesses which have been omitted. The omissions are indicated by asterisks * * *. Words supplied are in square brackets []. Doubtful readings are indicated by question mark [?].

The diary has been treasured in the family and with the other Duncan papers is at present deposited in the fireproof historical archives of the Davenport Public Museum, formerly the Davenport Academy of Sciences, Davenport, Iowa.

The diary is supplemented by reminiscences dictated by Mrs. Duncan in 1875 to her daughter, Mrs. Julia Duncan Kirby. These reminiscences cover the period of the wedding in Washington and the pioneer life in Illinois. It is hoped they can soon be edited and printed.

There is a collection of letters of Mrs. Duncan's written to her children in an informal style which it is hoped may some time be published.

My thanks are due to my brother, Edward K. Putnam, for advice and help, to Professor Frederick Turner, Professor Theodore Calvin Pease, Mr. Paul M. Angle for suggestions, and to Miss Georgia L. Osborne for aid.

Davenport, Iowa, April 7, 1928.

NOTE.

For the life of Joseph Duncan see the biography by Julia Duncan Kirby, published in the Fergus Historical Series, Chicago, 1888, and "The Life and Services of Joseph Duncan, Governor of Illinois," by Elizabeth Duncan Putnam, in the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1921. See also life of May Louisa Duncan Putnam, by Elizabeth Duncan Putnam, in Vol. X, Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, Davenport, Iowa.

INTRODUCTION.

Personal records are of value in reconstructing the life of the pioneer days in Illinois. From the diaries and letters of the women, often monotonous with domestic details, we gain an insight into the daily life not to be found in the

public speeches and documents of the men. For this reason the diary of Mrs. Duncan is of interest.

The religious tone of the diary is due both to the spirit of the times and to the strong religious atmosphere of Mrs. Duncan's home. On both sides of her family she was descended from Presbyterians, including Huguenots and Covenanters. There are traditions of a Scotch Covenanter dying for his faith and of her grandfather, Reverend James Caldwell, an ardent patriot in the Revolution, preaching with pistols on his pulpit. Mrs. Duncan was merely carrying on the family tradition when at a roof-raising in front of their cabin in Jacksonville in the early days she arose at a rough outdoor table "to offer thanks and to ask a divine blessing on our repast * * *." She was, as Dr. Post writes, "a little, delicate, brave woman, solitary amid that company of rough, stalwart men with manners, garb and speech of plain and quite primitive type with bronzed, strongly marked, shrewd faces, the backwoodsmen political leaders of the newly emerging commonwealth." Her religion was an integral part of her entire life. She writes in 1863: "I do not believe in cutting out work on Saturday, not that I am superstitious, but it can't be finished and then I don't like my mind excited or occupied just before the Sabbath. I shall never get over some of my mother's views on these subjects."

At the time of Mrs. Duncan's birth in 1808, her father, James R. Smith, lived in Pearl Street, New York City. He had come as a poor boy from Scotland but had rapidly developed into a successful shipping merchant. Her mother was Hannah Ogden Caldwell, daughter of the Reverend James Caldwell, a chaplain in the army who had married Hannah Ogden of Newark, New Jersey. Both had been killed in the Revolution. Their nine children had been adopted by friends, General LaFayette taking one son to France to educate.

Mrs. Duncan, in her reminiscences, gives a vivid description of her father: "He bought a great deal of property in what is now 4th and 5th Avenues * * *. He died when I was ten years old. His dress was in the old style, dark

blue cloth coat with brass buttons, yellow cashimere vest and pants for dress, while he wore black pants for everyday, white silk stockings and pumps with knee and shoe buckels. For everyday he wore black silk stockings, ruffled shirts and cuffs * * *. He was so polite that although I was a child he always rose upon my entering the room and handed me to a chair. He was truly a gentleman of the old school. Although my father kept always a carriage with livery (which was green and silver) with the coat of arms, a crescent, on the panels. The carriage was lined with crimson morocco. I never remember to have seen him in it; always handing us in he preferred to walk. My mother being left a widow removed to her country seat in Newark, closing her house in Broadway to which we had removed several years previously from near the Battery."

After the death of Mr. Smith, her mother married Dr. John R. B. Rodgers, a noted physician educated in Edinburgh. Elizabeth speaks of him affectionately in the diary and calls him "Father."

The early pages of the diary betray an exceedingly conscientious student at the school in Newark, keen on winning the Gold Medal but not often succeeding. The listening to sermons seems a genuine pleasure as it continues through life. She writes in a letter: "I always enjoy the society of ministers." There is regret expressed in the diary when there is but one session of Sunday School on the Sabbath. Strange words not found in the vocabulary of a school girl of today are used, sanctification, adoption, etc. Much interest is expressed in studying the cause of Noah's Flood. It was necessary for the scholars to petition for a vacation between Christmas and New Year's * * *. The funeral of the wife of the pastor is described where the chandelier and pulpit were draped in crepe.

It would have been indeed a sombre life but for the natural social instincts of a girl always fond of people and social life. There were visits to her house in New York where she "stroolled up Broadway to see the beauty and fashion which is generally displayed in that grand prome-



JOSEPH DUNCAN
Governor of Illinois—1834-1838.

nade from twelve to three of any fine day.” * * * There was news from Scotland and Washington and parties of “thirty cousins.”

On New Year’s day “according to the custom of this city I remained at home to receive the visits of my Male Friends who generally pay the Ladies the compliment of calling to say a Happy New Year. Mother and Mrs. Rodgers being confined to their chambers I had to exert my entertaining powers without the assistance of a female Friend.”

After the death of her mother in 1825, Elizabeth made her home with her sister Anna, Mrs. Matthew St. Clair Clarke, in Washington. Her husband was clerk of the House of Representatives and they were both noted entertainers. Their spacious house still stands on Lafayette Square next to St. John’s Church.

The meeting with her future husband had a picturesque setting in sharp contrast to the hardships of the years that followed. A slim, young girl dressed in soft red silk and black slippers with a high comb attended a dinner at the White House. She was introduced by William T. Carroll, of Carrollton, to a tall, handsome man of thirty-four, General Duncan, at that time the only representative from the new State of Illinois. Henry Clay had a word of praise for his fellow Kentuckian. The courtship was brief and in May, 1828, there was a sumptuous wedding given by her sister. Some of the lovely French china used on that occasion has come down in the family. It was necessary for General Duncan to return to Illinois for electioneering and his young bride accompanied him. The reminiscences relate some of the trying experiences still vivid after the lapse of years.

Mrs. Duncan became an intrepid traveller, crossing the mountains time and again with her husband and after his death with her children. She recounts how she always travelled with a candle. “It once saved the lives of a whole party in crossing the mountains (which by the way I did eight times in stage or private carriage). The driver got off the road. When he called out he wished that nervous woman whom he had scolded for carrying a candle would

hand it out that he might see where he was. When I did he found he was within an inch of a high precipice.”

In 1830 General and Mrs. Duncan decided to make their home in Jacksonville. They first built a small frame house of three rooms and in 1833 the large house, Elm Grove, which is still standing.

Mrs. Duncan was a slight, frail woman with, as an old letter describes it, “an elastic constitution.” Married at twenty years of age there were sixteen exceptionally happy years of married life, mostly spent in Jacksonville, Illinois. Six of their ten children were born here.

General Duncan was elected Governor of Illinois in 1834, and from then till his death in 1844, their life was centered in Jacksonville. He made several trips east while Governor to secure money for the internal improvement schemes. His letters give interesting side lights on the customs of the day.

The hospitality of the house was unbounded. The hotels were few and poor and friends and strangers were entertained in the homes. It made life difficult for the women, especially for one like Mrs. Duncan who loved the dainty refinements of life. She, however, was blessed with common sense and when domestic difficulties arose at home, wrote “I invited myself to tea with Mrs. Wilkinson.” A simple but effectual expedient out of difficulties!

The last few years of Governor Duncan’s life were clouded by financial reverses. He had gone security on the bond of a brother-in-law who held a government position in Vandalia. Mr. Linn’s defalcations were at first overlooked by the government inspectors, a friend of theirs dropped off the bond, the amount of the security was increased and when the government foreclosed Governor Duncan was the only solvent bondsman. There seems but little doubt that politics played an important part in this affair. Governor Duncan asked only of the government for time to sell his land at a fair value to pay this debt. His sudden death in 1844 was a calamity to his family. The best selected Illinois and Chicago lands were sacrificed, Mrs. Dun-



DUNCAN HOME (ELM GROVE)
Jacksonville, Illinois.

can waived her dower rights to his estate and all their property was swept away. All she had left was the much shrunken trust fund created by her father.

Mrs. Duncan, in her diary, gives a curious detailed account of Governor Duncan's last illness showing the crudeness of medical treatment in those days. The following Sunday she went "to church with my little family of 7, the oldest 11 and the youngest 13 months. Dr. Pierson met me at the door and handed me to the pew." She went again in the afternoon.

Courageously and with deep religious faith the widow of thirty-six began her widowhood of thirty-two years. Economy was imperative but there is no murmur or complaint in her diary or letters. There are often prayers "to teach me my duty" and once an added wish "and make it pleasant." When Jenny Lind was singing in St. Louis she sold a cow to raise the \$25 necessary to send her eldest daughter to hear her.

After the marriage of her two daughters and the removal of her son to Chicago, Mrs. Duncan reluctantly rented her home. She writes on March 3, 1865; "It has been a great struggle with me to give up but I believe we can do a great deal in the way of giving up if we are convinced that it is right and I am perfectly satisfied with an income of \$600, that I could not begin to live out of town as my house is." The house was rented to the State of Illinois "to make an experiment of taking Idiotic children from two to six years old, to see what they could do in their behalf and I met Mr. Gillette at a company at Mr. Saunders when he proposed it. We had the offer of private individuals but I felt if I had to rent it I would rather rent it to some one who would or could do some benevolent thing." A few days later Mrs. Duncan writes "indeed if I were not to look upward I should feel pretty bad. If I ever do keep house again it will be on a much smaller scale but I shall not trouble myself about the future, the present only is ours * * *. If only one Idiotic soul is saved it is worth the sacrifice." And again she writes "Cousin goes out in the open air everyday just

as I do and we endeavor to have some object that is useful
* * * I always did feel that something was due to society."

Mrs. Duncan was a home loving woman but the record of her activities outside her house and church is no mean one. In 1841 she "attended a meeting to do something for the education of Females." She was interested in Maternal meetings and in the Abolition and Colonization Societies. She raised money for a circulating library. In 1864 she writes, "Mr. Laurie has sent the books and I can now have a Book to administer consolation to the sick and afflicted. Oh what a privilege it is to go around and do good. I shall be like Adam's Sons and Daughters and want a change in time I suppose." She was constantly visiting the sick and poor. There is constant mention of the Temperance Society. In 1869, she writes, "The fact is a Drunken man is a nuisance
* * *. People ought to cultivate lovely ways and manners more than they do. Do make your children courteous and polite."

Mrs. Duncan often speaks of the style with which a table was set and also of the quality of the food. In 1865, she writes, "Julia is ambitious and sets a table with great taste. For instance her castors are clean and pretty, then she borrowed Mrs. Jones fruit vase and fixed peaches and grapes * * * 2 glass dishes of sliced peaches. Chickens and egg bread, cheese. Her coffee is excellent. The gentlemen praise it. Then she arranged a beautiful basket of flowers on her marble table under the looking glass. She had three kinds of cake, her Almond Iced as light as any I ever ate." The same taste is shown in her ideas of dress, "Remember I like things light, rich and soft nothing stiff. If a dress would stand alone it would not please my taste."

On a visit to Chicago in 1841, she writes of her eldest daughter Mary, "You know how ambitious I feel that she should look well." The same daughter writes later in life of her mother: "She was such a dear little body with so kind and gentle a nature but her great sense of justice and her responsibility of bringing up these seven children alone

weighed upon this dependent little woman who with such feeble health had depended upon her husband for everything * * *. The next thing that made a great impression upon me was the loss of our property. This my mother bore more bravely than one would think and developed into a business woman."

The last ten years of Mrs. Duncan's life was spent between Davenport, Iowa, and Jacksonville. There were long visits to her eldest daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Putnam, my mother. It was an interesting and busy household of ten sons and one daughter. Mrs. Duncan's letters show interest in their development and shrewd suggestions as to their education. In Jacksonville she boarded in the same house with her daughter, Mrs. Edward P. Kirby, at Mrs. Rockwell's on State Street. With her usual adaptability she made her room cosy with the old mahogany pieces of furniture and red curtains that had come out of her Pearl Street home in New York.

She enjoyed her old friends and was ever ready to make new ones. Her social interest was strong to the last. A rather delightful letter is one written in 1869: "The Judge made himself very agreeable and I was sensibly struck with the idea more than ever in my life that it helps us to digest our food to hear pleasant converse at the meal but this is such a fast age that a great many persons feel that they have not got time to eat and talk at the same time. I think that is not an improvement of the age to eat and run."

Only three of the ten children of Governor and Mrs. Duncan grew up to maturity, the low proportion not being uncommon in those days.

Mary Louisa, 1832-1903, the eldest, married Charles E. Putnam, (1825-1887), a lawyer and banker of Davenport, Iowa. They had eleven children. The eldest, Joseph Duncan Putnam (1855-1881) was noted as an entomologist and influential in the growth of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, now the Davenport Public Museum. On his account Mrs. Putnam devoted the remaining years of her life to building up the institution and another son, William

Clement Putnam (1862-1906), left his estate as a trust fund for its endowment.

Joseph Duncan (1835-1906) married Harriet Stevens and lived in Chicago.

Julia (1837-1896) married Edward P. Kirby, a lawyer and judge of Jacksonville. She was born, married and died in the old home, Elm Grove. With the Kirbys, a niece of Judge Kirby, Edith Ross Kirby, made her home. She married W. T. Wilson, a lawyer, and lives in Jacksonville.

Mrs. Duncan had often expressed a fear of the physical pain of death but a few weeks before her death she writes of having lost it * * *. On a lovely spring morning, May 23, 1876, after reading her Bible she peacefully and painlessly fell asleep.

Unassuming in manner, gracious and interesting in conversation, holding steadfast to the traditions of her early life in the rough frontier days as the mistress of a large hospitable mansion and as a widow with the responsibility of her children, Mrs. Duncan lived, with dignity, the life of a "gentle woman" in the truest sense of the word.

DIARY.

Monday November 15th 1824. Found me at Rose Hill after making a visit in New York of a fortnight duration. Tuesday very busily engaged making preparations for a wedding. Wednesday it took place there were about thirty Cousins assembled on the occasion which indeed was a very pretty sight as they were all as well as the Bride lively and cheerful the evening of course glided swiftly and pleasantly away. Thursday took a ride along the banks of the Raritan and was highly delighted with the romantick scenery and falls around. Saturday a very fine day took a long walk and spent an evening with the accomplished Miss C's who thought that Latin was nothing and Greek a meer song. Sunday rode to Church in a farm waggon and heard Mr. McClure preach from Hebrews which sermon I admired very much.

Monday I left Sommerville at Nine O'clock in the morning and after a tedious ride of seven hours I arrived at my place of destination retired early and slept too sound for dreams. Tuesday I awoke much refreshed with the slumbers of the past night but was prevented from going in school on account of not being able to get my books. Wednesday for the first time I went in school delighted beyond measure to see my young companions once more and the pleasing alteration of the school room. I immediately followed the good example set me and began to study and recite my lessons. Keith was the first for wick I got Seventeen good Marks I also recited a Geography and Arithmetick lesson which good added amounted to thirty six and five extra in the afternoon and wonderful to relate I did not get any bad ones. Thursday was appointed as a day of prayer therefore there was not any school I of course went to prayer meeting on my way I called to see my Brother who had been indisposed and was agreeably surprised in meeting with my Father¹ who informed me that my Dear Mother was no worse.

Friday for the first was obliged to read before the young ladies of the New Ark Institute a Journal and would have had

to have written a Composition also but Mr. Vandoun was kind enough to excuse me in the afternoon I read with the class who were such great criticks that I made several mistakes but on account of never having read before I escaped bad marks. Saturday I awoke with a headache but thinking that it would go over I laid out a great many plans for spending the day, accordingly I came down stairs rather late, as there was not to be any school and breakfasted more heartily than I expected began the day with endeavoring to compose a Composition, but was obliged to relinquish it on account of the pain in my head becoming more violent, I spent an hour or two this evening in amusing myself and the company with several tunes upon the Piano. I found that Musick is a good relief to the mind, when it becomes fatigued and languid by close application to study. O yes tis Musick that inspires the soul and leads us captive with its power. Well might Orpheus be said to have played and sang so sweetly, that he tamed wild beasts, stayed the course of rivers, and made whole woods follow him. He descended with his harp into hell to recover, from Pluto and Proserpine, his wife Eurydice, who had been killed by a serpent, when she fled from the violence of Aristaeus. Here he so charmed both the King and Queen with the sweetness of his musick, that they permitted his wife to return to life again, upon this condition that he should not look upon her till they were both arrived upon the earth: but so impatient and eager was the love of Orpheus that he could not perform the condition; therefore she was taken back into hell again. Upon this Orpheus resolved for the future to live a widower: and with his example alienated the minds of many others from the love of woman. Sunday I went to Church to hear our paster Mr. Hay his text was in first Thessalonians from the fifth Chapter seventeenth verse Pray without ceasing, in the afternoon I went to Mr. Hamilton's Church on account of it being rainy Mr. Russel preached for him from these words but seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you which will be found in Matthew 6th 33rd. I was not as well pleased in the afternoon as morning but as comparisons are

odious I will not say any thing more upon the subject. Monday Nothing happened in particular. Tuesday I felt uncommonly lively when I entered the school room my feelings were suddenly checked by the mournful faces of some of the young ladies I immediately inquired the cause, oh, it was only too true it was to inform me of the death of the beloved Consort of our Dear Pastor who that morning at half past Eight O clock had fell asleep in Jesus.

Wednesday [Dec. 1, 1824] As I had taken so little Exercise Miss V gave me permission to walk accordingly I visited some of my friends came home and felt better fitted for studying.

Thursday. We were called to pay the last obsequies to the remains of Mrs. Hay, therefore there was not any school, We first went to the Church, which had a very solemn appearance every Chandelier and lamp were dressed Crape the Pulpit also with black clothe. A funeral Sermon was then delivered by Mr. Fisher his text was from Revelation 14, 13 after which we sung a hymn which was selected by the deceased to be sung on this solemn occasion. Dr. Hyliard from Orange, made a prayer we all proceeded from thence to the Grave Yard, She was beloved by all who knew her, She has left an affectionate husband and Son to lament her loss. In the evening Father called to see me, and I felt very much delighted to hear that my dear Mother was more comfortable.

Friday. Nothing to relate but a Dream. I dreamed that I was walking by a stream, and wishing that my good genius would supply me with some uncommon adventure to enrich the pages of my Journal. It was a beautiful spot, the cool clear water was sparkling at my feet and wild flowers were bending over it and batheing their blossoms in its crystal stream, Oh,! I thought if I could find some leaf or floweret that would tell me what I should write, presently I heard a low sweet voice and turning my head, discovered a beautiful violet that sheltered a fairy form with blue eyes and sunny hair, I, am, said this dear little spirit the flower spirit, I dwell in the rose bud, drink the dews that lies on the Snow drop, or am hushed to sleep in the deep dew bell of the Honey suckle,

by the murmur of the bee that hums over its blossoms. You have often inhaled the fragrance of flowers without knowing it was my breath and dressed your hair with their buds and thought not that I slept in them, This was all I heard, and I awoke almost thinking that I heard the sweet voice still saying "I am the spirit of the flowers" But it was all a Dream.

Sattuesday. As several young Ladies were deficient in their composition, we were all obliged to attend school it stormed so much that few however attended. I had the felicity of reading mine before very few Young Ladies.

Sunday. I awoke much delighted to find the sun shining we went to our own Church. It was as I expected Mr. Hay did not preach, Dr. Hyliard from Orange took Mr. Hay place and spoke from these words, Which hope we have, as an anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that within the veil. Hebrew 6th 19th when I came home from Church I was not a little delighted in finding a dear Cousen who had just the week before arrived from Scotland I had not seen him for four or five years. It brought to my mind many fond and pleasing recollections, and though they were of my childhood, they will never be forgotten, In the afternoon I went to church and heard our Dear Pastor Mr. Hay he expressed his gratitude to his people for their kind attention to him, in his deep affliction. His text was from, 1st Corinthians seventh Chapter twenty ninth to thirty first, His discourse was very solemn and impressive, He was wonderfully supported under his trials.

Monday 6th. We were invited out too tea but for particular reasons I staid home.

Tuesday. Arose at my usual hour, which is not very early, Notwithstanding my determination on going to bed of getting up at an earlier hour; however I got through more than I expected. In the morning heard that Mrs. Tuttle a near Neighbor was dead, and that she was to be buried in the afternoon. She was a very pious and Amiable woman, therefore she must have been very much lamented by her Consort

and friends, Another young lady was added to the New Ark Institute by the name of Miss Vanderpool. She attends to drawing and appears to be very amiable.

Wednesday. Nothing worth mentioning.

Thursday. This day was appointed by the Governor of this state as a day of general thanksgiving and prayer of course therefore there was not any school; went to Mr. Hay's church and heard a sermon from the Reverend Mr. Cox of New York, which one was very applicaple to the occasion.

Friday. Came in school at the usual time and was not a little delighted in getting through my lessons without a single error, I of course got no bad marks; in the afternoon had the supreme felicity of being presented with the gold Meddle. My Cousen came for me to spend a few days in the city and without any reluctance went, as I thought that recreation after close application would not do me an injury, Accordingly after riding a short distance conversation began thus a learned scotchman began quising a yankee about his own country, which he appeared to know little of He mentioned that Hackensack bridge was twenty feet longer than London bridge, and a number of things too numerous too be mentioned. I was soon permitted to be clasped in the arms of my dear Mother; after enquireing after after all my friends and conversing some hours retired with a mind contented and of course happy.

Saturday. Went with my Cousen to see some of my relations, the day of course passed pleasantly, and swiftly away.

Sunday. Went in the morning to Grace Church & heard a sermon from Mr. Wainwright was from the sixth Chapter of Matthew thirty third verse as Mother wished me to stay at home with her in the afternoon I complied with her request.

Monday 13th. A very rainy day of course did not [think] of returning homeward but contented myself with the perusal of books by a cheerful fireside.

Tuesday being a pleasant day contrary to the wishes of my friends thought it my duty to return to school or rather

the New Ark Institute what was my surprise when on reaching the boat found it had left me I returned and found my Father kind enough to promise if I would tarry till afternoon he would accompany. as I had sufficient time my cousin attended me to Master Hubberd a young Gentlemen of uncommon genius who takes profiles in twenty seconds and portraits and even cuts trees which are so natural they appear to move and with a common scissors his gallery of paintings are worthy of admiration.

Wednesday 15th. Came in school and was happy to find that the young ladies appeared so glad to see me; went to church in the evening and heard Mr. Hay lecture on the 32 psalm which was peculiarly solemn.

Thursday 16th. Nothing in particular.

Friday 17th. Recited an interesting lesson in Keith of the Theorys of the Antediluvian world and the cause of Noahs flood, in the afternoon Mr. Vandoren chatechised the young ladies afterwards he explained it to us the subject upon which he spoke was adoption which was very solemn.

Saturday 18th. As some of the young ladies were deficient in composition they as usual were Saturday scholars which title in my idea is not very desirable. I fancied this day to have had a pleasant walk but was disapointed by rain.

Sunday. Thought that I would take a class but [what] was my astonishment when on opening the church door found no sign of Sunday scholars. I came home and was informed that in the winter there was only sabbath school one a day. I that Morning heard Mr. Hay preach from these words: Unto him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood Revelations 1 Chapter the latter clause of the 5th verse In the afternoon his text was from Solomon,s Song 4th & 16th.

Monday 20th. Went to the Priccilla society in the afternoon, and read for the young ladies after assisting them to finish a quilt, the name of it was religion without principle.

Tuesday. Our lesson in Keith was still more interesting than the former of Vapours Fogs mists clouds, Dew & Hoar

Frost Rain, Snow & Hail Thunder & Lightning, Falling Stars, Ignis Fatuus Aureoborealis, & the Rainbow, The latter part I thought difficult or rather the demonstration.

Wednesday 22nd getting a few bad Marks gave up all hopes of wearing the meddle in the vacation and was under the painful necessity of relinquishing my claims to the superior ones of Miss M V D who I doubted not would get it.

Thursday 23rd. Recieved an answer in the affirmative to the petition which we sent to our teacher to give us the week between Christmas and New Year.

Friday 24th. Had the pleasure of hearing the young ladies read their journals and Composition without having to tremble for my turn to come. In the evening had a Sick Headache therefore did not enjoy myself though Christmas eve and the Idea of parting with my friend and Classmate Maria.

Saturday 25th. Having no opportunity to go home I was oblidge to be patient and content myself till Monday, and spent the day much more pleasantly than I expected.

Sunday 26th. Morning heard Mr. Hay preach from Galatians 1st 11th In the afternoon from Romans 13th first clause of the 11th verse.

Monday 27th. My Brother was kind enough to accompany me into the city, to spend a week during the Holidays I was not a little delighted to find my Mother so comfortable, and my friends so pleased to see me.

Tuesday 28th. I provided myself with some warm clothing for the winter and was very industrius in making it up.

Wednesday 29th. Strooled up Broadway to see the beauty and fashion which is generally displayed in that grand promenade from twelve till three of every fine day, spent a very pleasant sociabble evening with Aunt Wyckoff and by their persuasion was induced to stay all Night returned home the next morning about ten, and found all well.

Thursday 30th. After playing with Brother John little Cherub, I went to Aunt Welch and spent the day very agre-

ably and was escorted part of the way home by a much loved Philadelphia Friend.

Friday 31st. Went through the tedious process of Shopping which carried through many New Streets and had it not been that they engaged my attention and secured my admiration, time would have moved on leaden wings, Dined with Aunt Caldwell and was introduced to a New relation Miss Anna McCarty to whom I shall no doubt become more attached when better acquainted.

Saturday January 1st 1825. So many thoughts and feelings crowd upon me, on this memorable day that I scarce know how to give them utterance. In the first place, let me be thankful that I am spared to the commencement of another year with so many blessings and comforts around me and earnestly hope that I may be enabled to render myself more deserving of the favor of indulgent Heaven. According to the custom of this city. I remained at home to receive the visits of my Male Friends, who generally pay the Ladies the compliment of calling to say a Happy New Year. Mother and Mrs. Rodgers being confined to their chambers, I had to exert my entertaining powers without the assistance of a female Friend. The weather is uncommonly mild and pleasant and had been so for the whole season. What is still more uncommon we have had no snow and scarcely any Frost.

Sunday 2nd. Went to Mr. Whelpley church and heard Dr. Rowen pronounce an elegant sermon his text was in the first Chapter of Job 4th & 5th verses.

Monday 3rd. Left New York and came to New Ark, as I had been so unfortunate as to leave my basket which contained my books, I therefore did not come in school in the afternoon.

Tuesday 4th. Came in school and recited my lessons as usual A New Member was added to the Institute, whose name is Miss Margaret Vanderveer.

Wednesday 5th. Went in the evening to hear Mr. Hay who preached from these words. He that is not for me is against he that gathereth not scatereth abroad.

Thursday 6th. Nothing in particular except I went through the tedious process of being Monitor.

Friday 7th. Was invited to Mrs. Dr. Lee tea and accepted the invitation and spent a pleasant afternoon and what made it still more interesting it was my Friend Gertrude birthday.

Saturday 8th. Rose at an earlier hour than usual amused ourselves with our Nedle, as our conversation during the week is limited we suffered our unruly member, to have free scope.

Sunday 9th. Heard Mr. Hay in the morning from Matthew 12th, 36th 37th Verses A hymn was sung very applicable to the sermon which will be found 132nd Hymn 1st Book in the afternoon the text was in 1st Peter 3 Chapter 19, 20th verses after church I attended Sunday school as usual and was very much pleased with the examination of the scholars.

Monday 10th. In the evening went to a meeting of the Sunday school teachers, of every denomination which I thought very interesting.

Tuesday 11th. Went to Bible class which was very instructive as well as solemn.

Wednesday 12th. Expected to miss all my lessons on account of going to the Bible class the proceeding evening, but was agreeably disapointed in reciting them correctly.

Friday 14th. In the afternoon we recited our chatechism and Mr. Van Doren lectured on Sanctification which was vey solemn.

Saturday 15th. Being released from school took a pleasant walk to behold once more the home of my youthful days, which brought to my mind scenes of pleasure and delight.

Sabbeth 16. Mr. Ely from Massachusetts pronounced a sermon from these words Wisdom is the principle thing, therefore get wisdom: and with all thy gettings get understanding Proverbs 4 Chapter 7th Verse In the *afternoon* Mr.

Hay Preached from these words Then shall ye return and discern between the righteous and the wicked between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not Malichi 3rd Chapter 18 Verse.

Monday 17th. Recited all my lessons correctly except Parsing and of course according to the rules of the Institute received a bad Mark.

Tuesday 18th. Nothing worth relating.

Wednesday 19th. Received an invitation from the Miss Hornblower, to spend a sociable evening accordingly excepted it and was not at all disapointed.

Thursday 20th. Was very much engaged all day with the problims which I find rather difficult.

Friday 21st. The young ladies all went to the Accadimy to hear a celebrated Oritor by name, but from their description was far from it, I cannot give my opinion of him as I was oblided to return home before the exercises commenced.

Saturday 22nd. I intended to spend the afternoon out with some of my friends was oblided to remain at home though not disapointed as my Brother came to see me He had just returned from Washington and informed me that my friends were all in good health, welcome news indeed.

Sunday 23rd. Mr. Wells from New Rochelle pronounced a sermon, His text was from Matthew 6th and 6th In the *afternoon* it being so cold and windy we went to the 1st Church and heard Mr. Hamilton preach from these words I was in the spirit on the Lords day 1st Clause of the 10th Verse of the 1st Chapter of Revelation.

Monday 24th. In the morning about half past three I was suddenly awakened by the cry of fire fire! On looking out of the window I found it was near The boreal wind blew, The sight of it was awful and sublime my feelings at this time I will not attempt to describe.

Tuesday 25th. Mr. Hay being absent Bible class was deferred.

Wednesday 26th. Came in school and did not do much else except work out Problims, had an invitation from Miss Julia Halsey² to spend the evening which I excepted without reluctance. After spending it pleasantly came home pretty early, My Father came from the city in the morning and informed me that my dear Mother was as well as usual.

Thursday 27th. Not remembering cant say what happened.

Friday 28th. According to expectation Frances Keene was presented with the gold Meddle.

Saturday 30th. A bitter cold day but as I had not been to see Mrs. General Cummings a very dear friend of my Mothers, I had permission from Mr. Van Doren to defer writing my problems till the ensueing week, and spent a pleasant day; returned home about seven and was welcomed by a letter from Cousen Hannah.

Sabbeth 30th. Mr. Hay being absent his pulpit was supplied by Mr. Judd from Bloomfield.

In the afternoon Mr. Tappan his text * * * * *

Monday 31st. Notwithstanding I studied my Bible lessons over three or four times I got only two good Marks. Mr. Young from the Tuscaroras Indians honored the Institute with a visit and gave us several specimens of the Indian writing & related some interesting facts concerning them.

Tuesday February 1st. It snowed very hard all day with which I was not a little delighted as I anticipated many pleasant rides.

Wednesday 2nd. As we did parse we were very actively employed in writing problems in our books which we got for the occasion.

Thursday 3rd. From a particular circumstance that occurred to day I think that it never shall be forgotten as long as time continues to me the faculty of memory Mrs. Van Derveer spent the evening with Mr. Van Doren excused the boarders from writing composition.

Friday 4th. We were invited by our teacher to attend the debating society and felt very much pleased the young

ladies read their composition Miss Toler having no bad Marks gained the Meddle.

Saturday 5th. Accepted an invitation from Mr. Van Doren to take a ride to Patterson accordingly went in company with Mr. J. Livingston Vandon & Miss Van Doren principals Miss Maria Van Doren Miss Margaret Van Derveer Miss Ellenor Condit and Mr. Oscar Harriss We arrived at our place for Dining and had the pleasure of Mrs. Kinny from New Ark after getting ourselves warmed we were called to Dinner welcome Messengers to a hungry person after our repast we attempted to walk to the falls about half a Mile distance but was greatly disapointed when we found the snow so deep as to render it impractible the Mills also were stoped it being customary for them to stop every Saturday at 4 O'clock We started for home about half past four Stoped at Aquacnock to warm ourselves as we were so cold we stopped at Belville arrived home about half Eight welcomed by a cheerful fire Drank a cup of tea and feeling a little fatigued soon retired.

Sabbeth 6th. Heard Mr. Hay preach from these words Wilt though not cry unto me from this time My Father thou art the guide of my youth Jeremiah 3rd Chapter 4th Verse in the afternoon his text was from Luke 15 Chapter from the 11th to the 15 Verse.

Monday 7th. Came in School with a determination if possible to escape getting bad Marks recited all my lessons correctly except Parsing for which I got one bad one. Notwithstanding all my study.

Tuesday 8th. Went through the tedious process of being Monitor and felt quite wearied by Night and willing to resign my office.

Wednesday 9th. In the evening heard Mr. Matthews read a sacred Drama of his own composition which I admired very much as Cousen R did not call for me I did not go to Bible Class Arose at a very early hour for the purpose of studying came in school as usual & did not get any bad Marks

Went in the evening to Mr. Hay lecture room he being so much indisposed did not preach Dr. Ward read a sermon the text was from Romans 7th Chapter 24th Verse.³

Wednesday 27th 1836.⁴ Was prevented from attending our Maternal association & sewing society. Tooth Ache a thing very unusual have been troubled since Saturday week the Lord grant that I may have patience to endure with fortitude whatever pains & sufferings I may have to endure in this transitory world & may I when I have strength spend it in the service of Christ may it be my meat & drink to do thy will. received a letter from My dear Husband from Philadelphia what cause have I of thankfulness to learn that he is well. * * * Thursday.

January 1st 1841.⁵ Friday Awoke pretty early the sun rose clear & set off after Breakfast to dine with Mr. Bower's⁶ family arrived at One Oclock & found our relations from Springfield ready to greet us with a Happy New Year spent the day very pleasantly the night bitter cold Mr. Dorremus & his wife & Miss Ulrich her sister & Mr. Wells returned to springfield that evening Mr. & Mrs. J. Brown returned home.

Saturday 2nd. Returned home & found our dear Children in fine health much colder than the day previous but the sun shone brightly & we were well wrapped up.

Sabbeth. Mr. Beecher⁷ preached from Matthew 25 Chap. 6 Verse was suitable to the occassion being communion in

the afternoon Mr. B continued his discourse on the Revelations 13th Chap.

Monday 4th. Was appointed a day of fasting & prayer for the conversion of the world the morning service was held in the Congregational Church Mr. Post^s preached a solemn sermon from Malichi 3 Chap 2nd Verse in the afternoon a prayer meeting was held & was not well attended which brought forth some excellent remarks from Mr. Beecher that God was able to bless us though few in number & we ought not to be slow in believing in the evening the meeting was better attended & a number of excellent prayers was put up by the Elders of the Church.

Tuesday. Quite cloudy the children commenced their school under Miss Dodge instructions & seemed quite happy.

Wednesday 6th. Cloudy nothing occurred worth mentioning.

Thursday. Still cloudy Mr. D left for Springfield did not attend prayer meeting because I was not well.

Friday. Still cloudy & unpleasant felt however in better health & of course spirits rose pretty early committed verses in the Bible before Breakfast.

Saturday 9th. Still Cloudy Mr. D did not return home as was expected after being absent three days found a beautiful piece of Poetry which is as follows

On the Death of An Infant Brother

There was a flow'ret pure & fair
As ever graced a parent tree,
'Twas sent from Heaven, on Earth to share
Our tender love & watchful care,
Throug days of infancy.

But then with every chilling blast
It dropped its tender frame;
As one by one they o'er him past,
We thought our little flower would last
And thought so till death came.

But earthly air was too impure
Our flowret to sustain.
For when transplanted from on high,
It drooped its head & seemed to die
 And sought its Heaven again.

But list! I hear a joyful strain;
Our little floweret lives again,
It's of the bright parterre above,
And oh! tis watched by Heavenly love.

H. A. B.

Sabbeth 10th. Still cloudy had quite a fall of snow during the Night Mr. Beecher the President of the Illinois College preached from Revelations 22nd Chap 17th Verse most excellent sermon would like to have him give God the credit of saving the soul In the afternoon heard him preach again from Revelations 13th Chap a continuation of sermons commenced in relation to the prophecys I never felt before how much the Catholicks are enslaved poor deluded creatures

Monday 11th. Continues Cloudy but the Sleighing quite fine took Miss Adams a ride & called for other friends but was disappointed spent the evening in reading Letters to Mothers by Miss Sigourney the Book lent me by Mrs. Dr. Jones.

Tuesday 12th. The Sun made its appearance for a short time took Miss A & Mrs. Dr. Jones a sleigh ride in the morning in the evening made some calls felt much relieved in health Mr. Duncan returned from Springfield unexpectedly.

Wednesday 13th. The sun shone for a short time had the pleasure of three friends coming unexpectedly to spend the day had the Meat of a Bear for Dinner but cannot say that I would prefer it

Thursday 14th. Took a ride with my Husband in the Sleigh with an unbroke colt & all the children but Anna Caldwell in their teacher Miss Dodge all seemed happy I felt some alarm at first in the afternoon omitted female

prayer meeting to attend in the evening & induced my dear Husband to go with us & hear Mr. Beecher Lecture from Rev. 2 Chap commencing from the 12th Verse Christ letters to the churches the meeting better attended than usual

Friday 15th. Took a delightful ride in the Sleigh to Mr. Poseys found him better returned & found my babe quite sick for a little time but administered some Oil she soon recovered & Anna & myself spent the evening at Mrs. Clay's at the sewing Society

Saturday 16th. Quite a stormy day Cousin Anna Caldwell⁹ & Mrs. Israel set out for Mrs. Bower & Mr. D returned & found Mrs. Clay's¹⁰ Smoke house on fire my children came running home in the Snow & alarmed me much I thought some accident had befallen my Husband.

Sabbeth 17th. One of the coldest days I ever experienced in my life the Thermometer said to be 22 degrees below Zero did not regret attending church for Mr. Beecher preached a very solemn sermon from Psalms 66th 18th Verse In the afternoon he resumed his former lectures upon the Revelations & gave us a most descriptive account of the evening of St. Bartholomew the account was truly affecting.

Monday 18th. Still cold discovered my plants was frozen stiff notwithstanding my care did not venture out.

Tuesday 19th. Quite damp & snowed in the afternoon & prevented us from going to Mr. Beecher's to tea Mr. D discharged Mr. Hussy which was a considerable trial as his Wife & Daughter was particularly neat & that was a qualification rarely met with in the help in this country oh how light & trifling after all will these trials be in a death bed Lord enable me to view these things aright & give me grace to bear up under every trial however heavy it may be.

Wednesday 20. This day rather cloudy & damp feel that I shall be compelled to exert myself but it is all right.

Thursday 21st. The Sun shone out at times had a violent headache but Mr. D insisted upon my going out in a sleigh & it relieved me much but still I was not able to attend meeting in the afternoon or evening was quite disappointed.

Friday 22nd. Mr. D Took Mrs. Conn Anna Maria the

two girls Mary & Ann Elizabeth & myself out to Mr. Poseys found him better the sleighing very fine the day milder than it had been for some time in the afternoon Mr. Adams & wife came up in the afternoon & made us a visit in the place of a pastor as he is one of our elders his visit was pleasant & we parted about eight Oclock after closing with prayer after his departure was mortified by a discussion which took place about some dining tables but it is all right for it was calculated to humble me.

Saturday 23rd. Mr. D took Susan Brown¹¹ Miss Dodge Anna Maria C & myself out to the mound Cousin Susan & Babe spent the day with me the weather milder.

Sabbeth 24th. Delightful day the Sun shone out in all its splendor Mr. Beecher preached a solemn sermon from Romans 1st 16th in the afternoon from Revelations 14th Chap very interesting.

Monday 25th. Rather damp went down to town with Mrs. Ayers¹² in a sleigh the last of Snow I expect for this year in the afternoon went out again to Shop & make calls Mr. D left for Springfield

Tuesday 26. Damp unpleasant day went to town called on Mrs. Long, King, & Dr. Smith wife did some shopping & returned home

Wednesday 27th. The morning pleasant for a time afterward cloudy in the evening became very pleasant went with Miss Dodge to see Mrs. Beecher, Adams, Israel, J. P. Wilkerson returned home about 6 O clock finished a pr. of socks commenced another pr.

Thursday 28th. Quite unpleasant weather Mr. D returned from Springfield quite unexpectedly Miss D not being well I declined going to prayer meeting as I expected

Friday 29th. Very pleasant made some three or four calls Mrs. Hook, Lewis, Stephenson, Allen, in the afternoon attended the old school sewing society at Mrs. Brown.

Saturday 30th. Somewhat pleasant attended the Maternal¹³ meeting with my four oldest children was pleased with Mary & Ann Elizabeth answering so promptly their text in relation to keeping the sabbeth day altogether a

paticularly interesting meeting the dear Children was asked if they would not like to educate a Heathen child & call him Edward Beecher they showed their assent by holding up their right hands

Sabbeth 31st. Mr. Beecher preached from Romans 1st Chap 16 Verse solemn sermon in the afternoon from Revelations 14th

Monday 1st Feb. Rather pleasent.

Tuesday 2nd. Went to town in the morning found it unpleasent as the weather changed spent the afternoon at Mr. Beecher's did not feel well.

Wednesday 3. The weather cold & clear but did not feel well but rode to town to see if I would not feel better Mrs. Price & Warren & Hardin¹⁴ all spent the evening & I felt quite sick till Bed time.

Thursday 4th. The day quite cloudy but I felt such a desire to attend meeting that I went down with Anna & Miss Dodge & I felt fully repaid although it was Snowing quite hard when we returned Mr. B was paticularly solemn on the same subject that he has been addressing the church for a number of Thursdays Christ letters to the Churches & that solemn time was told of when Christ would remove the Candlestick if we did not repent & do our first work & he said we might as christians have the full assurance of hope oh could I feel a perfectly willingness to die & be submissive to the will of my heavenly Father & live passive in his hands how happy should I be why may I not Lord grant that I may have my Lamp trimmed & my lights burning & be waiting for the coming of the Lord oh that my house may be set in order & that I may be enabled to pray more fervently for the salvation of souls

My Dear Husband I feel paticularly about at this time beset with many temptations & knowing how ready Saten is to put every thing in the way of Christians how watchful should we be Lord grant us grace sufficient for the day

Friday 5th. Snowing all day wrote a letter to my Husbands Mother Darned stockings & wrote several things spent

the evening in reading the lives of Gen. Jackson & Daniel Webster as comparisons are odious I will not make any.

Saturday 6th. The Sun shone brightly rose at 6 O clock called to see Mrs. Eams, McClure, & Mrs. Dr. Jones found the latter quite sick called for my friend Mrs. Conn & brought her home with me to Dinner she was as agreeable as ever & went down in the evening to prayer Meeting Mr. B was not there but a paper was read in regard to Holiness & many prayed I trust in sincerity & truth.

Sabbeth 7th. Mr. Beecher took his text again from Roman 1st 16th solemn discourse in the afternoon he preached from Revelations the pouring out of the Vial, day pleasant

Monday 8th. Very Cloudy & unpleasent did not go out.

Tuesday 9th. Went out in the morning on business & spent the afternoon at Mrs. Bucklin very pleasantly & in the evening at the Sewing Society at Mrs. Israel, & returned home & found it snowing very cold & disagreeable.

Wednesday 10. Made a call at Mrs. Post with Mrs. Conn & found it excessively cold the sun shining notwithstanding.

Thursday 11th. As it was excessively cold the Baby not well did not attend Female prayer meeting nor the evening Lecture did some clear Starching an unusual thing for me.

Friday. A Beutiful Cold day went to town on business in the afternoon spent with Mrs. Warren at the sewing society was paticularly interested in reading the Mother's Magazine an address to Mothers & also the reformed religion in France lent us by Mr. Beecher.

Saturday 13th. Snowing quite hard in the morning

Sabbeth 14th. Mr. Beecher preached an unusually good sermon in relation to faith 12th Chap Hebrews 1st Verse in the afternoon upon the opening of the second seal how favored are we in this new country to have men of talent & education & Holy zeal to explain to us the word of God which is able to make us wise unto salvation oh that we may value duly these precious privilidges & profit by the means of grace afforded us.

Monday 15th. Mrs. Bucklin & family, Israel & Conn spent the day with us very pleasant to meet with our friends.

Tuesday 16th. The weather very much moderated rode down to town after Breakfast on business in the afternoon spent with Mrs. Israel in company with Mrs. McClure Camel Miss A Seymour, Wolcott went to the sewing society at Mrs. Alexander,s.

Wednesday 17th. Another delightful day how pleasant after such very cold weather

Thursday 18th. Felt like summer delightful day did not feel well went to prayer meeting in the afternoon & evening heard Mr. Beecher preach from Revelations 3 Chap 14th 15, 16 Verse to the church of Laadicia quite solemn felt gratified that I had gone oh that my dear Husband could be prevailed upon to feel like going to evening Lectures.

Friday continued pleasant Miss Fairweather Miss Wolcott Miss Adams & Seymour spent the afternoon with me quite pleasant also a visit from Mr. Sturtevant

Saturday. Miss Adams remained with us rode out in the afternoon to the mound the weather was so fine quite sick in the evening retired early.

Sabbeth. Mr. Beecher addressed us from Ephesians 6th Chapter 4 verses Children obey your parents in the Lord a most suitable & interesting sermon one calculated to make an impression on the minds of parents & Children I trust we may all profit by it in the afternoon the sermon was continued in Revelations 16th Chap concerning the vials the 4th vial was the one preached from he spoke very paticularly of the ambition of Napoleon as though he was the man that scorched the world with fire

Monday 22nd. The weather continues beutiful like spring rode 5 miles with Mr. D in the afternoon went down to Cousen Sue Brown to spend the afternoon took Anna Maria Anna Caldwell, Smith, & Julia, met Mrs. Israel with her two Children & Miss Hetty came home after tea.

Tuesday 23rd. had Mrs. Davidson Eliza Conn & Mr. & Mrs. Smith from the Grove Mr. & Mrs. Brown saw this

day the impropriety more strongly than ever of not bringing up children aright Lord direct me in this important task for without thine aid vain would be the attempt

Wednesday 24th. Attended the Fair of the Episcopal Church took the children found every thing arranged with taste returned home feeling that they would not compensate for the trouble made or said to have made 230\$ in the afternoon attended the Maternal meeting the subject discussed an interesting one self denial in our children

Thursday 25. Was appointed as a day of fasting & prayer for the Colleges went to church in the morning & heard Mr. B on Daniel pointed out his character as one of imitation was so unwell from cold that I took on Tuesday that I was unable to go down in the afternoon or evening

Friday. The day damp & unpleasant went to town on business M A came up from St. Louis but as usual with any thing in life that is pleasant something of a contrary nature is connected to show us our happiness is not in this world owing to some story being told

Saturday 27th. Went to town in the morning & spent the day with Cousin Susan as she was sick as well as her child the day rather damp although the sun shone Baby 1 year old

Sabbeth 28. Delightful day Mr. Beecher preached 4 Chap Malicki 6th Verse a very impressive Sermon to parents Lord grant that I may continue to feel my responsibility as a parent & direct me aright to teach them, in the afternoon the subject continued in Revelations 16 Chap

Monday 1st March. The day extremely fine although I felt quite sick I sent for Mrs. Davidson to spend a few days she will probably come on Tuesday.

Tuesday 2nd. Mrs. D & her Husband & her son Henry Mr. & Mrs. Hardin all spent the day or rather eat dinner the former being compelled to start on the morrow the day pleasant but I increased my cold in my neck from sitting in the parlor where a fire had just been kindled did not go to Mrs. Hardins on account of it Mr. D & Anna went.

Wednesday. Mrs. Poesy & her Husband spent the day with us his health much improved the weather delightful in the evening was quite sick & went to bed early.

Thursday 4th. Great change in the weather hardly felt like sitting up was greatly disappointed at not getting down to prayer meeting or church in the evening as my Husband promised to accompany me & it being also preparatory to communion.

Friday 5. Found the ground covered with snow to my surprise in the morning did not venture out taught my children in the morning as it was too inclement for them to go to school.

Saturday 6th. Very cloudy had a call from the Miss Brown,s felt unusually well read to the children a story.

Sabbeth 7th. Mr. Beecher preached a suitable sermon before Sacrament the text was in Malichi 4 Chap 18 Verse in the afternoon from Revelations 16th Chap from the 12th to the 16th a terrifick description of the Catholicks.

Monday 8th. The Sleighing remarkably fine & the day delightful went out to Mrs. Kutter, procured 2 Bushels of pippens.

Tuesday 9th Cloudy Wednesday 10. This day is my Birthday & I am led to enquire why it is that I have been preserved to this time Lord forgive the sins of youth & riper years and enable me hereafter to live more to thy honor & thy glory & may my dear children be trained to love & serve the Lord grant me strength Heavenly Father to perform all my duties aright & this day would I desire to consecrate myself afresh to thee in an everlasting covenant never to be broken. Mrs. Ayers spent the afternoon with me & I took a ride in the sleigh with my Husband in the morning.

Thursday pleasant day Mrs. Conn spent it with me & I foolishly gave up my meeting in the afternoon & in the evening prepared to go down to meeting & found the Horses cutting up & remained at home I fear I should not be able to give my body to be burned if it was necessary Lord enable me to search myself & see what manner of spirit I am

Friday quite a deep Snow has fallen Mr. D went Hunting & not feeling well remained at home in the morning mending clothes, in the afternoon rode out Horses bawked alarmed me returned home the worse of it.

Saturday. The day Beutiful over head but sloppy underfoot received a letter from my Sister informing me of the marriage of a Cousin to a Missionary to Africa Lord grant that they may do much good & be abundantly blessed

Sabbeth 14. Mr. Beecher preached from Luke 12th Chap 40th Verse a very solemn & impressive sermon Lord grant that we may be found ready when our Lord comes the death of a church member induced this sermon in the afternoon his text was from Revelations

Monday 15. Made 6 calls quite pleasant although muddy Judge Robbins the Temperance agent staid with us Sabbeth Night and Monday he related many interesting anecdotes in relation to it I still however feel a degree of foolish feeling in regard to it that if I join it I shall then feel inclined to drink it when I never did

Tuesday 16. Tolerably pleasant day Mr. D went to Springfield in the morning & after dinner James Duncan¹⁵ his daughter Caroline came down from there she will remain some time felt somewhat selfish for I wish every time that company comes that I could be alone with my own immediate family however I have made up my mind that I will retire into my own room & there instruct my children & perform other duties when I feel it is right had a pleasant visit from Mr. & Mrs. Coffin & Jones what lovely christians how delightful to see such families had an old county man come in at tea time & was a mar plot on my pleasure as all vulgar people are Lord forbid that I should indulge improper pride

Wednesday 17th. The day cold & misty called on Mrs. Henry Sturtevant Mr. D. returned unexpectedly to me in the evening how delightful are those things

Thursday 18th. Quite a warm wind did not ride in the morning but in the afternoon although sick went down to prayer meeting felt myself much drawn out in prayer oh how

delightful is it for christians to meet & join their voices in praying for the blessing of God upon his people & that sinners might be brought to a knowledge of the saviour in the evening persuaded M D to go & see Mr. Wilkerson who was sick & to my astonishment he & his Brother with Duncan Linn accompanied us to meeting the text was blessed are the poor in spirit Matthew 4th & 3rd very solemn & searching.

Friday 19th. Walked over to the school house found my dear Children studying & happy was pleased with their reading & recitations, spent the afternoon with Mrs. Conn came home & felt somewhat depressed from hearing of some persons taking advantage of my Husband & they professing christians Dr. Reed & Scot & felt my pride wounded in regard to some things the case has gone against Mr. Linn¹⁶ & I presume my dear Husband will have to pay for it he feels now as though every cent would go I trust we shall be able to keep our home but if God sees best to take that from us I trust we shall be enabled to say thy will be done I have been trying for some time to be enabled to lie passive in the hands of God but oh how difficult to say thy will be done note to Polly Ann

Saturday 20th. Went down town contrary to inclination to purchase bed cloths for Duncan Linn dislike to go to town Saturday damp & muddy

Sabbeth. Mr. Beecher preached I thought not as well as usual it might be my feelings was not right the Text was in in the afternoon he continued his subject in Revelations

Monday 22nd. Another new girl by the way of help expect trouble Susan Brown spent the day with me & the weather unpleasent.

Tuesday 23. Thought as the day looked pleasent & having an Extra hand I would attempt to clean commenced in the third story & providential it was for I had no sooner got seated to direct when my Husband came up & told me that there was a great fight below one of my domesticks & a neighbor Mrs. Hussy had had literally fought how shameful to be said that servants would dare to fight in the house of a chris-

tian I felt like enquiring why is it thus Lord enable us to pray for these poor ignorant creatures & grant that there eyes may be opened to see the errors of their ways & convert them to thee invited myself to drink tea Mrs. J. Wilkenson

Wednesday 24th. found it cloudy & raining when I got up but the afternoon became pretty clear fulfilled my engagement spent a pleasant afternoon.

Thursday 25. The day exceedingly warm went to prayer meeting in the afternoon Anna Maria also accompanied me & we took tea with Mrs. Barton as well as Mrs. Ayers & went with them to meeting & heard Mr. Beecher upon the same words as before Blessed are the poor in spirit & felt so sick in meeting that I did not enjoy it as much as usual

Friday continued warm felt badly but Mr. D & myself walked over to the school house to hear the children as it was their examination day they will now have a week's holiday

Saturday continues warm notwithstanding we had a storm yesterday afternoon but the rain I think is not over the baby walks all over being 13 months old was obliged to go down town as usual for scrubbing Brushes to clean house

Sabbeth 28. The day exceeding disagreeable & damp went to church in the morning & heard Mr. Beecher from Proverbs 10 & 9th The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom the afternoon feeling so badly I remained at home but felt sick & was not aroused to any exertion till evening when I reflected that it my duty to instruct my dear children which I did

Monday 29th. Still very disagreeable & cold but went down town to attend a meeting to do something for the education of Females¹⁷ called at Mrs. Clay but could not induce her to give

Tuesday 30. Rather unpleasant staid at home in the morning & pieced for the first time a Quilt of Blue Muslin in the evening went to Mrs. J. P. Wilkenson's to the sewing society

Wednesday 31. Another cloudy disagreeable day but the hope that it soon will be pleasanter cheers the heart.

Thursday 1st April. quite pleasant went to prayer meeting in the afternoon & evening heard Mr. Beecher from these words blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted Mr. D went with me unexpectedly felt rather better in health.

Friday 2nd. Very cold & disagreeable my mouth being so sore with ulcers I thought I would amuse myself with working in the front yard but I found I took cold went to Mrs. Dr. Adams in the afternoon & drank tea met Mrs. Lockwood Wilkenson spent a pleasant evening returned home at nine.

Saturday 3rd. The morning being cold I did not go out till afternoon planted Rose Bushes a present from Dr. Jones planted out a day or two before 2 Rose Bushes of Mrs. Wilkenson & also a geranium from Mrs. O. Wilkensons

Sabbath. Mr. Beecher preached from Prov 29th 25th Verse an excellent sermon in the afternoon I had such a violent sick headache that I could not attend regretted it much as I dislike to lose any of the sermons on Revelations as they are particularly interesting

Monday 5th. regretted much that I did not feel well enough to attend Monthly Concert for I think it one of the most interesting meetings we have Mr. James Duncan arrived

Tuesday 6th rather cold called on Mrs. Turner, Beecher, in behalf of the education society on my way to Mr. Sturtevant's where we was invited to meet Mrs. Gillett & C. Sturtevant's family felt badly of course at the remembrance of former times

Wednesday called at Mrs. Ayers & did business in town in behalf of the same object.

Thursday. Rather pleasant day had Miss Hulda Sturtevant & Miss Long from the Monticello institution to dine after which Miss Dodge & myself went to old Mrs. Bartons in the evening went to hear Mr. Beecher on the subject of mourning blessed are they that mourn very profitable lecture felt quite sick when I returned home 1/2 past 9 O clock.

Friday 9th. The weather a little warmer & damp from Showers dined at Mrs. O. Wilkerson in company with Mrs.

Brown, Milburn, Israel, Camel, Paice, Dodge the weather changed & in returning home in the afternoon took cold felt unusually stupid in the evening retired early spent a pleasant day

Saturday 10. Cold & disagreeable Caroline D & myself amused ourselves by fixing the upper story of my dear Husband's office & sought Newspapers till we was chilled through eat dinner with the family an unusual thing these days snowed quite hard something unusual for this season of the year

Sabbeth 11th. Mr. Beecher continued from Prov 29th Chap 25 Verse an excellent sermon the weather cold & unpleasant in the afternoon although rainy I went accompanied by my dear Husband & heard Mr. B from Revelations 17th a most excellent & interesting sermon

Monday 12th. The weather very fine seemed to cheer our spirits although two of our domesticks left us yesterday one without even letting me know that she was going providence always seems to provide for I had more strength than usual given me & washed up a number of things became quite solicitous about Mary Louise she I fear has scrofula intend consulting a Physician one of my domestics has chills so we have one instead of four it seems quite calm & peaceful like Sabbath morning consulted the Dr. in the afternoon & he thinks that Mary has not got the symptoms of Scrofula

Tuesday 13th. Rather cold but clear went to Mrs. Browns to tea not feeling well did not attend the sewing society

Wednesday 14th. Felt still more unwell Mrs. Brown spent the day with me a number of Ladies called to see me did not go out gave E. Hagaty a dose of Tarter emetick having had a chill the Dr. recommended Medicine to me but I deferred it as I intended having company

Thursday 15th. Rather cold & windy feel rather better but in the afternoon the weather seemed so unpleasant that I concluded not to go to prayer meeting either afternoon or evening Miss Dodge walked down

Friday 16th. Felt very unwell if I had not been going to have company I should not have made the least exertion but

taken medicine Mr. & Mrs. Bucklin Mrs. Raffleja & Mr. Tucker her Father drank tea with us felt badly & took a pill before retiring Brother J & family arrived

Saturday. Quite rainy & warm I suppose we shall probably have warm weather the trees are beginning to look green.

Sabbath. Mr. Patterson preached in the morning

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday. Mrs. Chickering¹⁸ arrived the day pleasant

Thursday 22nd. The day pleasant rode down to town with Mrs. Chickering who looks badly Fanny Bowers & Mr. C who looks nice had no particular Coachman could not therefore go to meeting took home Aunt Jane D

Friday 23. Mrs. C husband & Fanny left & we are alone once more except Miss Dodge who is very little or no trouble in a family

The weather quite warm children have had colds Tulips in bloom did considerable shopping

Saturday. Went to Maternal meeting Dr. Adams lectured on Joseph the children pretty generally contributed towards the Heathen children

Sabbath. Psalms in the afternoon in the 18th of Revelations

Monday 26th. Jo seemed quite sick from cold the Dr. gave him an emetick the evening before & to day oil the fever rose & at night he took Calomel rested better the end of the night felt uneasy about him

Tuesday 27. Still feel uneasy about Jo the Dr. gave him Oil & we repeated the dose at 12 O clock he seems better this afternoon

Wednesday. Mr. D went to Springfield & Anna scalded her foot & screamed so violently as to alarm me very much laid down nearly all day rode in the afternoon & felt better but did not rest went to see Mrs. Chinn

Thursday 29. Raining quite hard cold & unpleasant was prevented from going to meeting in the afternoon & evening

Friday 30th. Rather unpleasant Mr. D returned in the evening with Miss Mary Ulrich

Saturday 30th. A pleasant day rode on Horseback twice around the lot on Ann Elizabeth's pony which her Father had purchased at Springfield on account of her studying her lessons so well Mary Louise rode 8 miles for the first time being 8 yrs & 7 months old

Sabbeth. Mr. Allen an agent for the Abolitionist preached from Corinthians 13th Chap 13th Verse in the afternoon Mr. Beecher preached from Revelations 10th

Monday 3rd. Spent the day at Brother James but the weather was truly cold & unpleasent

Tuesday. Still cold & cloudy remained at home & wrote to sister

Wednesday. Rode down to town & in the evening Brother James & his wife drank tea with me being the evening before his departure for the East had a most violent sick Headache & retired after an early tea

Thursday 6th. Felt quite sick but as my Husband offered to make calls with me determined to exert myself & went down to town saw the pretty Mrs. Clarke Miss Dwight the sweet singer saw Brother James take leave of his family for Washington could truly sympathise with them not able to attend meeting on account of weather

Friday 7. The weather continues cold enough for fire laid down but did not sleep this afternoon.

Thursday 13th. Went to prayer meeting the weather getting warmer

Friday 14th. Went to church in the morning & heard Mr. Beecher felt fatigued & did not attend in the evening

Saturday 15. Went to see Cousin Ann Finly & Robert & his wife who we understood had arrived

Sabbeth 16th. Heard Mr. Bergen Jr. deliver a lecture upon Tracts or distribution of sunday school Books

Monday 17th. Cousins Sue Brown & Ann Finly & Brother spent the day with us the first warm day

Tuesday 18th. The weather so warm as to enable me to change my clothes but us usual I took a little cold feel badly at the idea of Mr. D starting for Oquawka went shopping which I dislike much

Wednesday. Took my usual ride of a mile on Horseback felt badly owing to not resting well & changing my clothes the weather quite warm the flowers & every thing in nature looking beautiful

Thursday. Went to prayer meeting in the afternoon very few present Mrs. Goudy Seymour.

Friday & Saturday. Made calls.

Sabbath. a Methodist preached for us a lengthy sermon his text was in 1st Samuel 12 Chap 34th Verse. in the afternoon Mr. Beecher preached a particularly interesting sermon in Revelations 19 Chap the finishing of his course of lectures looked much like a violent storm

Monday. Mrs. James Duncan & Mrs. Conn put in a Blue Muslin Quilt for me did not feel well

Tuesday 25th. Mrs. Conn & Mrs. D still assisted me

Wednesday 26. Attended an interesting maternal meeting

Thursday 27. Mrs. Israel assisted me till afternoon found after I got down it was too warm went in the evening & heard a Missionary nothing particularly interesting felt disappointed at not hearing Mr. Beecher very warm

Friday 28. Very warm felt the heat more than usual Mrs. Bucklin & Brothers spent the evening with us

Saturday. Went down to town to shop in the morning & felt quite uncomfortable & resolved as usual that I would not go down to shop on Saturday again as it consumed so much time

Sabbath 30th. Mr. Beecher preached for us from in the afternoon not as interesting as usual or the heat was more overcoming than I ever felt it in church

Monday 31. Truly warm & sultry all the morning felt it more because compelled to go to town

Tuesday 1st of June. Anna Maria left home for Mr. Bones & brought down Mrs. Chickering from the Grove Susan Brown & Husband & Cousin Ann Finly & Amy Duncan spent the day with us felt warm

Wednesday 2nd. Went to town in the morning & found

it very warm while there but comfortable at home. Mr. Chickering arrived to dinner & Mr. Gallagher also dined with us

Thursday 3rd. Still warmer than the day previous went to town in the morning returned pretty soon Miss Dwight & Wolcott called on us & Ann Duncan spent the day went to meeting accompanied by Mr. & Mrs. Chickering Miss Dodge & Anna Maria Mr. Beecher preached Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy an excellent sermon so suitable to any one afflicted with bad temper.

Friday 4th. The weather still continues very warm though a fine air has been stirring all day had my fill of strawberries for the first time though I had eaten them twice before

Saturday 5. Went down to the Mound the air pleasant Cousin Ann Finly came up & accompanied Mr. D & Anna Maria to the Springs looked like rain in the evening

Sabbath 6. Mr. Beecher preached in the morning from Romans & in the afternoon from Revelations the last day of Judgment very interesting very exceeding warm

Monday. A fine Air rode to town to shop but it is still warm Mr. D left for Springfield accompanied with Mr. Chickering & Martha remained with me spent a pleasant day

Tuesday 8th. An exceedingly warm day suffered with the Heat & a violent Headache from going without Coffee eat Garden Strawberries twice very fine picked from the garden at Mr. Chenille our Neighbors went to Mrs. Clay to drink tea & in the evening felt so much better as to go to the Colonization society¹⁹ & staid till eleven O clock retired feeling quite smart

addresses from Robert Finly²⁰ Post, Turner, Dr. Adams Sturtevant altogether much pleased Cousin R & wife staid all night.

Wednesday 9. Still warm Martha & myself rode down town spent a delightful day at home by ourselves eat Strawberries & went to Mrs. Ayers to tea Cousin Robert Finly took Ann Maria to see her Sister the morning quite warm but in the evening seemed cooler.

Thursday. Continued very warm & I had a violent headache all day from going without Coffee for Breakfast prevented my going to meeting in the afternoon and evening

Friday. Spent the day at Cousin Susan Brown & in the afternoon Mr. Duncan & Mr. Chickering returned from Springfield & came down for us how kind is providence to preserve us both to meet after sepperation so often in health & happiness the day is warmer than ever.

Saturday. The weather is pleasenter a fine westerly wind round around the place three times on Horseback felt unusually well eat Strawberries.

Sabbeth. Went to church in the morning although quite cloudy heard Mr. Beecher not as interesting as usual in the afternoon went to the Episcopal Church & heard Mr. Ayers an excellent sermon felt a delightful air in church which was quite refreshing

Monday 14th. Mrs. Brown²¹ & Lockwood dined with the former from Chicago an old acquaintance did not remain to stay with me as I expected rode down to town in the evening

Tuesday 15. Cousin Robert & wife spent the day with me & Cousin Ann Finley reminded me of old times how I would like to have her remain & make me a visit but it would not do to ask for it as her sister Susan lives in the same town & of course has higher claims on her went in the afternoon to Mrs. Conn & in the evening to Mrs. Warren & felt quite fatigued retired ½ past ten can truly say that I did not relish the party the noise confused & bewildered me

Wednesday 16th. Mr. D went to Springfield unexpectedly & our relatives started for the East I went down early in order to see them start & felt badly on account of not sleeping the night before with a face ache which continued with a Headache all day Mrs. Conn spent the day with me & Anna spent the day with Cousin Susan by way of consoling for the departure of her friends

Thursday 17th. Quite sultry & unpleasent rained in the afternoon rested better last night but still had a dreadful pain in the face & head amused myself with writing to sister Jeanet & journal & darning Black Stockings.

Friday. Mr. Duncan & Mr. Chickering returned felt better though not entirely relieved of face ache

Saturday 19. Had raspberries for dinner very fine & currants very sultry all morning made calls around the Hill with Mrs. J. Duncan & Chickering my face continues to ache a fine air sprung up in the afternoon.

Sabbeth 20th. Heard Mr. Beecher in the morning & in the afternoon as it was so warm embraced the opportunity of going to hear Mr. Ayers was pleased with him spoke to Martha Chickering in regard to her spiritual concerns for I feel as though all of our lives are uncertain both being in a situation from which life is felt to be uncertain although God has delivered me in Eight troubles & I feel as though I ought to be willing to trust him for the 9th she seemed to feel solemn & said she intended to be confirmed the first opportunity she had there being at present no Episcopal Clergyman in Alton

Monday 21st. Went to Mrs. Israel with Mr. Bowers family who all came in on Saturday Robert Canfield²² also

Tuesday 22nd. Mr. Duncan had a party got up for the Springs Martha & myself spent the day delightfully at home Mrs. James Duncan came up & made me Jelly of Currants which was very fine in the evening Mrs. J. Duncan & Mrs. Israel staid to see Julia Bowers play the old man & several other pieces she would certainly do for the stage

Wednesday 23. Mrs. Bowers & her husband returned home Martha bore it as well as could be expected

Thursday 24. Mr. Chickering his wife Julia Bowers & Mary Childs all took their departure for Alton I felt reluctant to part with her but felt that it was important that she should be settled & rather urged her departure the morning rather cloudy Went down to meeting in the evening with my Husband & he seemed pleased

Friday 25th. For the first time in 6 months we eat breakfast & dinner alone in the evening Mr. Morris the gentleman who is to deliver the lecture on the Orphan assylum accompanied by Dr. Wilkenson who is the Brother in law came to remain a week with us very agreeable gentleman the latter a widower

Saturday 26 Sabbeth 27th. Mr. D went to hear Mr. Foot

but as it was so excessively warm I went to our own church & heard Mr. Beecher finish his subject was as follow to him that knoweth to do his duty & doeth it not to him it is sin Mr. & D went down in the evening & heard Mr. Foot in the Congregational church & was much pleased

Monday 28. Sister Margaret assisted me in preserving Raspberries as well as Currants feel quite pleased that that Job is finished before Commencement for that will of course be a busy day

Tuesday 29. Drank tea with Mrs. Ayers & met some friends of Dr. Reed's & Mr. & Mrs. Foot who seem quite pleasant

Wednesday 30th. Commencement day a very warm oppressive day did not of course attend but Mr. D did regretted that I could not attend the Education society in the evening had an address by Judge Robbins invited all the strangers for next day

Thursday 1st July. Attended the anual meeting of the E. society at the Female academy & elected officers had the strangers in the evening & Col. & Mrs. Mather²³ all day had Cherry pie & Raspberries felt quite fatigued

Friday 2nd. Invited Mrs. Brown & Duncan family to tea only Mrs. B. Henry Canfield & Ann Duncan came

Sabbeth 4th of July. Mr. Beecher preached 2 excelent sermons never felt more drowsy & he alluded very beautifully at the sacramental board to the Disciples sleeping that the Saviour remarked the spirit was willing but the flesh was weak

Monday 5th. Not knowing it was the celebration of the 4th sallied down town in pursuit of some Eggs for to make cake for company when to my astonishment the soldiers made their appearance & in order to get rid of them we rode all the way out to Mr. Hardin's & was pursued it frightened me so much that when I returned to town & found our Horses had not run I felt quite faint & was sick all day Mrs. Conn was kind enough to come up with me my Husband having gone to the Mineral Spring with Mary, in the evening Mrs.

Canfield who had spent near a week with me returned with Brother James family & all drank tea

Tuesday 6th. Dined at Mrs. James Duncan in company with Mr. & Mrs. J. P. Wilkenson & Luse Canfield Mrs. Conn & Israel

Wednesday 7. Had Mr. & Mrs. Todd McKee Warren Brown & Duncan for Tea had Raspberries in abundance cool & fresh

Thursday 8th. Delightful weather felt much better in health went to Female prayer meeting enjoyed it much called at the door of eleven families & invited them for tea the following evening was not able to attend the evening meeting as my Husband could not go with me.

Friday 9th. Was disappointed in having only five or six persons come after inviting so many a number of persons was complaining & the Episcopalians had a meeting.

Saturday 10. Quite a rainy morning felt unusually debilitated the weather being rather close & warm

Sabbeth 11. Went to our own church & heard Mr. Post Brother preach from 1st Corinthians 12th Chap 31st Verse tolerable sermon the day more oppressive & sultry than any I ever felt did not go out in the afternoon in the evening walked around the enclosure

Monday 12. Still as warm as ever the Air making us all feel a Nauseau at the stomach especially the Baby

Tuesday 13th. Rode out at 5 O clock in the morning had commenced the day before the weather still continuing warm so much so as to make me pull of flannel next to my skin rode out in the evening called on Lathrop & Camel had a shower several times

Wednesday 14th. The air felt much pleasanter & cooler after the shower in the night as it was so damp in the morning did not ride before Breakfast brought up Miss H. Israel to spend the day it became quite warm in the middle of the day returned some calls in the evening

Thursday 15. Quite cool early in the morning rose at 4 O clock but could not accomplish as much as I would owing to taking cold * * * felt better towards evening although

my House was in great confusion with Whitewashers I shall feel quite thankful to get settled again did not feel able to attend prayer meeting either in the afternoon & Mr. D could not go in the evening with me had a visit from Eliza Conn & Mrs. Brothers slept badly

Friday. Did not feel well owing to my loss of rest was invited to Mrs. Israel's to tea the weather much cooler & of course more pleasant called on Mrs. Ringgold on my way to Mrs. Israel's & spent a pleasant evening my Husband took 5 of the children to get Blackberries but when they returned with them I could not eat many for they was not ripe did not sleep well it stormed

Saturday 17. Quite a Thunder Storm rained very hard felt somewhat sultry all day, had Raspberries a saucer full

Sabbeth 18. A very warm sultry day went to hear Mr. B in the morning his sermon was solemn & impressive his text was in Hebrews 10th Chap 26 & 27 Verses he read also a tract to shew how dreadful to renew them again to repentance if they have sinned wilfully in the afternoon feeling worried about my Husband going to Washington I did not return to our own church but went to the Episcopal church & heard Mr. Ayers from Ephesians Redeem the time because the are evil an excellent sermon but after all I cannot admire forms Thunder violent.

Monday 19. Invited some friends to tea on Tuesday Cousin Susans child being so ill did not make much preparation for them

Tuesday 20. The child still continues ill feel quite uncertain this morning the weather quite warm feel quite well considering I was up so much in the Night with Heartburn & cramp in my stomach back & legs great excitement in town concerning the Robbery of the branch of the Illinois Bank Saten appears to be walking up and down in the earth, very busy, still continue to have Raspberries saucer full at a time, Susan Babe died, & we of course went to town to see her & in the midst of it saw the whole town excited about the bank business. My Husband enquired & found Mr. Town had confessed his guilt & acknowledged that he was the man, the next

morning he confessed to his wife what he had done, & she went from one fainting fit into another & returned to her Mother's house at the Morgan House which by the way is kept by her Brother William Scot what a heart rending scene it must be to her aged Mother & his sister who will probably convey the intelligence to his parents did not of course have company returned home about bed time & found Mrs. Bowers Falconer & Thayer from Philadelphia & Mrs. Thayer little son & daughter the little girl quite pretty

Wednesday 21st. The weather rather warm did not ride which I missed much as I feel rather uncomfortable owing to cramp & Heartburn

Thursday 22. Mrs. Bowers concluded to return as the ladies had concluded they must return in the stage to Springfield feeling anxious about Mr. Thayer as he had not been well the day was warm we spent it very pleasantly talked over scenes of younger years & in the evening after Mrs. Bowers returned we went down to town & called on Mrs. King found she had a fine Baby, called for Miss Adams found her out.

Friday 23. The morning sultry & warm the people crowded into town to see a man hung by the name of Gardener who shot a man it was supposed when drink no doubt many felt disappointed when they found his execution was put off untill November Mrs. Thayer & Falconer started in the stage although it was drizzling a little & I felt very sorry to part with them for they was agreeable but I felt the fatigue & excitement of the company was too much for me & it was on the whole fortunate for me to be alone once more Lord grant that I may give all diligence if I have never done it before to make my calling & election sure for I feel as though time is short & life is uncertain felt more unwell than usual * * * the Heartburn was so violent & wrote my journal for several days Mr. James Duncan & family went to the Springs Mrs. Wilkenson & Israel ours did not go owing to the appearance of rain had a few Raspberries probably the last forgot to mention that I received letters from both my Sisters the day before feel quite drowsy & shall try to retire once more fell asleep & did not wake untill 6 O clock in the morning

Saturday 24. Arose at 6 O clock rode to town & out to Leeches on the Mound road & although I suffered with the heat felt better than usual went to town with Mr. D after tea & called on Mrs. Conn found her out.

Sabbeth 25. Went to church in the morning & heard Mr. Beecher thought him more lengthy than usual for I was quite sick & obliged to come out before church was out did not go in the afternoon

Monday 26. Went to town in the evening & brought up Amy Duncan she remained till Wednesday afternoon Mrs. Conn spent Tuesday

Thursday 28. Mrs. Linn came up & drank tea with us also Mrs. Hardin & Smith accidentally dropt in took Mrs. L down & saw her two children which she calls twins

Friday 30. Had a Picnick about 50 persons went to the Mineral Springs the day pleasant Mrs. Conn & Susan Brown & her Husband dined with me had Beans Tomatoes Potatoes Beets & apples from our own garden, made into sauce

Saturday. The day pleasant determined to let all company go as my health was suffering from the want of riding any distance finished reading Mrs. Sigourney scetches, rode to Leeches in the morning in the afternoon not feeling well did not dress & had a call from Mr. & Mrs. January Mrs. Barton Mrs. Linn & Brother James family.

Sabbeth 1st August. Went to church with 5 of our dear children fear that it will be some time before I can go again will depend however upon my feelings as I am truly uncomfortable from cramp * * * Mr. Beecher alluded to his not preaching for us much longer his text was in Luke

Monday. Election day went to town quite early & shopped expect my relations to morrow to spend the day rode nearly to Leeches the weather delightful

Tuesday 3rd. My relations came spent a pleasant day with the exception of the heat rode down to town on business & felt thankful that I was not compelled to live in town did not sleep well

Wednesday 4th. Had determined to ride to the mound

as I was not compelled to go to town but did not feel able to ride much farther than Frenches spent the evening very pleasantly at Mrs. Wilkinsons with my relations & Mrs. January & Husband.

Thursday 5. Quite a pleasant day felt tolerably well went to town on business & rode nearly to Leeches in the evening went to prayer meeting & heard Mr. Beecher from these words, Seek first the Kingdom of heaven & his righteousness & all these things shall be added unto you was solemn & impressive to me from the fact that my dear Mother just before her death called me to her bedside calling me Lissy & repeating those same words Lord grant that thy professing children may be more zealous in thy cause & more deeply interested in the salvation of souls we lament that we are so cold & negligent in thy service, took Ellen home to get cured of the Itch.

Friday 6th. rode to town & afterward to French in the afternoon did not feel well but spent the afternoon with Cousin Susan Mr. D left us at Tea time & went to Mrs. Israel's to tea to meet his Sister stopt for him & brought him home took cold the night before with sleeping with the window on a crack * * *

Saturday 7th. The morning quite chilly & damp rained soon after breakfast * * * have not felt so unwell since winter took Lime water & Blackberry cordial & feel better at Night & was in hopes to sleep but alas I had no sooner got warm in bed than the Heartburn attacked me with redoubled force & I was compelled to rise out of bed read wrote & walked was invited to Mr. Hardin's but did not go on account of indisposition Anna also sick rained very hard

Sabbath 8th. Still felt unwell remained at home & slept in the morning in the afternoon read concerning the Nestorians or the lost tribe a young lady Miss H. sent me a present cannot say that I felt much interested in it a young gentleman from Washington Hanson Weightman came here & spent the afternoon & evening

Monday 9th. Sister Polly Ann came up to spend some time with us & her two children the day pleasant

Tuesday 10th. Mr. & Mrs. January spent the day Miss Adams felt remarkably well Mrs. Linn sick fatigued myself too much during the day & walked up stairs in the evening to see Mrs. Linn in the evening & felt quite unwell in the morning so much so that I told Mrs. Bowers to tell the Dr. not to be from home fortunately I was not sick for he was with a friend of mine all day Mrs. Bowers returned & Mrs. Conn spent the day with me

Wednesday. Mrs. Linn came down stairs contrary to all expectations & was quite relieved that day as well as Thursday when I believe nothing particular occurred was excessively warm

Saturday. Mrs. Bowers sent in George to know if we would come out & spend the day on Tuesday Mrs. Linn & James Duncan's family consented

Sabbath. The day excessively Hot did not go to church Mr. D remained at home with me & I spent the day quite pleasantly considering I was so much oppressed with heat Mr. & Mrs. Linn went to the Episcopal

Monday. Arose quite early rode out to Mrs. Hardins invited them to tea Mrs. January Brother & Wiswall & James Duncan & his wife Mr. & Mrs. Daviss from Alton all seemed to enjoy themselves very much had the finest kind of Cantelopes & Watermelons

Tuesday 17th. The morning very pleasant the air peculiarly delightful because somewhat cooler

Wednesday. Very much occupied in getting my parlor carpet as well as the spare & little room put down felt quite uncomfortable the day oppressively warm.

Thursday 19th. The day more oppressive than I ever felt it to be & of course very uncomfortable Mrs. Linn returned invited some friends

Friday. Felt better than I expected considering I had quite a sick Headache the night before my friends generally came to tea had a pleasant evening fine Melons & retired early without experiencing any inconvenience.

Saturday. The day still continues oppressive felt un-

willing to do any thing but put up a few things after company after dinner a breese struck up & feel a little more comfortable

Sabbeth. The day pleasenter for there being rain Saturday Night did not go to church as I was too much cramped

Monday 23rd. This day delightful felt more comfortable till evening eat fruit abundantly Caroline & Ann Duncan²⁴ was kind enough to cut May & Ann E shirts for riding how pleasent it is to have friends several calls this afternoon felt how delightful it is to retire to my own room Oh if we could always feel that it was good for us to commune with our maker how happy we should be Lord make me as thou wouldst have me to me a devoted follower of the meek & lowly Jesus.

Tuesday. The weather still continues pleasent felt in considerable pain Mrs. Linn quite sick rode down to town got Mrs. James Duncan to stay with her Anna also was sick & one of our girls had taken a notion to sew for herself so we had a large family with few to do the work left every thing undone we could do without

Wednesday 25. Mrs. Linn better made me delightful Plum preserves from our garden the yellow gage though some call it Chickasaw plum

Thursday 26. Finished a pr. of socks for Sister Polly Ann the day not quite so cool my babe better after having had a spell of vomiting from teething for several days partook freely of Water & Cantelopes.

Friday 27th. The day quite cool Mrs. Clay & Conn & Cousin Sue Brown spent the afternoon with me felt very badly owing to my loss of sleep the night before * * *

Saturday 28. Felt badly owing to my being disturbed in the Night with the crying of children hope I shall be enabled to bear my trials with fortitude whatever they may be Lord grant that I may keep under my evil passions & bear with those around could not accompany Sister Polly Ann to tea at Cousin Susans for my state of health is such as to make me truly uncomfortable at this time indeed I feel quite an indisposition to see any company.

Sabbeth 29th. Quite a pleasant day but the weather remarkable dry Mr. D & Ann & Mrs. Linn all remained at home to take Medicine

Monday 30. Felt unusually well although the weather has turned warm Mrs. Ayers drank tea with me Sister & her children drank tea at Brother James

Tuesday 31st. The weather continues warmer than I ever felt it at this season of the year but I have felt tolerably well during the day untill the Night when I was so overcome with the Heat that I felt compelled to sit up & took cold Mr. D sister & children left for Brother James to start in the morning for Springfield felt sorry to have her start this warm weather but my situation seem to demand quiet & having had such a constant routine of company I felt anxious to be alone once more with my family Lord grant I may improve the time knowing that my days may be very few & evil suffer much from Heartburn

Wednesday 1st Sept. The day as warm as ever felt quite uncomfortable & lame from taking cold & loosing my rest the Night before was foolishly worried about my Husband moving his office in the House for the sake of accomodating a Scotch man who is to instruct our children oh how trifling will all these things appear on a dying bed Lord keep me or I fall I feel insufficient to bear up even under trifles as some would call them Mr. Gallaher sent for us to attend a protracted meeting by Charles Thayer but of course we could not attend owing to my daily expectation of being confined oh how much faith is needed I know not who is to Nurse me but the Lord will provide.

Thursday 2nd. Went to town & brought up Brother James & his wife spent a pleasant day on account of it raining which cooled the air slept badly

Friday 3rd. The morning most delightful arose at five notwithstanding I did not sleep well went to town invited Mrs. Conn & Miss Adams they could not come so I brought up Caroline & Susan Jane Israel to spend the day in the evening got quite a fright with Ann Elizabeth falling off the Horse

she was galloping her Horse running a race with her sister May when in turning around the circle the tree caught her by the Neck & pitched her back and she fell the Lord preserved her & she was saved but I suffered a while from great anxiety the middle of the day quite warm but the evening cooler. Lord make me gratefull for the life of my child.

Saturday 4th. The day remarkably warm Susan Jane Israel & Caroline Duncan spent with me had delightful Melons felt not as smart as usual

Sabbeth 5th. Still continues quite warm a poor Englishman staying at Mr. Husseys died & was buried the same evening it would seem revolting to the feelings but it may be a case of necessity Lord grant that this death may be sanctified to us all & may we not go so heedless & unconcerned reallizing death for every body but ourselves & may I for one be more importunate at the throne of grace for myself and others the day very warm & I sat with too few clothes in the draft & I think took cold slept miserably all Night * * *

Monday. The weather some cooler but felt exceeding unwell & full of pain so much so as to keep my dear Husband at home slept badly the Night warm

Tuesday 7th. The day warmer than usual was remarkably sick for me rode down to town & brought up Brother James & his wife felt much better at Night am in hopes to sleep better had a letter from Sister Jeanet. slept badly was cramped

Wednesday 8. Quite a memorable day had been with one girl several days but this morning although I felt so sick * * * that I felt compelled to get up & assist my Husband to make my bed the only woman we had complaining so much as to lie in bed the Doctor came & recommended Paragorick but I dieted & kept quiet Caroline Duncan & Ellen McClusky came & put up my Bed & window curtains for me in the afternoon I felt somewhat relieved my girl came back late in the afternoon

Thursday. Felt quite sick Mrs. Israel & Adams sent me word that they was coming to see me so I sent for them en-

joyed the day more than I expected as I did not feel well Sue Brown came up also the day the warmest I ever felt turned cool that Night had a refreshing shower

Friday. Mrs. Conn spent the day with me * * * the weather so cool as to have a little fire

Saturday 11th. The morning rather cool * * * sent for the Doctor & he prepared for me some chalk mixture but I had taken a number of things & of course was temporarily relieved bad Night

Sabbath 12th. * * * Lord grant I may be relieved in the evening felt still worse bad Night

Monday morning some better though every feeling of a return Sister Margaret & Brother James & Caroline came up to spend the day. Attempted to clean the Nursery & completed it felt my mind relieved feel quite cramped & uncomfortable

Tuesday 4th. The day very pleasant attempted to ride to town & felt better afterward although I suffered much at the time got a fright with Jo thinking he would fall out of the window it came down upon him.

Wednesday 15. The weather still pleasant.

Thursday 16th. The day cool felt badly however rode with My dear Husband around the front lot in his new Barouche with a Horse that had never been put in Harness before till one hour before the Old Bay was put with him the carriage was very easy but I felt exceedingly cramped & therefore could not judge well went to bed expecting to be sick

Friday 17th. The day quite gloomy but felt in good spirits although not well, finished a letter to my Sister H employed my time reading & making Flannel garments & Darning my Husband's socks.

Saturday 18th. Felt quite unwell & cramped from having lost so much of my rest during the previous Night Mr. I. Brown & Mr. Polk dined with us & I felt so cramped that I could scarcely sit at dinner table just as we sat down Mrs. Conn came up & I was much pleased to see her was exceed-

ingly cramped the most of the afternoon Caroline & Mrs. Conn returned home felt thankful that I did not feel as nervous as usual or I could not have spared them both Lord grant me strength sufficient for my day for my hour of trial is near at hand but thou canst sustain me under every difficulty thou who has brought me through 8 troubles and able to bring me through the 9th to morrow is the sabbeth oh that I may spend it profitably to my soul Lord direct me & grant that the reading of thy Holy word may be blessed to me prepare me Heavenly Father for whatever is before me if I live may I live in Christ if I die may I be thine Lord forgive whatever thou hast seen amiss in me & if my unworthy & unprofitable life is spared may I spend my time & talents more in thy service than I ever yet have done forgive my unfaithfulness to all

Sabbeth. The day very pleasant but as usual these days felt quite unwell Mr. D remained at home with me felt considerably exercised in mind not knowing how long life may be spared for our days are short & uncertain slept better at Night although I felt so unwell all day read H. Moore private devotions & Phillips works concerning Abrahams Faith oh that I could feel as he did

Monday 20th. Had something of a Thunder Storm & felt some foolish fears for an hour had an uncomfortable Night

Tuesday 21st. The day cloudy & rainy quite like the Equinoxial Storm shall feel anxious from this day forth, slept up stairs in my old room & was in hopes to have had one good nights rest but so it was I sleppt worse than usual although my room was so comfortable

Wednesday 22nd. The day still cloudy but not any rain of any consequence felt very uncomfortable & cramped received a letter from my dear Sister & wrote one to Sister Jeanet.

Thursday 23rd. Quite cloudy felt as usual quite unwell

Friday 24. Mrs. Conn came up & spent the day with me felt quite smart in the evening got alarmed because they was

all out of the way & was taken with pain in my head & back & could not sleep till near morning had the most violent Headache all day sent for the Doctor took an Assephoetada pill & felt so smart that in the evening sent for Mrs. Conn as it looked like a Storm finished a sock felt lighter & more comfortable than I had done for some time.

Sabbeth morning. Felt rather nervous & debilitated from having had such an attack of Headache Mr. D brought me up stairs in the afternoon read Phillips devotional guide felt much comforted in mind went out in the yard afterward & the air seem to invigorate me felt much better than I had for some time

Monday 27th. The day looked gloomy & turned out quite rainy sent for Mrs. Conn but her not being well prevented her from coming Susan Jane Israel spent the day with me cramped much as usual slept rather better than usual

Tuesday 28th. The weather looked dubious all day cramped as usual all day finished another pr. of socks & washed them read & felt in good spirits felt them a little damped towards evening when Mr. D told me the Coachman was going to leave on Saturday for I felt some confidence in sending for a Physician all calculated however to make me put my trust & confidence in God Lord grant me faith & fortitude to bear up under trials of every kind for we never know what we may have to endure

Wednesday was very uncomfortable during the night had a chill in the morning just as I was going to get up was taken sick & sent for the Doctor & my friend Mrs. Conn & Clay was with me all day & the Doctor all Night which was very kind oh how I am blessed with kind friends all pain went over

Thursday 30th. Feel better of some things but am still much cramped the day not altogether clear.

Friday 1st Oct. The most Stormy day I ever saw in my life I never saw the East wind beat in at such a rate expected it would have stormed all Night but it did not it cleared up beautifully by 12 O clock at Night

Saturday 2 October. Quite a pleasant morning but the weather changed in the course of the day in the afternoon

two young ladies called I was just finishing a pr. of socks one of which I knit in 4 hours & a half in the evening received a letter from Mrs. Chickering her health is improving has an idea of visiting us

Sabbeth 3rd. Felt distressed to think I had to keep my dear Husband home from church again but the Lord is able to bless the reading of his Holy Word to our souls & can sanctify the Sabbeth to us at home. Lord bless this Sabbeth to us & may it be a spiritual birth day to thousands

Monday 4th. Looked much like rain in the morning sent for Mr. & Mrs. James Duncan to spend the day with me & Mr. D went to town on business & in the afternoon I let both the girls go thinking that it would accomodate them Mr. D complained much of his back & was unable to carry me up stairs the two girls carried me up & I had no sooner got undressed than I was taken in pain & had them regularly all Night but they went off in the morning I slept at day light & got a nap in the morning sent for the Doctor & he took a nap

Tuesday 5th. The day beutiful & bright felt like walking out in the air Mr. D much engaged in business.

Wednesday. The day was pleasent Mrs. Clay went in the country & the Doctor to Lindville I felt more unwell than usual had pain at Night Doctor slept here

Thursday. Went down stairs as usual but felt considerable pain & at Night particularly Mrs. Conn slept here.

Friday 8th. The day pleasent Mrs. C spent the day with me & returned at Night as well as the Doctor & his wife came to see me in the morning walked over the yard.

Saturday 9th. Felt badly all day in the afternoon walked in the yard Carolina went home & as soon as she was gone I was taken worse Mrs. Conn came up although not expecting to stay I let the family all retire to rest & suffered till twelve O clock when the Doctor was sent for I was quite anxious for daylight when it came I felt badly enough & did not call any one up in the Night.

Sabbeth 10th. The day broke but no ease for me but God ever kind put his supporting arm around & I was strenthened to bear pain for my sufferings was great I proposed prayers Dr. Jones read the 103 Psalm I thought I never heard anything so soothing my pains all ceased at the time & about $\frac{1}{2}$ ten our dear little Marion was born I did feel great thankfulness but the moment I was moved up to the head of the bed I felt great pain & exhaustion but my physician being a judicious one gave me Laudanum & after the shock was over I felt much relieved my mind was much & happily exercised during the first two weeks the third week I had too much company for comfort Mr. Duncan Mother Sister & Ben Moore all came up & it was pleasant to meet but still it was too fatiguing

The fourth week Mr. D proposed to go to Washington City so on Sabbeth the day the baby was 4 weeks old I went to church & had her christened it was communion & I felt so exhausted that I was quite sick & took cold also * * * but I told Mr. D he had better go

Tuesday 9th of November. Mr. D started for Washington & I think to no purpose but at any rate his mind will be easier. Ann Duncan staid one Night

Wednesday 10. Very rainy & gloomy Ellen cut the children Merino dresses

Thursday the same quite gloomy all alone wrote both days to my dear Husband

Friday 12th. Went to Mrs. Sue Brown rode a little way

Saturday 13th. Took a good ride Mrs. Conn spent the day with me

Sabbeth 14th. Ellen came & remained with my babe & I went to church as well as Anna Maria & heard an excellent Sermon

Sabbeth 21. Mr. Sturtevant preached from Genesis 18 Chap 17, 18, 19, Verses a solemn appeal to all heads of families Anna Maria was sick did not go to church morning

Monday 22. E. Quaton went home but providence provided for me I was not left alone. The weather cold & severe went down street & took cold as usual

Sabbeth 29th. Mr. Williams preached for us from Hebrew liked him quite well & hope he may indeed prove a pastor to us like his appearance

Monday 29 Tuesday Wednesday 1st. Went down town & looked out for a sewing woman & a woman to help with the washing to let Catherine sew a week consider Domesticks at present as my greatest trial will try & bear patiently with them

Thursday the woman came according to appointment much pleased with her mantua making Mrs. Thompson

Friday. Stormy day feel as though the world would be a blank without my Husband hope he may return soon the weather thus far has not been cold

Sabbeth 19 Dec. Felt deeply impressed with the funeral sermon of our lamented friend J. P. Wilkenson Mr. Sturtevant preached from Ecclesiastes Whatever thine hands find to do, do it with all thy might Lord grant that this dispensation of thy providence may be blessed to one & all of us, oh that I may live nearer to God & prepare for death.

Sabbeth 26th. Went to church twice the day being clear & cold heard Mr. Williams from Job 9 Chap & 2nd Verse in the afternoon it was from Acts 16th 31st Verse a solemn serman wished that all my impenitent [?] friends could have heard

Wednesday. Attended the Maternal meeting & felt much more interested than usual refused to pray untill I thought I could talk to friends why not pray before them Lord subdue my pride.

Thursday 30th. Rather an unpleasant day out owing to the weather being damp but could not have rode out conveniently as I felt badly from loss of rest from the Night before with my eldest daughter who I feared was taking the measles had a pleasant visit from our Pastor Mr. Williams who united in prayer with us what an unspeakable gift is re-

ligion what consolation the christian has when nothing else would console him he conversed with the children oh how great are my responsibilitys as a parent to think how many am I training either for heaven or Hell Lord grant me grace to bring them up in thy fear & make them to walk in wisdoms ways—weaned Ellen Marion

Friday 31st. A remarkably pleasant day but felt uncommonly sick but my spirits kept up with the idea when my babe was weaned my health would be better Caroline & Ann Duncan spent the day with me

Saturday January 1st 1842. Commenced this day I trust with a sincere desire to Love & Serve God oh that I may feel properly exercised & may I be enabled to spend my days as for eternity knowing that we shall soon have to render up our account with God whether it be good or evil regretted that my dear Husband was not at home as I had hoped received a letter giving me hopes of his return this month

Sabbeth 2nd. Mr. Sturtevant preached for us in our own church from 2 Corinthians 2nd & 14th For the love of Christ constraineth us Mr. Williams followed with some excellent remarks suitable to the communion & oh Heavenly Father grant that we may feel continually that we have renewed our covenant engagement to be the Lords & that we are bought with a price & are therefore not our own may we therefore glorify thee in our body & spirits which are thine

Sabbeth afternoon. Mr. Williams addressed us from these Revelations 2nd Chap 14 & 15th Verses very solemn the appeal to Sinners & Christians

Monday 3rd. Was appointed as a day of fasting Humiliation & prayer I was not able to fast but hope the day was blessed our publick exercises was instructive Mr. Post preached in our Church from Acts 9 Chap & 6th Verse Lord what wilt thou have me to do oh grant that we may enquire particularly what God would have us do & may we be willing to do in the afternoon returned to church although it was very cold & felt compensated by the remarks which was made by Mr. Williams 4 good prayers

Tuesday. Spent the day at Brother James with Ann Elizabeth & Joseph talked over matters & came to the conclusion that it was better to have all the friends invited to witness the ceremony

Sabbeth. Mr. Williams preached from Ezekiel in the afternoon from Romans 7th Chap & 9th Verse

Monday 11th. Sister Margaret came up & made Caroline wedding plum Cake

Wednesday 12th. Went down to Brother James & assisted in sitting the Supper Table & in the evening saw them married by Mr. Todd the ceremony was short & impressive enjoyed myself beyond expectation

Thursday 13th. Felt disappointed as is usual on those occasions having lost something & thought moreover if people have not got the means they should never entertain on a large scale the Bride went to the Grove

Sabbeth 16th. Mr. Lourie preached for us from * * *
in the afternoon he preached from * * *

Monday 17th. The day being pleasant took a ride to the mound Brother James wife & Mrs. J. P. Wilkenson dined with me visited poor Mrs. Jones whom I found just living

Tuesday 18th. Not quite so pleasant rode to Leech's & drank tea with Mrs. Clay

Thursday 20th. Received a letter from Mr. D no hopes yet of his return home was all alone Miss E. Brown having gone to Miss Ayers the morning rainy but it cleared up in the afternoon Miss E. Brown returned home to the country could not but remark how few after all are perfectly agreeable companions went to evening prayer meeting for the first time

Friday. Called for Mrs. Dr. Jones to ride but it was too cold eat dinner at Brother James & spent the afternoon at Mrs. Ayers met Mr. Williams our Pastor found him as usual quite interesting in conversation how pleasant is it to meet with one who has known your old acquaintances

Saturday 22nd. The day very pleasant though cold took a walk around the place with May Hues, received a letter

from Mrs. Chickering a dear friend attended a Church meeting concluded to call Mr. Williams

Sabbeth 23rd. Felt rather unwell from taking cold Mr. Williams preached for us from John 3rd Chap & 3rd Verse in the afternoon from 2nd Corinthians 5th Chap 17th Verse very solemn & impressive Sermon oh that we could realize how important it is for us to know of a certainty whether we have been born again Lord enable us to give all diligence to make our calling & election sure, we feel oh our Father as though we come short of all our duties make us this year to feel under greater obligations to do more for the church to which we belong Lord grant me a spirit of prayer in its behalf if I am not able to contribute at this time

Monday 24. Spent the day with Cousin Susan felt rather nervous & found her child broken out with the measles can hardly see how my children can escape & have it also in our enclosure Ann Elizabeth was with me at the time

Tuesday did not feel well my cold affected me

Wednesday sent for the Dr. to see if he would give me Medicine but he prescribed Cough Mixture

Thursday 27th. The day looked fine but my cold prevented my going out heard

Friday 28. Sabbeth 31st. Went in the morning to hear Mr. Williams from 2nd Corinthians 6th Chap 17th Verse felt so unwell in the afternoon that I did not think it prudent to venture out never experienced so violent a cold in my life the weather warmer too than I ever felt it at this season of the year had the 2nd death to take place at a Neighbors of ours with Measles made me feel somewhat uneasy for fear some of our dear children should take it I know that God knows best & desire I hope to be submissive let come what will

Monday 31st. The children are not well the Dr. attended them

Tuesday 1st Feb. Jo was quite sick from cold the Dr. gave him Calomel & Tartar took a ride on Horseback

Wednesday very warm never felt such weather

Thursday. Received the joyful intelligence that my dear Husband was to return home in 10 or 11 days was not able to attend prayer meeting

Friday. The doctor made his farewell visit saying that our dear children & myself he hoped would be well when Mr. D returned on the morning I retired quite early & got into a sound sleep when I was awoke about 11 O clock with some one calling me by my name & I opened my eyes but was so surprised that I could not speak I did not know but I might be dreaming when I awoke entirely I found it was really him who I had longed to see

Saturday 5th. The day clear but very sloppy felt better than I expected from so much excitement & looking at a variety of things.

Sabbeth 6th. Mr. Williams preached for us from Isaiah in the afternoon from 2 Corinthians 4th Chap & 5th Verse & accepted our call which we was much pleased believing that he will be useful among us as a pastor he also in the morning read the covenant which we assented too our old one having been mislaid

Thursday 10th. This day our dear Marion was four months old she does not yet sit alone owing to her having so much cold all the children have had more cold than usual this winter felt quite pleased that they did not have measles had a few days of cold weather since Mr. D return felt rather dyspeptick owing I suppose to my not riding more in the open air the weather so damp & changeable that it would hardly admit of it called upon Mrs. January & Plant & invited our Minister Mr. Williams to tea

Friday 11th. The day changeable looked much like rain felt quite Dyspeptick Friday Night quite sick

Saturday 12th. Quite rainy arose with quite a headache but felt better as the day advanced feel very dependant on my food feel happy this afternoon to be writing to my friend Mrs. Jennings with my Husband beside me could not help contrasting this Saturday with the one two weeks before the weather too warm to be healthy the weather changed at night

Sabbeth 13th. The day pretty cold but clear Mr. Williams preached in the morning from Acts 17th 11th Verse in the afternoon Mr. Lowry preached in regard to Abraham offering up Isach

In the evening my dear Husband accompanied me to the Bible class which was well conducted

Monday 14th. Made a call on Mrs. I. & invited her & Miss Hetty & Miss Adams to spend the day on Tuesday which they did with the exception of Miss Hetty who was engaged with her class meetings it snowed on Tuesday & was unpleasant.

Wednesday 16. Dined at Mrs. Browns in company with Mrs. J. Duncan the day intensely cold did not venture to pr meeting at Night

Thursday. It was so unpleasant that we could not go to prayer meeting commenced to get in Ice

Friday 18. The weather much moderated snowing quite hard was taken quite sick in the afternoon & Saturday and Sunday was prevented from going to church which made me feel miserable never had such a cold Monday also

Tuesday 22. Washingtons Birthday felt a little better & rode down to town & saw quite a procession going to church a new society by the name of the Washingtonians who appear to do a great deal of good my Husband also appears much engaged about it it was also his Birth day being 48 years of age.

Wednesday. Was not well rode down to town & felt disappointed that I did not know about the Maternal meeting the children also came home too late for the catechetical lecture 25 Friday Still had Cold

Sabbeth 20th. Felt too sick to go to Church Anna Maria remained home with me all day

Wednesday 23. The children attended catechetical Lecture for the first time & was pleased I felt truly rejoiced that the day has come when my children could be instructed in the chatechism I trust it may be blessed to them This day or the day before is my dear Husbands birth day 48 years of age how rapidly does time fly

Thursday 24th. Went to prayer meeting & felt sorry that old Mrs Barton was so feeble felt

Sabbeth 27th. Mr. Lowrie preached from 2nd Corinthians 6th Chap 1st Verse in the afternoon preached a Missionary Sermon from Mark 16th Chap in the evening attended Bible Class from 2nd Galatians very interesting

Monday 28 Feb. Mr. D left for St. Louis

Wednesday 2 March. It was this Wednesday that the children went to chatechetical lecture instead of the former one

Saturday 5th. Went to church & heard a sermon from Mr. Beecher.

Sabbeth 6 March. Mr. Gallaher preached about the Saviour being tempted by the Devil had communion in the afternoon Mr. Beecher preached from Mr. D returned from St. Louis & afterward Mr. Lowrie was ordained & in the evening it was truly solemn the remarks that was made concerning Mr. Lowrie going to the Nestorians he seem to think it was a christian priviledge to go abroad in foreign lands the farewell was affecting

Monday 7 March. I reflected considerably about the trials of the Missionarys & asked myself whether I would be willing to let my children go to the heathen & I could not but say I felt reluctant after some time Mr. Lowrie came in to Mrs. Ayers & after being introduced to the gentleman which was rather unexpected I told him I was afraid I would not be willing to let my children or son go from me & he immediately turned round & said would you not rather let him go than die he touched a tender cord I view it as providential & I trust I shall ever remember that remark through life & oh Lord grant that I may be willing nay more than willing to give my dear children all to God to do with as he sees fit.

Thursday 10 March. My Birth day this day I am 34 oh how unprofitably has my life been spent Lord grant that the future time may be spent more to thy glory & to the advancement of thy kingdom.

Friday. Raw cold day occupied in the morning with domestic affairs in the evening went to town with the intention of going to Mr. Poesys but found it too cold

Saturday 12. Snowed quite hard for a few hours did not go to town

Sabbeth. Mr. Beecher preached in the morning & Mr. Sturtevant in the afternoon.

Monday. Went to Mr. Poesys they gave me three Rose Bushes & some fruit Tree the weather pleasant

Wednesday 16th. Went to prayer meeting

Sabbeth. Mr. Beecher preached in the morning from
* * * in the afternoon Mr. Sturtevant

Tuesday 22. Called on a number of Springfield ladies & felt no inclination or sympathy with their gaiety how changed are my feelings in regard to company I feel it quite irksome to entertain

31st March. Felt badly had Mr. & Mrs. Williams Dr. & Mrs. Jones Mr. & Mrs. Edwards Baldwin wife & child Mrs. Rees & Ayers Mrs. Edwards staid all Night felt quite sick

Friday 1st April. Rather chilly

10th August. My Babe Marion died felt resigned for God ordered every thing in such a way as to make me feel submissive

30th November. Had another infant given me the Lord took care of me & brought me through my difficulties beyond my expectation was confined to the house from that time untill March went out but a few times owing to the Inflammatory Rheumatism which I took from riding three days in the cold

Sabbeth April 9th 1843. Went to Church for the first time in months oh how I felt the Goodness of God in sparing me & permitting me to hear the Gospel preached once more regretted much that I have never been able to have my Babe christened will endeavor to do so the first opportunity my mind this winter has been in a truly melancholy state feel sometimes as if Satan was tempting me to give up my hope but if I know my heart I still desire to be a christian

Tuesday 18th April. determined to take a high stand in the strenth of God & do what I can for the advancement of the redeemers kingdom Lord enable me to improve every moment of time then perform all my duties as far as my strenth lies for my family Lord teach me my duty & make it pleasant, the weather at this time unfavorable to exercise but God knows what is best therefore I will endeavor to keep up in his strenth find the Mothers Magazine profitable in regard to my children was much pleased in reading the life of Miss Mary Jane Graham.

In looking over my journal I find some not inserted 30th April Mr. McGee preached a preparatory lecture before communion from those words Simon son of Jonas Lovest thou me excellent discourse Mr. Gallaher preached from Corinthians Mr. Sturtevant the 8th of May preached in the morning in the afternoon preached Mr. Williams installation very solemn 11th May Wednesday Mr. Gallaher preached in the evening Thursday afternoon evening Friday afternoon evening Saturday afternoon evening Sabbath three times Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday morning had communion never felt more solemn on the Sabbath than on that occasion my dear Babe Marion continuing sick I did not go untill evening Mr. Sturtevant preached a solemn sermon felt peculiar interest during these protracted meetings oh that God would sanctify them to my soul that we may be enabled to keep our resolutions to love & serve thee for thou oh Lord hast in an especial manner blessed us for three I trust out of my family have been brought out of Nature's darkness into thy most marvelous light a young lady by the name of May Hughes & our Coachman & his wife by the name of *king* the former interested me much because she

was going amongst irreligious friends & indeed parents she remained long enough to be examined by the session of the church & was baptized in that interesting juncture Brother James called & took her to her parents still continued to have meetings on the Night of the 23rd of May my babe still continuing sick I awoke in great distress wondering why it was the Lord saw fit to afflict me I made up my mind that I must have family worship during my dear Husbands absence the Lord continue to direct me & lead me in the way I should go 25th Maternal Meeting I trust these meeting of Mothers may be a great help to us in bringing up our dear children aright & that the prayers of Mothers in behalf of their souls may be blessed oh could we realize more our responsibilities as parents we would pray more fervently than we do for the conversion of our children went to prayer meeting afterward which was an interesting one Mrs. Israel seemed melted Lord enable us all to feel deeply for impenitent sinners may we be willing to labor continually to bring souls to Christ may our chief Happiness consist in serving the Lord may we never again grow so dead & cold in thy service on Sabbath evening which the 22nd Mr. Williams desired that those who professed to love God to say that we would every day converse with an important sinner now I promised without due reflection for I would like of course to perform this duty as I have opportunity

Thursday. My Babe continues better the Lord has indeed dealt kindly with me & mine I hope it may be spared yet & prove a blessing to us forbid that we should idolize our children went to preaching in the evening & heard Mr. Williams from John 8th Chap & 31st Verse an interesting sermon for professors

Friday 27th. My Babe still better my dear Husband returned after an absence of nearly five weeks the Lord I trust did answer prayer my Husband had only been home a few days when my dear babe was taken worse 4th of June she was taken with puking

Sabbeth. None of us left for church she was so ill we thought the Lord would take her to himself & I felt afraid I did not feel that resignation to the divine will

Sabbeth 12th. Mr. Williams preached from Lamentation 3 Chap 39th Verse In the afternoon from John 3 Chap & 18th Verse 2 excellent discourses in the morning I felt particularly as I felt myself afflicted oh how good & kind is God how forbearing his tender mercies are over all his works.

* * * * * * *

Christmas was a day not to be forgotten my ever dear Husband went to St. Louis quite unwell that day being unpleasant weather I had determined to go to the society in the afternoon

Dec. 1843. My dear Cousin being compelled to go to St. Louis to get her teeth fixed thought it a good opportunity to go to New Orleans especially as Mr. D was so urgent I deemed it a great trial he remarked as he often did let her go & make her visit she will be more contented in future how little did I think what these words meant it did indeed seem providential on Christmas day during her absence He said in the morning before he arose I must go to St. Louis to day I expostulated with him & remarked Mr. D you are not well enough oh yes I am as he had been oblidge from Cold to stay from Church the day before & the weather so unpleasant I could not bear the thought he remarked what was true I never was willing he feared the river being closed so after Breakfast he set off in the Stage & all the way I consoled myself was that he would so soon return on 29th Anna returned to my surprise & the 2nd of January My ever dear Husband returned I felt when he did as though I had great cause of thankfulness & I trust did pray to my Father in heaven he however was far from being well he had increased

his cold & I think has brought home with him the seeds of a disease which terminated his life.

Wednesday we rode down town together the last time I presume

Thursday. Was quite an unpleasent day

Friday 5th of January. Mr. Duncan complained so much of his throat that he got up in the Night & thought he would take his favorite Medicine Gaithers Pills 2 Grains Rhubarb Ditto Aloes Ditto Blue Mass in the morning he arose & although it was unpleasent weather & he so unwell went down to his Mill which by the way I was opposed to while up in the Night he exclaimed Elizabeth do you hear that dreadful noise I said yes but do not go out of the room without putting on your Clothes as you have so much cold but he went into the Childrens room which was next & found them sleeping quietly & we could not account for it I never mentioned it again as I felt afraid of affecting him

Saturday. He felt so much better at Dinner time as to eat quite heartily of Turkey but one hour only elapsed before he came in exclaiming my dear Wife I am taking my Death Chill oh can I ever forget that look those words my dear Husband what can I do for you I tried to persuade him to retire no he would take the old Kentucky plan of lying down in front of the fire & he lay there untill 6 O clock when I took the Candle after preparing his room & accompanied him up remarking to him by way of cheering him up dont fall back on me how little idea I had that it was the last time we should go up together after much persuasion & intreaty I sent for the Dr. alas he said Dr. I am afraid I shall be like some Man who never was sick but once in his life & then died the Dr. remarked I can tell better to morrow as your disease has not developed itself

Sabbeth 7th of Jan. Being Communion Sabbeth & Mr. D so much better apparently free of fever I was persuaded by the Docter to go to Church the text was——— never did I have such anxious feelings I could scarcely wait untill Church was out when I returned I found he had lain down I went up to his bed & asked him how he did & he

said no better but Smith has taken care of me in your absence so I made him some Toast & Tea & read several prayers from Henry concerning the Sacrament & the New York Observer in the afternoon he set up & our dear Babe Catherine Clay walked a few steps for the first time which pleased him much the Doctor called in the evening & told Mr. D if that pain continued he must take pills when I took them to the bed at bed time he declined taking them but told me to put Candle & Matches by his bed he took them in the Night

Monday 8th Jan. He got up in the morning after Breakfast & I went down to town to get my Babe a pr. of Shoes Mr. Rockwell requested leave to ride up which he did in our Sleigh met the Dr. & told him how Mr. D was he said he would be up after the operation of Mr. D medicine do not recollect wether he came or not

Tuesday 9th. He said he felt he must die for he felt no relief I sent immediately for the Dr. & Mrs. Conn saying Mr. D Mrs. Conn will I hope be able to cheer you up as she does me but alas it was too late I sat down & read John 14th Chap & felt much affected he then said Mrs. Conn read more of the promises to me which she did repeating them in the course of the evening Dr. Pierson called in & offered his services to sit up but Mr. D appeared quite easy having dosed all evening & thanked the Dr. & told him King our Coachman he thought would be able to attend him I fear that Night to our human sight was lost never to be regained he suffered agony all Night & when I went in the morning quite early I sent over for Dr. Pierson & for Dr. Jones & they bled him 1 Quart & his colour which had forsook the cheek seemed to come back passed a more comfortable day Dr. Pierson sat up with him that Night & had a most pleasant conversation with him on the state of his mind he was leached that evening his Brother James Duncan came up & went home at Night

Thursday. Being no better Dr. Stall Adams was called in consultation & Brown the Lawyer who married a Cousin of mine was sent for to draw up the Will I had feelings then which I could not describe was Blistered that evening & William Scot set up.

Friday. Being no better it was concluded upon by Dr. Jones to send for Dr. Todd²⁵ of Springfield an old acquaintance as well as good Physician

Saturday 13th Jan. Dr. Todd arrived I went to apprise Mr. D of it My dear Wife Dr. Todd can do no better than any one else friends continually called to offer their services & all the Message he would send them was I would be pleased to see them but I would prefer their prayers in the morning of Saturday I went in quite early & Mr. Duncan remarked with a sweet expression of countenance I have just washed my mouth & am ready to kiss you after doing so I knelt down by the Bed & prayed the Lord if consistant with his holy & blessed will that he might be restored to health if not that he might be prepared for whatever change awaited him & if spared that we might unitedly spend our time & talents & all in his service & live to his honor & glory he said after I rose I accord with you*

Sabbeth 14th. I went in quite early & Dr. Todd came in soon after I remarked Dr. you are so big and fat you can feel for Mr. D yes Madam he replied the Gov. talks more encouragingly he speaks of living last Night he talked of nothing but dying the Dr. remarked Mrs. Duncan I want you to put your Husbands pills in Medicine for him Mr. James Duncan offering to do it he said I always like my Wife to administer my Medicine well I said Dr. you have done one good thing & that is you are willing to let me wait on my Husband I set alone with him for several hours the only time I was permitted to do so, while eating my dinner in the Nursery Dr. Todd came in Mrs. Duncan said he do you know whether the Gov. has made his will I remarked I do not know whether it is finished but I presume he has for Mr. James Duncan came into me yesterday & asked me for my pencil to take down notes for the Will if he has not I advise you to see about it & get it finished I called Mr. Brown out & asked who was the Executor & have it off his mind accordingly when they went down to tea I asked Mr.

*Scot sat up Saturday night.

Duncan if I could have Dr. Pierson for an Executor certainly My dear Wife & I will have it done immediately it was done I felt as if a third person could always settle difficultys did any arise moreover that Mr. James Duncan my Husband Brother was quick tempered & in order to keep on good terms the best way I heard My Husband say was to have as little business transactions with relations as possible If I was prejudiced or my motive was not pure I hope the Lord will forgive me my dear Husband sat up in his chair signed the Will & after my brushing his hair he did it himself

Monday 15 Jan. A day ever to be remembered by me the last remedys was used to no purpose I combed his dear head for the last time & bathed off that sweet face with warm Cologne & water Dr. Pierson said he I die at peace with all the world I wish to have the Sacrament administered to me I wish to commune with your Church I bear malice to no one dont leave me Dr. till I die to Dr. Jones he said the same the Doctor remarked Gov. I have a lecture at three O clock leave that to day I will Gov. he said to Dr. Todd he said I understand you do not belong to any Church lay aside your business till you find the pearl of great price what avail is every thing in comparison with the interest of the soul & much more which memory fails me to Jo Cooly he told the importance of salvation through a crucified redeemer to Alberta a Coloured Boy who had lived in the family a number of years is not your soul of as much importance as General Washington in the afternoon Dr. Todd announced to him he must die in this way Gov. if you have any thing paticular to say to your family now is the time he said with a view I have no doubt of finding out the exact time when they thought he would die will not to morrow do he said he thought not when will my funeral take place the Doctor told him he did not know his Mother he embraced most affectionately & other friends Anna & the children assembled around the bed I said Mr. D have you not a word for Anna he then said Anna I go but a little while before you Love God supremely & that will lead to a Holy life I charge you point these dear children upwards to the skies to that saviour

who died for them teach them to speak the truth Mary my eldest daughter said pretty much the same Jo my son Smith my Boy addressing them each by turns & embracing them Mr. Post the Congregational Clergyman accidentally came in & asked him if he should pray with him oh yes also if Jesus was not precious ever precious he repeated three times the last words he was heard to say other remarks such as Jesus can make a dying bed feel soft as downy pillows are yes, yes, or Father in heaven grant that I may live the life of the righteous that my last end might be like his. I felt keenly though it was mixed with so much mercy the prayers of Gods people did prevail for I was enabled to wet his lips for the last time & he pressed my hand till his eyes was fixed in death I sat by the bed & took his hand & watched him till the breath left the body that benevolent countenance was beautiful in death oh Lord prepare me & my little ones to meet him & join in singing praises to the Lamb that was slain to redeem us to God by his blood may we be washed sanctified & clothed in the robe of righteousness I thank God that as yet I have not felt disposed to murmur afflictive as it is

Tuesday 16. Felt distressed indeed but did not realize that I was a widow

Wednesday 17th. The funeral took place at the church Mr. Sturtevant having been appointed to preach the funeral sermon kind friends were ready to offer me consolation among the number was Mr. Eddy a Clergyman appointed by the foreign board of Missions to preach to us he was a great favorite of my Husband on that subject & was the first to enlighten his mind in regard to foreign missions he mentioned to me I suppose you have not called your family this morning I said no sir he prayed most fervently for me & repeated those new promises to me I had not thought of them Mr. James Duncan & family Mrs. Conn & Ayers & Brown accompanied me to the funeral I then for the first time realized my loss thou oh Lord didst support me & enable to follow my dearest earthly comfort to the grave the Sun set most beautifully as we finished consigning the beloved

remains of him I loved dear Mrs. Clay staid with me several Nights Mrs. John P. Wilkenson Miss E. Adams Miss Conn & Pierson & Jane Duncan & Mrs. Bowers.

Sabbeth 21st. Dr. Pierson met me at the Church door & handed me to the pew with my little family of 7 the oldest 11 & youngest 13 months. Mr. Eddy preached from Colossians 3rd Chap 2nd Verse * * * In the afternoon went to the Congregational Church & heard Mr. Post from

Feb. 22. Attended Female prayer meeting for the first time & found it solemn & impressive my dear friends remembered me most kindly at the throne of grace

Dec. 1st. Mr. Jenny preached in the place of our Minister who is at present Missionating from Job 21st Chap 15th Verse solemn discourse In the afternoon our dear children attended their monthly Concert how pleasant to see children raising their might to evangelize the world one might almost feel like thy servant of old now lettest thy servant depart in peace for we have seen thy salvation

Thursday 5th Dec. Attended Female prayer Meeting & found it good to be there felt particularly in regard to the youth of the Female Accademy

Sabbeth morning Dec 8th. Mr. Jenny preached from Phillipians 4 Chap 4th Verse In the afternoon Job 21st Chap 15 Verse continuation of last Sabbeth sermon my feelings seem much freshened one reason I suppose the season of the year brings back to my mind the recollections of the past oh Lord sanctify to me all my trials the loss of my youngest also which took place on the 1st day of Nov was a sore trial the one that resembled most my dear dear Husband she was ill 3 weeks all to one day & great was her sufferings so much so that I was willing to see her released from this body of death how much are we tried in order to make us feel & yet how slow we are to learn the will of God Lord give me a tender conscience give me patience fortitude & make me submissive

to thy will & know no will but thine Lord forbid that I should ever murmur or repine

Again called to another trial to part with another dear Boy one that also resembled his dear Father when very ill & full of pain he would be quieted by singing a Hym to him his Disease was most painful Dysentery & I felt sometimes as if I could not endure it any longer to see his sufferings the thought would come however to me to learn submission to his will I know I felt rebellious to take away one that bore the image of his Father God is good he knew I needed just such a trial to make me humble. grant that it may be fully sanctified to me Went to the Methodist Church & heard Mr. Milburn preach from Ecclesiastes For there is no work or device or knowledge in the cold grave wither we are hastening

Monday 2nd Nov. 1846. Still cold & gloomy felt so in view of the departure of my cousin she having been in my family for 12 years Christmas Disappointed in not having her whom we loved not return to us

March 30th 1846. Left home for Washington City to visit my friends after an absence of 12 years arrived at Naples in time to take the osprey for St. Louis but we was detained taking in freight untill we arrived at William Scot got to the Mouth of the River Thursday Night & was truly ill Borrowed Caster Oil & did not get relieved untill Friday afternoon Sabbath spent it pleasantly at the Galt House Louisville went to Pitsburg & arrived at Washington City on Saturday week from the time we started Felt sorry that I was obliged to get there Saturday Night as the Sabbath would not be kept as we would wish enjoyed my visit very much had but one thing or two to mar my enjoyment how often do we seek for Happiness in this life when it is vain I did not enjoy the society of my oldest Sister as much as I wished for she was compelled to go into the country owing to her health I found her mind debilitated by her body & life had seemed to lose it charms for her & she could not exert herself to be with company oh how changed from the last time I met her soon after my arrival home I learned the intelligence of Dear

Sister Jeanets death oh how thankful did I feel & how was I led to notice the providence of God respecting this event to think (how good God was in putting it into the hearts of kind friends, Mr. Kibby to assist me, in getting means) to go to Washington 12 years had elapsed since I had visited my friends many changes had taken place I had been smitten a Widow oh how painful is it to write this word & yet God has not permitted me to feel friendless God has been to me more than 10 Husbands he has been my refuge in time of trouble cannot my Dear children trust that God who has so wonderfully supported their feeble parent though he slay me, yet, will I trust him my Sister Anna remarked to me Lizzy you must endeavor to reach Washington before Saturday Night for we seem so tempted to break the sabbeth I felt reproved that I had not taken a more decided stand to keep in my room & there communed with my Maker I believe my visit would have been even a happier one my eldest²⁶ my pride & hope gave me some trouble she did not feel well & then there were several circumstances which made me feel badly one that she was not willing to attend school because she disliked the Teachers I trembled for her independent feeling I fear I did not seek for help from on high mistaken idea to trust in man whose breath is in his Nostrils my dear Sister I do feel thankful for your council in this time of trouble she advised me to give this daughter her choice either to go to school or to be a Millenor no sooner was the offer made than a change took place & when I returned home the spirit of God came & I trust wrought a change that will be abiding here again I have to recount the goodness of God though wave after wave is permitted to pass over me still I am not swallowed up.

Visited Newark that home of my childhood & spent my time delightfully & visited Westpoint & heard most exquisite Musick & if it was not for the severe time of sick Headache I should have been too happy how necessary has it appeared for me to be continually afflicted in body I hope it may serve to weaken my affections to earth & that I may be enabled to fix my thoughts more on high Visited Sister Julia²⁷ & on Sab-

beth morn was awoke with the sound of the Bells that I used to hear in childhood how many tender recollections of the scenes of my youth oh that I had been willing to curb the passion of youth for I felt how useless had I been compared with what I might have been how many souls had departed this life amongst them my beloved Brother my only one & now that I have an only son God grant that I may bring him up in the fear of God. Found a number of my old friends dead did not remain in New York only to pass through to go to West Point returned to Washington & found my Sister truly glad to see me oh that I could have remained longer

Returned or rather left Washington 9th June 1846 met Mr. & Mrs. Ayers & let them know that I had left my Baggage another trouble is not life full of trouble & is there not much care & vexation I took this better than I expected but found that it is not so necessary to travel with such a quantity of clothes a lesson that I hope all my children will learn. for man wants but little here below nor wants that little long Mr. & Mrs. Ayers seem to think that there was not any remedy for a time but at length they thought of Adams Express Line which gave me great relief a gentleman sitting next to us said he would return to Washington the next day so he took a few lines to My Brother in law M St Clair Clarke met my nephew George Augustus in the Street at Cumberland sent the caps to Dear Sister Jeanet drank Tea at Frostberg crossed the Mountains in the stage beautiful Moonlight Night Breakfasted in Union town arrived at Pittsburg Wednesday Went down the Monongahela to Brownsville in the Consul at 11 O clock arrived at 5 O clock Thursday Morn at 11 O clock started in the Wisconsin arrived in Cincinnati 1½ past 6 O clock saturday morn Left Cincinnati in the Ben Franklin Saturday arrived at Louisville at 1½ past 10 O clock spent the Sabbath heard Dr. Breckenridge good Preacher stopt at the Louisville house not as good as the Galt met an old acquaintance Mr. Frederick King who accompanied us to church met his Mother at Pittsburg & also the Beutiful Bride Alice Freys of Georgetown near Wash-

ington City saw a Boat by the name of Tom Corwin going over the Falls came on Board of the Diadem Monday 10 o'clock for St. Louis but did not start untill 3 O clock owing to our having to go through the Locks Wednesday Felt quite sick probably the Heat Thursday morn arrived at St. Louis 10 O clock Left the Tom Corwin 6 hours behind Walked up 5 squares in a mistake arrived at lenth at Mr. Scot the family being friends hailed us with pleasure arrived home 1st July after a late ride at 2 O clock found all well & truly happy to see us Cousin Mamie who introduced the Servant Martino which appeared ludicrous to us who had so recently been in City Society Joseph Julia & dear little Hannah whose Eyes beamed with intelligence Our Cousin left us for a visit to her friends East she married quite unexpectedly & never returned so one prop after another has been taken to remind me that I must not put my dependence upon Man whose breath is in his Nostrils Although this event seemed undesirable at the time still I think that it was for my good

Left Elm Grove March 26th clear cold day left home with rather a sad heart but felt it to be a duty as my Physician Dr. Jones advised it Went in company with Mrs. Crocker Sarah Allen & some Jacksonville friends as far as St. Louis Had a pleasant ride in the carr arrived at Naples or rather in view of the town for it was inundated at 11 O clock we went in a Flat Boat to a Boat house & eat our Dinner we was quite fatigued by Night for we had no place to lay down some of the gentlemen proposed after tea that we should go to another place across the water so we went & got ourselves safely landed in Bed when we heard the Puffing of Steam & a cry of a Boat a hoe so we jumped up & dressed in a hurry & was soon landed on the Prairie State a beautiful Boat & fine accommodations arrived at St. Louis Tuesday afternoon 27 at 4 O clock & set off in the Melodian arrived Cincinatti Saturday morning Went up after Breakfast to Mrs. Brown where we was received with great Hospitality rained in the afternoon invited the Handys in the evening Sabbeth morn Mr. Thomas Brown got a Hack & took his Mother Miss Allen to Dr. Rice church fine sermon

2nd April Monday. Set off from Cincinatti accompanied by Dr. Hall a pleasant Physician who was introduced to us by Miss Brown of Cincinatti when we left Cincinatti May Louisa was taken quite sick so he prescribed for her. We took an Extra at Wheeling & crossed the Mountains & it was a delightful journey except rather rough we slept sound the first Night after getting across the Mountains met my Nephew & his wife quite unexpectedly at Breakfast time Arrived at Washington

Found my dear Sister & family in good health just about moving from their comfortable home to rent their house & go to Boarding how full of trouble is life I was of course much disappointed at not being able to be with her all the time but I was shewn²⁸

Jany. 1st 1848.²⁹

New Years day Was awakened by the Servant saying to us all a Happy New Year & felt more than usual particularly desirous that the day should be spent profitably & pleasantly by myself & children many feelings were awakened in my Bosom & I remembered that this time 4 years ago how anxious I felt for my Husbands return so that the children might hang up their stockings & we felt particularly anxious to make a Christmas Tree how plainly have I been shewn that this is not our home & that we are not to feel settled but to feel as pilgrims in this vale of Tears Spent the morning pleasantly making calls with a favorite cousin who was in a few days to be Married the afternoon spent with all my children but the oldest who was invited to Mr. Gallahers in the country read a Tract concerning Mr. & Mrs. Bethune & Graham old acquaintances of my Mother how pleasant the reflection that our friends were servants of Jesus Christ follow-

ers of the Lamb oh that we like Elisha might have a double portion of this spirit & might be as useful in our day & generation

Sabbeth 2nd. Heard our Minister Mr. Eddy who preached unusually well his Text was in * * * Had communion quite solemn though very little said In the afternoon the same Text * * * calculated to make us contented with our Lot all is ours even death I never seem to realize so fully that death was so important for even our Happiness to rid us of this Mortal Life Monday Did not awake in a Heavenly frame of mind but felt tempted of Satan oh how he tempts us to go astray was shewn how incapable of myself to resist temptation to Sin Went to Church at the Congregational & heard Mr. Sturtevant from Isaiah 62nd Chap 10th Verse there again felt how imperfect is the church below felt disappointed that there was not more Christians assembled & unitedness of feeling Dined with Mrs. Eddy as our church did not keep it as a fast called for Cousin Hannah but sent for her afterwards as she was unprepared spent the evening pleasantly retired about 11 O clock felt how much there is to call forth our sympathies in this life & no Happiness even in anticipation with alloy for Cousin H was afraid that Mr. Mckirby was sick.

Tuesday 3rd. The morning Beautiful calculated to dispel all gloomy forboding but from taking cold in church as usual I did not feel well Was disappointed in not getting down in my carriage as I could have gone shopping with Cousin H but disappointment is common to us all Mr. Dayton took me to town in his meat wagon & I accomplished some things that I intended

Wednesday 5. Beautiful morning for the Bride went down at Eight O clock was prevented from attending Prayer meeting having had no way to go

Thursday. beautiful day walked to Mr. Clay

Friday. Mrs. Conn to spend day

Saturday. Spent the morning writing Letters to Sister & Cousin Anna & afternoon in mending felt much comfort

from my children who were all obedient & pleasant Snowed hard for the first time this Winter

Sabbeth 9th Jan. The morning cold Julia not well Heard Mr. Eddy in the Sabbeth school room from John 14 Chap 19 Verse Because I live ye shall live also

Tuesday 11th. Pleasently warm went to the Tea enjoyed the conversation with Dr. Adams & James of Alton Wednesday felt badly from being excited about the death of Coolys³⁰ child the Night before felt for those poor people who do not put their trust in God & have none of the consolations of religion two other children sick with Scarlentina was obliged to go without Dinner of Meat & Thursday 12th Felt sick all day rain also which no doubt effected me sore mouth troubled for nearly week makes me feel irritable Lord grant me patience Catherine my woman sick having had to sit up at Jo Coleys all Night felt disheartened & discouraged did not sleep untill near morning owing to my mind being discomfited with my Man drinking feeling uneasy for fear that he would not come home untill in the Night oh that I might be enabled to exercise faith & feel that these trials are good for me & the kind perhaps that I need

Sabbeth 16th. Did not feel well but went to church Did not enjoy the preaching as much as usual but ascribed it to my feelings

Tuesday 20th. Went to Mrs. Buckleys to the Sewing Soc & enjoyed much the religious conversation of friends & my heart was warmed to hear the conversion & joining of Dr. Hardin a son of my friends to a Sister Church one reclaimed & converted to God blessed change for that Parent 19th Wednesday Never enjoyed a day of Fasting and prayer more there seem to be a feeling of deep [?] all seem solemn I felt as if I never should let the world take such deep hold of my affections oh Lord enable me to consecrate myself & my children more to thee take from us what thou wilt but take not thy Holy spirit grant that I may be prepared for whatever trial awaits me Heard the covenant read & took

those vows upon me thought that I never discovered my children more thoughtless on the subject of religion

Sabbath 23rd. Mr. Eddy read the 2nd Acts concerning the day of Pentecost Felt enlightened in regard to revivals He seem to desire that his people should bring all under the influence of the Gospel that we could for the mind he said must be instructed & God will be off The Text was an impressive one John 4 Chap 35-36-37-38 & continued in the afternoon oh that we may as Christians be ready for this great work & be strengthened to perform our duty to our children & Neighbors

Monday. Felt anxiety relating to temporal affairs being undecided as to which would be very best way of disposing of my farm so as to enable me to live within my income & still have means to give away to Benevolent Objects Lord direct me & enable me to do what is best for the interest of the redeemers kingdom shew me my duty & give me that peace of mind which the world cannot give

Tuesday 27th. Cloudy was prevented from attending Sewing Soc at Mrs. Eams & regretted it more on account of the deprivation of meeting with christian friends

Wednesday 26th. Another cloudy day felt quite sick from getting up the night before with A Caldwell retired very early had another disappointment did not get to prayer meeting in the afternoon nor church at Night

Thursday 27th. The sun rose Beutiful felt better in health & spirits feel anxious that my dear children should seek the Saviour 13th January Mr. Eddy preached from 17 Jeremiah Chap 9th Verse very solemn & instructive sermon to the young & old In the afternoon Mr. Williams preached from Jeremiah 4 Chap 14th Verse meetings was better attended than usual Monday evening Dr. Jones conducted the meeting and proposed that we should have a meeting the next evening we all attended Wednesday Ditto Thursday & Saturday May Louisa³¹

NOTES TO DIARY OF MRS. JOSEPH DUNCAN.

Note 1. Dr. John R. B. Rodgers, an eminent surgeon and a professor in Columbia Medical College, New York, who married Mrs. Smith, mother of Mrs. Duncan.

Note 2. James Smith, brother of Mrs. Duncan married Julia Halsey, daughter of William Halsey, Esq., of Newark, N. J. A grand-daughter, Nancy Whitehead (Mrs. Rush Duer) of New York, owns the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. James R. Smith. Another and finer portrait of Mrs. Smith is in the possession of George R. Putnam, Washington, D. C.

Note 3. The school girl diary breaks off abruptly at this point. A few days later her mother, Mrs. Rodgers, died.

Note 4. This single entry of 1836 is on a sheet of writing paper and not written in the book itself. On one side is a long religious quotation. That may have been the reason why this item is preserved.

Note 5. A new page of the book is begun here, a page and a half of the book being left blank following the last page of the school-girl diary. The handwriting is more mature.

Note 6. Mr. * * * Bowers from Island Grove, life-long friends. Mr. Doremus, a Caldwell cousin.

Note 7. Reverend Edward Beecher, 1803-1895. Born in New York, brother of Henry Ward Beecher, graduate of Yale, President of Illinois College, 1830-1844; pastor in Boston, 1844-1856; pastor First Congregational Church at Galesburg, 1856-1871; strongly anti-slavery.

Note 8. Dr. T. M. Post came from Washington, D. C., to Jacksonville in 1833; pastor of Congregational Church; later in St. Louis.

Note 9. Anna Maria Caldwell, 1805-1871, daughter of Elias Boudinot Caldwell, clerk of the Supreme Court, Washington. He was the son of James Caldwell who was killed in the Revolution. Anna, or "Cousin" as she was called in the family, accompanied Governor and Mrs. Duncan to Jacksonville in 1834. Except for her married life of twelve years with Colonel Samuel Hamilton in Maryland, she lived in the families of Mrs. Duncan and her daughter, Mrs. Putnam. She died in 1871 in Davenport, but was buried in the Duncan lot in Jacksonville.

Note 10. Mrs. Porter Clay, daughter of General Logan. Married Colonel Martin D. Hardin. The oldest son was Colonel John H. Hardin. Her second husband was Porter Clay, half brother of Henry Clay.

Note 11. Susan Finley, wife of Judge William Brown of Jacksonville, died 1871, a first cousin of Mrs. Duncan. Mrs. Brown was descended from Esther Caldwell, who married Rev. Robert S. Finley. Her sister, Hannah, married Reverend George McKinley. Their son was Senator William McKinley of Illinois.

Note 12. Mrs. Ayers, wife of David Ayers, an able woman, interested in church and welfare work.

Note 13. The Maternal Society was formed June, 1833, at the home of Rev. J. M. Ellis. It developed into a weekly prayer meeting that Mrs. Duncan and Mother Prentiss kept as long as they lived. (Notes of Mrs. Kirby.)

Note 14. Mrs. Hardin, wife of Col. John J. Hardin, who was killed at battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, 1847. Second husband, Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth, 1788-1867, of Saratoga Springs, New York.

Note 15. James Duncan, elder brother of Joseph Duncan, educated at Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky. Capt. 17th Infantry War of 1812; Clerk of Supreme Court in Vandalia and in Springfield. A merchant in Jacksonville.

Note 16. William Linn, married Polly Ann, sister of Joseph Duncan. Was Receiver of Public Monies, Vandalia. Became a defaulter. Governor Duncan was only solvent bondsman when the Government foreclosed and lost all his property.

Note 17. The Ladies' Education Society. Organized Oct. 3, 1833, for the education of young girls. Still in existence. Mrs. Duncan left \$500.00 to it in her Will.

Note 18. Mrs. Martha Chickering, sister of Mrs. Bowers of Island Grove.

Note 19. Colonization Society, Washington, D. C. Elias Boudinot Caldwell, one of the founders, was an uncle of Mrs. Duncan.

Note 20. Robert Finley, a Caldwell cousin.

Note 21. Mrs. Brown, wife of William H. Brown, 1796-1867. He was born in Connecticut, came to Illinois 1818, lived in Vandalia, moved to Chicago 1835.

Note 22. Robert Canfield, a first cousin; son of Margaret Caldwell, eldest daughter of Reverend James Caldwell; lived in New Orleans.

Note 23. Colonel and Mrs. Mather—General and Mrs. Duncan traveled part way east in their carriage in 1828.

Note 24. Caroline and Ann Duncan, daughters of James Duncan.

Note 25. Dr. John Todd, of Springfield, Illinois.

Note 26. Mary Louisa Duncan.

Note 27. Julia, widow of James Smith, Mrs. Duncan's brother. She afterwards married Chancellor Zabriskie of New York.

Note 28. The diary in the book breaks off abruptly at this point at the bottom of a page. The following pages are blank.

Note 29. From here to the end of the entry for the 13th January (February ?) the diary is written on the four pages of a sheet of letter paper. In this respect it resembles the entry for 1836. The sheet is marked at the top "Mother's Diary, January 1st, 1848," presumably in Julia Duncan Kirby's hand.

Note 30. Jo Cooly, an old servant who was in the family many years. Faithful, but fond of alcohol.

Note 31. On the last leaf of the diary blank book is pasted a small piece of paper on which is written, in Mrs. Duncan's hand, the following entry:

"Reverend Mr. Allen preached in Mr. Williams' church as follows on the 15 Janry 1843.

"In the forenoon he spoke of the neglect of our own Poor."

**A BRIEF SYNOPSIS
OF THE LIFE OF A PIONEER WOMAN.**

(Mrs. Joseph Duncan, born Elizabeth Caldwell Smith.)

Mrs. Duncan was descended from the Caldwells, French Huguenots who moved to Scotland and by way of Ireland to Virginia, and from the Ogdens, who were early settlers in New Jersey. Mr. Smith, her father, was of a Covenanter family in Kirkcudbright, Scotland.

1808—

March 28—Elizabeth Caldwell Smith, born in Pearl Street, near the Battery, New York. Daughter of James R. Smith, merchant, and his wife, Hannah Ray Caldwell.

1815—

(?)—Family moved to house on Broadway.

1817—

June 4—James R. Smith, her father, died.

Mrs. Smith closed her house on Broadway and “removed to her country seat at Walnut Hill, Newark, N. J., now in the heart of the city, then a large place.”

1818-20—

(?)—Elizabeth attended school in Chambersburgh, Pa., for two years, staying with her sister, Anna, Mrs. Matthew St. Clair Clarke.

1820—

—Mrs. Smith married to Dr. John R. B. Rodgers, a physician.

1821—

(?)—Elizabeth returned to Newark and went to a day school.

1822—

(?)—Attended Mrs. Esther Smith's English Boarding School, corner of Hudson and Greenwich streets, opposite St. John's Park, New York (?)

1824—

—Elizabeth boarded at Newark Institute, Livingston Van Doren, Principal.
Diary begins Nov. 15th.

1825—

Feb. 20—Mrs. Hannah Caldwell Rodgers died at home of her stepson, Dr. Kerney Rodgers, Courtlandt street, New York. For several years she had been an invalid.

Elizabeth went to Washington, D. C., to live with her sister, Mrs. Matthews St. Claire Clarke.

1825—

(?)—Elizabeth attended school in Washington, Monsieur Bonfils, and "studied French, logic, music and dancing."

1828—

—Attended dinner at White House and met General Joseph Duncan, only representative from Illinois.

1828—

May 13—Married Joseph Duncan.

May 27—Started for Illinois.

In fall returned to Washington.

1829—

April 8—James Caldwell Duncan born in Washington.

May 26—Congressman Duncan left for Illinois.

July—Visited Kentucky.

1830—

May 18—Henry St. Clair Duncan born in Washington.

August—Second journey to Illinois. Located in Jacksonville.

Nov. (?)—Mr. Duncan returned to Washington, leaving Mrs. Duncan and children in Jacksonville, Winter of “the deep snow.”

Dec. 3—Mrs. Duncan, united with First Presbyterian Church, Jacksonville.

1831—

Spring?—Mr. Duncan returned to Illinois.

June 18—Mr. Duncan appointed Major General of Militia in Blackhawk War.

Nov.—Family returned with him to Washington. Oldest son, James Caldwell, died on the journey at Wheeling, West Virginia, Nov. 23rd.

1832—

—Cholera in Washington.

Sept. 23—Mary Louisa Duncan, born at Greencastle, Pa.

1833—

—Third journey to Illinois. Cholera in Jacksonville. Their son St. Clair recovered from it “due to skill of Dr. Reed and nursing of Mr. Duncan.” They built a small frame house.

May—Dr. Truman N. Post in letter describes the roof raising.

Fall (?)—The family returned to Washington.

Nov. 9—Foundations of present house, Elm Grove, were being laid. Letter of Robert C. Finley, a cousin, in charge of Mr. Duncan’s affairs.

1834—

April 10—Ann Elizabeth Duncan born in Washington. Mrs. Duncan ill all summer.

Aug.—General Duncan elected Governor of Illinois.

Fall—Fourth journey to Illinois. Mrs. Duncan traveled on a spring bed in a closed carriage. “Another carriage followed with my three children, a cousin Anna Maria Caldwell, an English nurse, and John McClusky for driver.”

1835—

Summer—Moved into “Elm Grove.” “It had been over a year being built. The plan was drawn from Mrs. M. St. Clair Clarke’s house in Washington, only made smaller.” The entrance door and vestibule are similar to Major Duncan’s house in Paris, Ky.

1835—

Oct. 19—Joseph Duncan born at Elm Grove.

Nov. 5—Joseph Duncan baptized. “Gave him his father’s name. His father united with the First Presbyterian Church, the same day.”

1836—

April—Governor Duncan in New York to secure money for bonds for state improvements.

July—Work on Illinois and Michigan Canal begun.

1837—

May 28—Julia Smith Duncan born at Elm Grove.

June—Daniel Webster, his wife and niece, entertained at a barbecue in the Grove adjoining the house.

1838—

April 10—Governor Duncan writes from Philadelphia, visit with Ex-Governor Cole.

Aug. 5—Henry St. Clair Duncan died, aged 8 years.

Nov. 8—First locomotive from Meredosia to Jacksonville.

Dec. 11—Smith Duncan born at Elm Grove.

1840—

Feb. 27—Hannah Caldwell Duncan born at Elm Grove.

June—Governor Duncan in New York.

1841—

Oct. 10—Ellen Marian Duncan born in Elm Grove.

Nov.—Governor Duncan in Washington.

Dec.—Governor Duncan in New York.

1842—

Jan.—Governor Duncan in Washington.

Feb. 4—Governor Duncan returned to Jacksonville.

Aug. 10—Catherine Clay Duncan born at Elm Grove.

1843—

Sept.—Governor Duncan in Washington.

1844—

Jan. 2—Governor Duncan returned from trip to St. Louis with heavy cold.

Jan. 15—Governor Duncan died, aged 49 years.

Nov. 1—Catherine Clay Duncan died at Elm Grove, aged 2 years.

1845—

June 30—Smith Duncan died at Elm Grove, aged 7 years.

1846—

March 30—Mrs. Duncan left for Washington with her daughter, Mary.

April 6—Arrived Washington.

July 1—Returned to Jacksonville.

1847—

April 21—Mrs. Duncan again in Washington and Bladensburg with daughter Mary.

1850—

March 30—Daughter Mary visiting Caldwell cousins in New Orleans.

1851—

Sept. 23—Mrs. Duncan with daughter Mary in Chicago. Letters describe life in Chicago at the time.

1852—

July 18—Ann Elizabeth Duncan died at Elm Grove, aged 18 years.

July 25—Hannah Duncan died at Elm Grove, aged 12 years.

1853—

April—Mrs. Duncan went east with her three children, Mary, Joseph and Julia.

1854—Dec. 9—Mary Louisa Duncan married to Charles E. Putnam, an attorney, from Saratoga, New York, settled in Davenport, Iowa.

1858—

Mrs. Duncan and daughter Julia visited Paris and Lexington, Kentucky.

1859—

Oct. 5—Mrs. Duncan in New York with daughter Julia, at St. Nicholas Hotel.

1862—

Oct. 28—Julia Duncan married to Edward P. Kirby, of Jacksonville.

1865—

Spring (?)—Rented Elm Grove to State of Illinois for asylum for idiot children.

1876—

May 22—Mrs. Joseph Duncan died in Jacksonville, aged 68 years.

REVEREND JAMES CALDWELL, 1734—1781

Married 1763

HANNAH OGDEN, 1737—1780

Children

- 1 Margaret P., 1764-1831.
m. Isaac Canfield.
- 2 John Dickinson, 1765-1766.
- 3 Hannah Ray, 1767-1825.
m., 1790, James R. Smith, 1761-1817
- 4 John Edward, 1769-1819.
m. 1st Louise.
2nd Mrs. VanMyck.
- 5 James Baxter, 1771-1826.
m. 1st Henrietta Gill.
2nd Nancy Bevan.
- 6 Esther Flint, 1772-1844.
m. Rev. Robert Finley.
- 7 Josiah Flint, 1774-1859.
m. Margaret H. Magruder.
- 8 Elias Bondinot, 1776-1825.
m. 1st Elizabeth Boyd.
2nd Ann Lingan.
- 9 Sarah, 1778-1828.
m. Rev. John S. Vredenburg
- 10 Maria, 1779-1852.
m. Robert S. Robertson.

<div> <div> <div>Jeanette</div> <div>m. John X. Clarke</div> </div> <div> <div>Anna</div> <div>m. Matthew St. Clair</div> <div>Clarke</div> </div> <div> <div>James</div> <div>m. Julia Halsey</div> <div>Elizabeth C.</div> <div>m. Joseph Duncan</div> </div> </div>	1	James Caldwell	1	Joseph Duncan
	2	Henry St. Clair	2	Charles Morgan
	3	Mary Louisa	3	John Caldwell
	4	m. Charles E. Putnam	4	Henry St. Clair
	5	Ann Elizabeth	5	William Clement
	6	Joseph	6	George Rockwell
	7	m. Harriet Stevens	7	Elizabeth Duncan
	8	Julia Smith	8	Edward Kirby
	9	m. Edward P. Kirby	9	Hamilton
	10	Hannah Caldwell	10	Benjamin Risley
	10	Smith	11	James Berthored
		Ellen Marian		
		Catharine Clay		



COLONEL WILLIAM BARTON WARREN.

THE PUBLIC CAREER OF WILLIAM BARTON WARREN.¹

BY ERWIN J. URCH.

William B. Warren, lawyer and soldier, was born in Georgetown, Kentucky, March 1, 1802. He was graduated from Transylvania University.² He soon gained admission to the bar and began practicing law in Georgetown. In 1833, not wishing to bring up his children under the influence of slavery, he moved with his family to Illinois and settled in Jacksonville. Upon leaving the South, he freed his slaves and gave bond for their support. As a lawyer, he at once took an active interest in the public affairs of Jacksonville; and he was not long in the state before he seems to have won the confidence of political leaders, for he was chosen as one of the delegates to the Whig National Convention, held at Harrisburg, the first week in December, 1839.³

Meanwhile, Illinois had passed considerably beyond the frontier stage of her history. Her political life had grown to such magnitude as to provide experience for many of her adopted and native sons, which fitted a few of them for participation in national affairs. Abraham Lincoln, the future emancipator, had come to the state in 1830. When but twenty-five years of age, he began his public career as a member of the legislature. Stephen A. Douglas, later renowned as 'The Little Giant', began his residence in the state in 1833. He advanced to prominence in the political interests of the country more rapidly than Lincoln. The debates of these men on the ques-

1. The chief materials on which this sketch is based are in possession of Mrs. C. W. Nelson, 5152 Vernon Ave., St. Louis, Mo., who is a granddaughter of Colonel Warren. Among these papers are Letters and Orders from General Wool, et al., to Warren, a Letter written by Douglas in behalf of Warren, an article, "The Warrens," by Ensley Moore, in *The Jacksonville Daily Journal*, May 20, 1915, outline-biographies, and numerous newspaper clippings. The Letters and Orders of Wool, et al., and the Letter of Douglas will appear in full in the following pages.

2. As it was then called.

3. Moses, John, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, I, 436.

tion of slavery, in 1858, attracted to Illinois the attention of the nation. Warren, their contemporary, though limited to a smaller sphere of action, was no less devoted to his country.

Mormon migrants, driven from Missouri, took refuge in Illinois during the winter of 1839.⁴ They purchased the town of Commerce, changed its name to Nauvoo, and obtained a charter. Joseph Smith, the founder of the sect, was allowed to take the office of mayor and thereby exercise control over the community. These Mormon settlers were so numerous⁵ that in the presidential campaign of 1840 Smith found himself master of three thousand votes, and politicians crowded round him. The government of Nauvoo was not in accord with the laws of the state. The court of the town usurped powers that belonged to the Supreme and Circuit Courts. Permission to organize a separate body of militia was obtained, together with other irregular privileges. Moreover, immorality was encouraged by the teachings of the sect, and the community sheltered those who would have been liable to trial and punishment elsewhere.

The Nauvoo *Expositor* was started by ex-Mormons, in 1843, for the purpose of exposing Mormonism and its founder. Only one number was issued, when the town council ordered the destruction of the printing-press and expelled the editors. This drastic act brought opposition to a crisis. Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum, whose crimes in Missouri and Illinois had thus far gone unpunished, were arrested and placed in the jail at Carthage, Illinois. Here, June 27, 1844, a mob stormed the jail and killed the two offenders.

By this time the state discovered that it was confronted with a serious problem. In the fall of 1844, Major Warren,⁶ with General John J. Hardin and Colonels E. D. Baker and William Weatherford, assisted Governor Thomas Ford in putting down the disturbances which opposition to the Mormons had provoked. Difficulties between Mormons and Gen-

4. For details concerning the early history of the movement, from its beginnings at Fayette, N. Y., and Kirtland, Ohio, and the subsequent migration of the Mormons to Utah, consult Evans, J. H., *One Hundred Years of Mormonism*, or Riley, J. S., *Founder of Mormonism*.

5. Numbers given vary from 12,000 to 16,000.

6. Warren was a Major in the State Militia.

tiles, and between factions within these groups, kept the west-central part of the state in a perfect turmoil, with the greatest concentration of trouble at Nauvoo. These conditions, aggravated by depredations of both Mormon and Gentile rascals and by the trials of the murderers of the Smiths, continued throughout the years 1844, 1845, and up to May, 1846. Meanwhile, the Gentiles had become more and more insistent that the Mormons should be driven from the state. And the latter finally yielding to public demand and to the persuasion of General Hardin resolved to leave,⁷ though not until after mobs on both sides had become so common that Governor Ford⁸ again called upon Hardin and Warren to raise volunteers and quell the disturbances. After the trouble had sufficiently subsided, the latter was left with a hundred men, later reduced to fifty, stationed at Carthage during the winter and spring of 1846. For this service, requiring more tact than military skill, he was enthusiastically commended by Ford.⁹

Warren's abilities were evident in other interests than those of a major of militia. During the year 1840 he assisted in the organization of the Grand Lodge of the Masonic Order in Illinois; he had been prior to that time, and was thereafter throughout his life, an active member and officer of that order.¹⁰ His social qualities thus enhanced his usefulness. His professional training and experience did not confine him only to the practicing of law. In 1845 he was appointed as a clerk of the Supreme Court of the state,¹¹ the duties of which office he did not advance as grounds for refusing to serve his state and country in other ways.

Meanwhile, hostilities between the United States and Mexico had begun. On May 13, 1846, President Polk had signed the bill, passed by the Senate and the House during the

7. The Nauvoo charter was revoked in 1845, and Utah (at that time belonging to Mexico) was chosen by the Mormons as their future home.

8. Ford, Thos., *History of Illinois*, 364, 410, 416, 430. (The author was governor during the Mormon troubles, and so what he says amounts to personal recollections.)

9. Ford, *op. cit.* 411, 412.

10. Outline-biography in possession of Mrs. Nelson, St. Louis, Mo. The 'letter-head' of one of the prominent Masonic lodges in Chicago, which he helped to organize, is as follows: "William B. Warren Lodge No. 209—Organized November 15th, 1855."

11. Moses, *op. cit.*, II, 1153.

two days previous, which declared that "by the act of the Republic of Mexico", a state of war existed between that government and the United States. The bill also authorized the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers. Illinois was called upon to furnish three regiments of infantry, for twelve months' service, and Governor Ford had issued his call for these volunteers on May 25.¹² Early in June, at Alton, Illinois, Warren enrolled as a major.

The Mexican war proved to be a sort of training school for officers and men who were eventually to participate in the Civil War. Northern and southern men marched and fought together during the former, although conditions which were to provoke the latter had for a long time been vexing the country. Many of the officers of the lower ranks in the armies of the one appeared as the officers of the higher ranks in those of the other, and Jefferson Davis, a colonel of a Mississippi regiment, turned out to be the President of the Confederacy. But Generals Lee and Grant of 1861-1865 were respectively a colonel and a captain in 1847. Bragg, Hooker, Jackson, Meade, McDowell, McClellan, Sherman, Thomas, and others were officers of varying ranks in the Mexican war. Major Warren, whose sympathies were on the side of the North, was older by a decade than any of these men and in ill-health in 1861.

The greatest historical interest attaches to that period of the life of Warren, during which he served first as Major and later as Lieutenant-Colonel of Illinois volunteers in the Mexican war. The causes of the war, the diplomacy of President Polk, the failure of the government of the United States to form an early plan of campaign and to work in harmony with the commanders in the field, the criticism of the military movements and tactics of General Zachary Taylor, the President's tardy decision to permit Major-General Winfield Scott to lead an expedition against Vera Cruz and then against Mexico City, and the removal of troops from Taylor's to Scott's command, thus giving the latter the precedence in the

12. *Moses, op. cit.*, I, 490.

remaining portion of the war, are matters ably treated in books on the Mexican war¹³ and have little or no bearing on the subject of this article. Nor should space be taken to describe again¹⁴ the battle of Buena Vista, the first and only battle of the war in which Major Warren participated. But, since Warren served under General John E. Wool, second in command under Taylor, and acted as military governor of Saltillo after the battle of Buena Vista, it is appropriate that the main facts concerning his superior officer and his place of command should be stated again.

The victories of Scott at Vera Cruz and Mexico City and points between subsequently drew attention away from the importance of Taylor's campaign, a significant feature of the latter part of which was the holding of Saltillo. Indeed, Taylor's later activities seem to have effected little toward forcing the Mexicans to acknowledge their defeat. This may explain why the part played by Warren at Saltillo is not mentioned in some of the main accounts of the war.¹⁵ Though it is obvious, as General Taylor himself understood,¹⁶ that the war could not have been quickly terminated by operating in the vicinity of Saltillo alone, and even though the occupation of that strategic location¹⁷ may not seem to have figured directly in the final submission of the enemy, the position was highly important. In the eventual settlement of the boundary between the United States and Mexico, the effect of Taylor's campaign was at least as great as that of Scott's, and the holding of Saltillo was no small part of the former.

13. Smith, J. H., *The War with Mexico*; and Rives, G. L., *The United States and Mexico*, II.

14. Full description in Rives, *op. cit.*, II, 337-367.

15. Rives, *op. cit.*, though making frequent references to the Illinois volunteers, says nothing of Warren; Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 556, barely mentions him and his command.

16. Taylor to Adjutant-General, Oct. 15, 1846, in *House Ex. Doc.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 60, 351-354.

17. Taylor to Adjutant General, Nov. 12, 1846; *ibid.*, 374-376. General Taylor expressed the determination to occupy Saltillo "as a necessary outpost of the main force at Monterey, covering, as it does, the important defile which leads from the low country to the tableland, and also the route to Montclova, etc., etc." In his report, Dec. 8, 1846, (*ibid.*, 379-381), he said, with reference to his proposed "defensive line," from Parras to Tampico "I———consider the positions of Saltillo and Parras as of prime importance." As Taylor had explained in his report of Nov. 12, his reasons for continuing to consider the position important, aside from its military advantages, were based also on the fact that it controlled a region from which supplies could be drawn, and it was the capital of Coahuila.

Lieutenant-Colonel Warren's command, therefore, was not without some importance.

Saltillo, a city of several thousand inhabitants, lies in the heart of the Sierra Madre Mountains, about five thousand feet above sea level. It is situated about five miles north of the scene of the battle of Buena Vista, at the southern end of an extensive plain. On every side of the city are jagged mountains or hills, which rise as high as two thousand feet above the general level. Just at the southern edge of the city there rises the northern extremity of a plateau which extends southward for some distance and on the eastern and western sides of which there are mountains of considerable height. Surrounded with these natural fortifications, the city was also accessible by a good road, "the only practicable route for artillery-across the mountains".¹⁸

General William J. Worth and his men, accompanied by General Taylor with an escort of cavalry, occupied Saltillo without opposition, November 16, 1846, though the instructions of the War Department¹⁹ and the personal instructions of General Scott,²⁰ which Taylor chose to regard as "advice",²¹ had specified that no advance was to be made beyond Monterey. When Worth's men had been quartered in Saltillo and reconnaissances had been made some twenty-five miles to the south without finding any signs of the enemy, Taylor returned to Monterey,²² where he remained about a month, until after he had started the formation of his proposed but never completed "defensive line" from Parras through Saltillo and Monterey to Tampico. General Worth had his headquarters at Saltillo until he and his division left, early in January, 1847, to join Scott's assembling forces at Tampico, preparatory to advancing against Vera Cruz.

Brigadier-General John E. Wool, under whom Warren commanded, entered the regular army in 1812. He was a native of New York, and served, during the War of 1812,

18. Taylor to Adjutant-General, Dec. 8, 1846; *ibid.*, 379-381.

19. Marcy to Taylor, Oct. 22, 1846; *ibid.*, 363-367.

20. Scott to Taylor, Jan. 26, 1847; *ibid.*, 864.

21. Taylor to Adjutant-General, Feb. 7, 1847; *ibid.*, 1110.

22. Taylor to Adjutant-General, Nov. 24, 1846; *ibid.*, 377.

in that state and in Canada. For gallantry in the battle of Plattsburg he had been given the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. Subsequently he served as inspector-general, and was made brigadier-general in 1841. He was in command of the eastern division, with headquarters at New York, when the Mexican war broke out.

It had been provisionally planned in Washington to march "near four thousand men" to Chihuahua. Accordingly, General Wool was called to Washington to confer with the President and the Secretary of War. But, doubts and difficulties having developed in these conferences, Wool, at that time, was simply ordered to go west to raise a force of volunteers and march them to the Rio Grande. Two weeks later, however, he received orders to set out at once for San Antonio, Texas, where he was to take command of the forces ordered to that point. Among these forces eventually were the First and Second Regiments of volunteers from Illinois.²³ He was to report to General Taylor and await his orders, which, as Wool was told,²⁴ would probably require him to march on Chihuahua. Late in September, with a force of over three thousand men, the larger number of whom were Illinois volunteers, Wool crossed the Rio Grande near the presidio of San Juan Bautista, and finding that a march west from there was impracticable he turned south. He entered Montclova, November 3, 1846. At Montclova he discovered that, owing to the difficulties of the roads, a march to Chihuahua was useless, since the place would not be readily accessible for friend or foe. He therefore wrote to Taylor, saying that he thought he could seize Saltillo and thence march on San Luis Potosi. But orders soon came from Taylor, directing Wool to advance and occupy Parras, which he did on December 5. This isolated position he held for about two weeks, though it was to have been the most western point in the "defensive line."

But Taylor's plan for a "defensive line" from Parras to

23. Smith, G. W., *History of Illinois and Her People*, II, 317.

24. Adjutant-General to Wool, June 11, 1846, in *House Ex. Doc.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 60, 328.

Tampico was soon considerably altered,²⁵ due to several circumstances. First, rumors of the approach of the Mexican troops drew General Wool from Parras to La Encantada and Major-General Butler from Monterey temporarily to Saltillo. Second, General Taylor found that the maintenance of a garrison at Victoria was impracticable because supplies could not be easily brought to the place. The third and most effective interference with the plan was the withdrawal of troops to join Scott's army. And still another reason for the change, obviously, was that the plan was contrary to the wishes of authorities in Washington and of General Scott. Now, the position at Saltillo became more important for Taylor's purposes than before. But when he moved his headquarters from Monterey to Agua Nueva, on February 5, he left only seven companies at Saltillo to hold the city. Santa Anna, too, understood the value of the position, for, when he began his march which was intercepted at Buena Vista, he was headed for Saltillo, in the vicinity of which General Minon with two thousand Mexican cavalry was operating just before and during the battle five miles to the south. And it was partly through fear for the American supplies at Saltillo that Taylor and Wool drew back from Agua Nueva to Buena Vista, as the army of Santa Anna was approaching.

By this time the Illinois volunteers, in the First Regiment of which Warren was Major, had been for some time in the general vicinity of Monterey and Saltillo. The service of the First and Second Regiments of Illinois Volunteers had begun in June.²⁶ They had reached New Orleans by steamboats and marched from thence to San Antonio, Texas, where General Wool took command. In September Major Warren, with the First Regiment, was still at San Antonio.²⁷ Wool set out with these forces from Illinois, increased by several hundred men from other states, with a view to occupying Chihuahua.²⁸ But, instead of doing this, these troops joined

25. Rives, *op. cit.*, II, 301-305.

26. Moses, *op. cit.*, I, 490, 491.

27. Letter of Warren in *Morgan Journal* (predecessor of *Jacksonville Daily Journal*), September 25, 1846.

28. *Vide supra*, p. 6.

the forces, now nearly all volunteers, under General Taylor, about a month before the battle of Buena Vista.

The following orders and communications from Wool, and others, to Warren exhibit the conditions under which these officers performed their duties and the problems with which they were confronted, as well as their personal traits.

Headquarters, Buena Vista,
14th January, 1847.

Major:

You will on the receipt of this march to Saltillo with all possible dispatch. Santa Anna with nineteen thousand men is within three days' march of Saltillo. Hasten, my dear sir, with all dispatch.²⁹

I am respectfully,

Your Obdt. Servt.,

JOHN E. WOOL,
Brig. Gen.

To Major Warren on the road to Saltillo.

Headquarters, near Buena Vista,
January 28th, 1847.

Special Order No. 216.

Major Warren will take post to-day with Captain Morgan's and Prentice's (Prentiss's) Company 1st Ill. Vol. at the position heretofore pointed out to him by the general commanding.³⁰

By command of General Wool,
IRVIN McDOWELL.

Headquarters, Camp Taylor, Agua Nueva,
18th February, 1847.

Major:

In case of an attack on Saltillo you will not hesitate to employ all of the sick, able to fire a gun, in the fort commanded by Captain Webster.

I understand wagons have been ordered to enable you to concentrate all the stores at any point you may direct.

You will also, if necessary, barricade the streets leading to the stores, and any others you may deem necessary to defend the places,—as well as to take possession of the cathedral, or any other buildings, and to keep a lookout on the Polomas road.

You must take care the fort is not surprised and that it is well defended.³¹

I am very respectfully,

Your Obdt. Servt.,

JOHN E. WOOL.

To Major Warren,
1st Ill. Vol. commanding at Saltillo, Mxo.

29. This exhibits General Wool's characteristic precaution.

30. A note accompanying this order, evidently added at a later date, states that the position signified was at La Angostura, just below Buena Vista. That is, three weeks before the battle there, Major Warren had the opportunity to become familiar with a position which proved to be the key to the whole situation. It was here that the First Illinois Volunteers supported Captain Washington's battery of eight guns on the day of the battle.

31. Five days before the battle, Major Warren is again at Saltillo.

Headquarters, Camp Taylor,
21st February, 1847.

Major:

On receipt of this you will send by express the enclosed order to Captain Pike to fall back on Saltillo. You will detail such position as you deem most proper under the circumstances for his squadron to occupy. If he does not fall back he will be cut off in the course of the night.

You will not fail to take up all suspicious persons found in Saltillo. It is reported that Mexican officers and soldiers are in that city. At dusk you will order all Mexicans in town to retire to their houses. Any persons found in the streets after that hour, you will have them taken up and confined. If an attack should be made on the city, it is more than probable many persons will be found in the City to aid them. Adopt the most rigid measures to prevent any attempts of the kind. You need have no apprehension of any rigid or vigilant measures.

I am respectfully,

JOHN E. WOOL,
Brig. Gen.

To Major Warren,
Comdg. at Saltillo.

P. S.—Take any arms you find in the ordnance store necessary for the defense of your position, I was surprised to learn that the ordnance officer refused to obey your orders. Take whatever you require.³²

W.

Headquarters, Saltillo,
Feby. 22, 1847, 8 P.M.

Major:

The Comdg. Gen'l desires that a picket from Captain Pike's squadron may be kept out to-night towards the base of the mountain in the direction of the enemy's cavalry. If the duty be severe, the picket may be relieved once or twice during the night. An officer will be sent with it and specially instructed to be watchful.³³

Respy.,

W. W. S. BLISS,
A. A. G.

Major Warren.

Camp near Saltillo,
Feby. 23, 1847.

Sir:

I fear there has been a misunderstanding in regard to the orders sent by the General touching your command. I know that he desires all four companies to proceed without delay and report to him. They will be replaced by same number of effective men, taken from the Illinois troops said to be in town and if necessary from Col. Marshall's regt. Col. M. has been spoken to on the subject and will furnish you with the proper number.

32. As the instructions of the 18th, these of the 21st show that it was expected that Santa Anna aimed to attack Saltillo, and all necessary preparations were to be made accordingly. The scene of the battle at Buena Vista was chosen because of its natural advantages and because Taylor and his men had not had time to reach Saltillo.

33. This order came to Major Warren on the day the battle of Buena Vista began, and he probably was in the position which he had been ordered to take on January 28; perhaps his previous duties there had been calculated to familiarize him with the position. Yet he was at Saltillo on the day before.

Capt. Webster is directed by the Gen'l. to return the minimum number of men requisite to man each gun, say three or four to each. A garrison for the fort will be detailed from yr. command. The remainder of Captain W.'s Company armed with muskets will proceed under the subalterns to General's Camp at daylight in the morning. I will give them orders myself to-night.³⁴

I am, sir respy.,

Yr. Obt. Servt.,

W. W. S. BLISS,
A. A. G.

Major Warren,
Com'd., &c., Saltillo.

Saltillo, Mexico,
March 1, 1847.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on the evening of the 22nd a large body of the enemy's lancers appeared on the plain east of, and about two and a half miles distant from the city. I immediately ordered Captain Wheeler to support Captain Webster in the redoubt; Captains Morgan, Prentiss and Hacker were ordered into the cathedral; the streets were barricaded. The lancers after a few hours disappeared in the direction of the Palames (Polomas) pass.

On the morning of the 23rd the lancers again appeared, and moved along the foot of the mountains in the direction of Buena Vista. Captain Webster threw a few shells at them, but it is not supposed to have reached them.

About noon they took a position intercepting all communication between this place and the army. At two o'clock one of Captain Webster's 24-pounders under the command of Lieutenant Donaldson, supported by Captain Wheeler's company, was run out; at the same time Lieutenant Shover advanced with a 6-pounder from the train supported by a mixed command of teamsters and employees. These guns advanced and threw their shells so successfully, that the enemy were compelled to retire; their loss is not certainly known, but it is reported to have been sixty-three. The enemy remained on the plain until daybreak of the 24th, when they again retired through the Palames pass.

I have the honor to remain yours, &c.,

W. B. WARREN,
Lt. Col. 1st Ill. Reg.,
and Governor of Saltillo.³⁵

General J. E. Wool.

Headquarters, Camp Taylor,
4th March, 1847.

Colonel:

On the receipt of this you will order the Vice-governor or the Alcalde of Saltillo, or both, to hand forthwith to Captain Eaton twelve mules, pre-

34. General Taylor had gone to Saltillo, late on February 22, to provide for the safety of his stores and to make arrangements for the small garrison which had been left there to guard them. He arrived on the scene of the battle on the 23rd just as the Americans were meeting their worst reverses, and some hasty changes of position had to be made. This order sent by the Assistant Adjutant-General seems to have concerned those changes.

35. I am indebted to Mr. Edgar B. Wesley for calling my attention to this report of the action of the troops under Major Warren's command on the two days of the battle. The report is in *Ex. Doc.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 1, 205-206, but not in Mrs. Nelson's collection of papers. Warren was promoted to rank of Lieutenant-Colonel on February 26. The order making him Governor of Saltillo is dated March 16. See also notes 36 and 37.

pared with packs and muleteers for the purpose of taking supplies to the starving wounded at Incarncion.

You will also order either one or both of the above named persons, to send a sufficient number of Mexicans to bury the dead Mexicans still lying on the road and other places unburied. If the above orders are not instantly complied with you will confine both persons to the jail of the City and report fact to headquarters.³⁶

I am, Very respectfully,

Your Obdt. Servt.,

JOHN E. WOOL.

To Lt. Col. Warren,
Comdg. at Saltillo.

Headquarters, Buena Vista,
16th March, 1847.

Order No. 245.

Lt. Col. Warren 1st Ill. Vol. is hereby appointed Governor of Saltillo. He will without delay adopt all measures necessary for a proper and vigilant government. A rigid police will be kept up day and night, to guard against improper intruders whether citizens or foreigners and to preserve quiet and order throughout the City.

All gambling and tippling houses will be broken up in a summary manner; and no one will be permitted to come or to reside in the City who would be likely to countenance or encourage in any way the residence of such persons. No Mexican non-residents will be allowed to enter the City, without reporting in person to the Governor. No non-resident will be permitted to remain in the City, without a guarantee that he is a good citizen, and not then for any evil purpose. All misrepresentations or deceptions with reference to persons coming to or residing in the City will be properly and severely punished, let them be attempted by whom they may.

All officers of this command coming to the City will report themselves to the Governor, agreeable to paragraph 828 of the General Regulations of the Army. Juniors to report in person, Seniors by writing or otherwise. In each case the time of remaining will be stated. A record of these reports as of those of all other persons, who may come to the City, will be duly kept under the direction of the Governor.³⁷

By Command of Brig. Gen. Wool,
IRVIN McDOWELL.

Headquarters, Buena Vista,
17th March, 1847.

Sir:

Early in the morning you will send and bring in the men who have been engaged in repairing the Polomas road. The object is to ascertain who directed the road to be repaired and for what purpose. Ascertain how much of the road is repaired and whether passible for carriages. You will

36. Colonel J. J. Hardin of the 1st Reg. of Volunteers was killed during the battle. Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. Weatherford was advanced to the rank of Colonel, and Major Warren to that of Lieutenant-Colonel. Thus, from February 26, 1847, he retained the higher rank. Moses, *op. cit.*, I, 491. In his report of the battle (*Sen. Doc.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., 97-210) General Taylor made honorable mention of Major Warren for bravery in the discharge of duty. This order of March 4th reveals some of the conditions under which the Mexicans retreated.

37. The designation, "Governor of Saltillo," with Warren's report of March 1st, must have been added later.

block any further repairs, and hereafter a picket will be stationed at or near the pass.

Send me a report of all that has taken place as soon as you are informed and also the report of the day.

Very respectfully,

JOHN E. WOOL,
Brig. Gen.

To Lt. Col. Warren,
Comdg. at Saltillo.

Headquarters, Buena Vista,
17th March, 1847.

Sir:

To-morrow morning you will, if he has not already gone, send Captain Pike with part of his squadron to make a reconnoissance of the Polomas road as far as San Antonia and there to make inquiries in regard to the movements of the enemy and more particularly to ascertain if Urrea has moved in the direction of Potosi.

It is reported that the Mexicans are improving the road through the Polomas pass. This must be stopped if true. Captain Pike will take two or three days rations cooked, but without wagons.³⁸

Yours etc.,

JOHN E. WOOL.

To Lt. Col. Warren.

Buena Vista,
18th March, 1847.

Sir:

Herewith I transmit a communication to the Vice-Governor. After you have read it please send it to him. Say to him that I have sent out for corn this morning, and that if taken by the party in search will not be paid for. If the people of Saltillo intend to atone for those of the inhabitants who appeared in arms against us, they will immediately adopt measures to compel those having corn to bring it to us, when a fair and just price will be paid for it. No delay, however, will be tolerated. My orders must be promptly complied with as well by the people of Saltillo as those of Montclova and Parras, or they will be considered enemies and treated accordingly. They will be punished for violating their pledges unless they immediately comply with my orders.

You will not allow Mexicans coming from the interior to enter or remain a moment in Saltillo without reporting in person for examination. If they are suspicious persons you will confine them. We can have no half way measures at this time with these people. They have violated the most solemn promises of neutrality and therefore they ought to be punished, if they in the slightest degree disregard my injunctions. Let the Vice-Governor know this as well as all the Alcaldes of the City and the neighboring villages.

You will endeavor to ascertain the reports and rumors of the day and transmit them daily or as often as their importance may seem to require.³⁹

I am very respectfully,

Your Obdt. Servt.

To Col. Warren,
Gov. Saltillo.

JOHN E. WOOL,
Brig. Gen.

38. Two orders of the same day indicate that Mexicans were still near Saltillo.

39. Concerns the continuous problem of procuring supplies, which hampered the Americans.

Headquarters, Buena Vista,
19th March, 1847.

My dear Col.:

I will thank you if you will get from Mr. Meyers the letter I sent you last addressed to Major Bliss. The letter was based upon the sad news brought to us last evening of the capture of a large train going to Camargo, which turned out not to be true, and as far as I have been able to learn the news had little or no foundation.

Accept my thanks for the bottle of very fine brandy which you so kindly sent me.⁴⁰

Captain has returned and informed me that there was no foundation for the report that the Mexicans were repairing the Polomas road.

Captain English has been ordered to his regiment. Inform me in your next whether or not he is still in Saltillo. If he does not go before to-morrow night he will place himself in arrest.

I am very respectfully,

JOHN E. WOOL.

Lt. Col. Warren, Gov.

Headquarters, Buena Vista,
29th March, 1847.

Confidential.

Sir:

I have this moment received your note of this morning. I am aware that the opinion of Mr. Boucher is as you have stated. I have however reflected much upon the subject, but can discover no good reason except the drubbing you have given Santa Anna for such a conclusion. Why a population of from seven to nine millions, which had not yet materially suffered from the war, should be prepared to make peace, and such a peace as the United States, probably, will require, is more than I can comprehend. When Gen. Santa Anna or whoever may dominate the government of Mexico shall propose an armistice with reference to permanent peace, I shall then begin to think that our fight is at an end. Until some proposition of the kind is offered on the part of the Mexicans, we ought not for a moment to encourage the idea, certainly not among volunteers, that we are to have peace and no more fighting. The tendency is adverse to order, discipline, and subordination. I find that the idea of peace and no more fighting, which has been industriously circulated by some officers of my command, has already produced a bad effect, by some less drills and great indulgence is strictly advocated until the period of discharge arrives. Therefore whatever reasons we may have to suppose that the war is at an end, let us not encourage the idea until we have something more positive than appears at present, that such will be the result.

In your note this morning you said nothing of the cotton that arrived in Saltillo yesterday. I sent an order last evening to you directing you to seize it, and anything else that might be in the City of value.

Take care of the rogues in the City. We must have no half way measures with these people, and certainly not with the Vice-Governor, who if I find him trifling will be made to suffer.⁴¹

I am very respectfully,

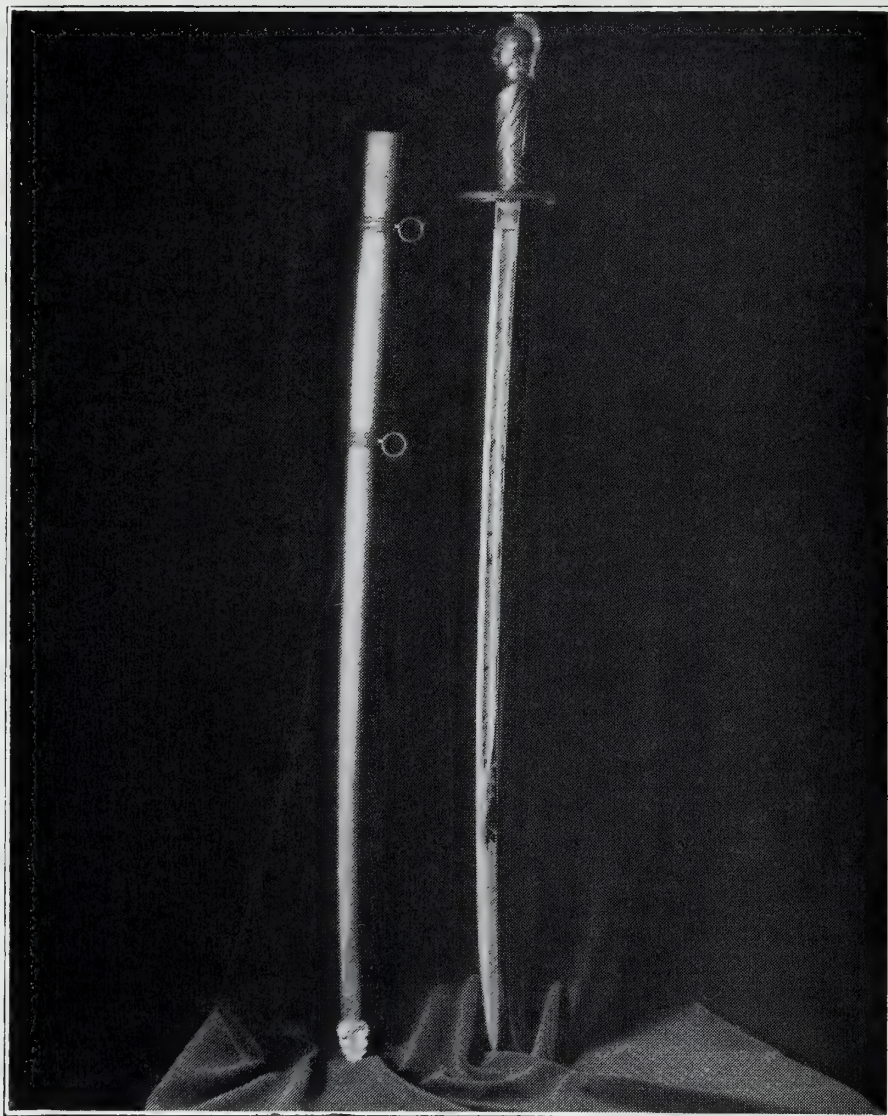
Your Obdt. Servt.

To Lt. Col. Warren,
Governor of Saltillo.

JOHN E. WOOL,
Brig. Gen.

^{40.} In previous communications Warren was addressed as "Major," "Col.," "Sir," etc.; this time it is "My dear Col."; perhaps the brandy accounts for the change of mood.

^{41.} A frequently expressed opinion of General Wool.



MAJOR WILLIAM B. WARREN'S SWORD
Presented by the State of Illinois for his service in the Mexican War.

Headquarters, Buena Vista,
7th May, 1847.

My dear Col:

I give you many thanks for your note and two papers from Washington, communicated this morning. All things will come right after the official reports are published. I confess, however, it is not pleasant to be represented by the press as doing that which never occurred, and as ascribing to others what was done by myself.

I am,

Very Truly yours,

JOHN E. WOOL.

To Lt. Col. Warren,
Governor commanding Saltillo.

The First and Second Regiments of Illinois Volunteers were mustered out at Camargo, Mexico, June 17, 1847.⁴² They had participated in only one battle—a battle which the critics of General Taylor claimed was quite unnecessary.⁴³ Warren's service, more active than that of many others of his rank, was largely that of standing ready for any emergencies that might arise. The hardest fighting of the war, however, was going on in another quarter.

An extraordinary tribute to the tactfulness of Colonel Warren's administration at Saltillo took material form in a set of silver plates in a solid mahogany case, presented to him by the citizens of that place.⁴⁴ In commemoration of his services, the Legislature of Illinois voted him a gold mounted sword,⁴⁵ bearing this inscription: "Presented by the state of Illinois to Major William B. Warren for services in the late war with Mexico, and especially for his gallantry at the battle of Buena Vista, February 22nd, 1847".⁴⁶

Upon returning to Illinois, Warren found awaiting him the duties of the office of clerk of the Supreme Court of the state.⁴⁷ Prior to the adoption of the state constitution of 1848, the clerk of the Supreme Court was appointed by the court itself. Warren continued under his appointment for a year after his return from Mexico. In 1848, in accordance

42. Smith, G. W., *op. cit.*, II, 321; Moses, *op. cit.*, I, 491.

43. See, e.g., Polk's *Diary*, II, 452; also Ripley, R. S., *The War with Mexico*, I, 434-436.

44. These plates were stolen, years ago, and converted by the robbers into money.

45. This sword is now owned by Mr. Chas. Boynton Warren, New Berlin, Illinois, who is a great-grandson of Colonel Warren.

46. Outline-biography in possession of Mrs. Nelson, St. Louis, Mo.

47. Moses, *op. cit.*, II, 1153, 1154.

with the new constitution, one clerk was elected in each of the three grand divisions. That year Warren was elected for the second grand division, and remained in office until 1855. He seems to have relinquished these official duties on account of ill-health.

In social matters, he seems to have been true to the type of Kentucky gentleman, for he formed many noted friendships. Among his friends were Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, and Jefferson Davis—a rather remarkable trio. He was associated with Lincoln as early as 1839 in the Whig National Convention of that year.⁴⁸

The following letter of Douglas,⁴⁹ written in behalf of Warren, portrays something of the nature of its author as well as his estimation of Colonel Warren:

Washington,
March 9th, 1849.

Sirs:

Col. Wm. B. Warren of Illinois, who will hand you this letter, will I understand become an applicant for the office of Survey General in one of the Western States. I have known him for many years and have no hesitation in saying that I regard him well qualified for the station. His education, habits of life and business capacity are well adapted to the discharge of the duties of such an office. If changes in those offices are to be made, I know of no greater man, differing with me in politics, whose appointment would afford me so much pleasure and I believe also it would be gratifying to the people of Illinois generally. He has many devoted friends in the ranks of the Democratic party, growing out of his service to the country in the Mexican war.

I do not wish to be understood as advising even by implications any removals to be made; but in the event that changes shall take place, the appointment of Col. Warren would be decidedly acceptable.

I have the honor to be very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. A. DOUGLAS.

Hon. J. M. Clayton,

Colonel Warren formed his friendship with Jefferson Davis during their association in the Mexican war. After Davis became President of the Southern Confederacy, he offered Warren rank in the Confederate Army as brigadier-general, with the comment as to his fitness that "his fine military ability—courage and ability" was remembered.⁵⁰ But,

48. Moses, *op. cit.*, I, 436.

49. The original is owned by Mrs. J. A. Kimber, 924 S. 6th St., Springfield, Illinois.

50. Outline-biography prepared for William B. Warren Lodge No. 209, Chicago, Illinois, in possession of Mrs. Nelson, St. Louis, Mo.



MRS. ANN DORSEY PRICE WARREN.

of course, both his "feeble health"⁵¹ and his sentiments regarding slavery prevented his acceptance.

Three such friendships with men differing so widely in their political views, and differing from at least two of them as Warren did, was typical of this Illinois Colonel. He was described by those who knew him as a kind and friendly man. His genial personality was quite irresistible. His abilities and efficiency inspired confidence. General Taylor referred to him as "a discreet officer of Illinois volunteers".⁵² And again General Taylor reported: "To Major Warren, 1st Illinois volunteers, I feel much indebted for his firm and judicious course, while exercising command in the city of Saltillo".⁵³ The letters of General Wool likewise reveal the confidence which Warren's superior officers placed in him. The tribute of devotion and admiration expressed by his many friends in Illinois⁵⁴ display not only his character as a true friend but also his capacity for service in a worthy public career. He died April 12, 1865.

51. The opening words of Warren's will, made May 8, 1855, are as follows: "Being in feeble health, I feel it my duty to make a disposition of my worldly goods, etc."

52. Taylor to Adjutant-General, Feb. 7, 1847, in *House Ex. Doc.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., 1111.

53. Taylor to Adjutant-General, March 6, 1847, in *Ex. Doc.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., 140.

54. Outline-biographies in possession of Mrs. Nelson, St. Louis, Mo.

Special Note No. 1:

In view of the fact that there are many eminent descendants of Colonel Warren in Illinois and elsewhere, whose interest might thereby be attracted to this sketch, it may be pertinent to add the following information. Mr. Warren married Miss Ann Dorsey Price in Georgetown, Kentucky, July 3, 1827. She came from a family whose distinguished descendants are numerous throughout the United States. The children of Colonel and Mrs. Warren were William Monroe (born in Georgetown, May 27, 1828), Philemon (born in Georgetown, April 5, 1830), Maria Watkins (born in Jacksonville, Illinois, May 1, 1834, and became Mrs. William A. Turney), Mary Louisa (born in Jacksonville, Nov. 7, 1842, and became Mrs. Thos. Booth), Margaret Johnson (born in Jacksonville, Sept. 20, 1844), and Agnes Fountleroy (born in Jacksonville, March 31, 1848, and became Mrs. V. M. Kenney). The last name was the mother of Mrs. Nelson, frequently referred to in the notes of this sketch.

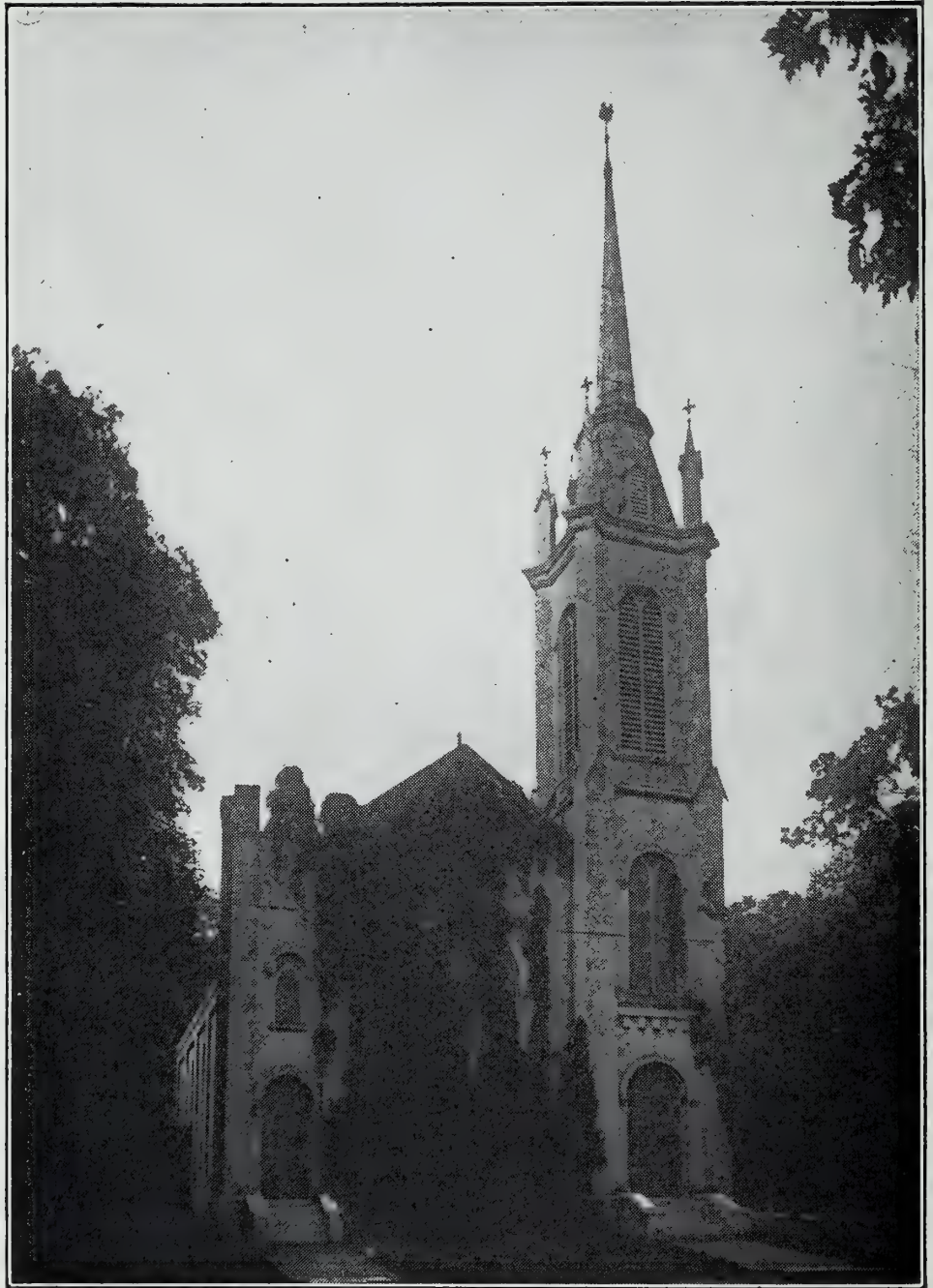
Special Note No. 2:

Incidents treasured by the descendants of Colonel Warren are those connected with his generous attitude toward the monks of Saltillo, Mexico. Though a member of the Masonic Order, he would not permit the soldiers

under his command to molest the monks or disturb the services and activities in the monastery. In recognition of his thoughtfulness, he was given a valuable rosary which, though he was six feet in height, touched the floor when suspended from his neck; the beads of the rosary were silver and the large cross was ornamented with silver. The beads have been melted and molded into a set of forks, now owned by Mrs. Nelson.



THE WARREN HOUSE IN JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS.



TRINITY CHURCH, JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS
Oldest Episcopal Church in Illinois.

THE HISTORY OF TRINITY CHURCH, JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS.

THE OLDEST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN ILLINOIS.

COPIED FROM THE OLD RECORDS BY (MRS. HENRY W.)
SARA JOHN ENGLISH.

DEED TO LAND FOR TRINITY CHURCH.

This indenture made and entered into this nineteenth day of June, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and thirty-four, between Dennis Rockwell of Morgan County and State of Illinois of the one part and Bazaleel Gillett of said County and State of the other part. Witnesseth, that said Dennis Rockwell for and in consideration of five hundred dollars to him paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, doth hereby grant, bargain, sell and convey unto the said Bazaleel Gillett his executors, administrators and assigns, for uses and under the restrictions hereinafter mentioned, the following lot or parcel of land lying and being in the Town of Jacksonville in said County and State, and bounded as follows viz. beginning at the intersection of the south side of State Street and east side of Church Street in Chandler's addition to said Town, and running due east on the south side of State Street one hundred and eighty-eight feet, eleven inches, thence due south, one hundred and seventy feet seven one-half inches, thence due west one hundred and eight-eight feet eleven inches, thence due north to the place of beginning, which lot of land shall forever and exclusively for the sole use of the first Protestant Episcopal Society in said Town, and now organized under the name of Trinity Church. There shall within five years from date be erected on said lot a neat and commodious building for divine worship, as near as may be in the center

of said Lot, the building shall front or face the South on Morgan Street and no other building whatsoever shall ever be erected on said lot, but the lot kept for the erection of a church alone, and whenever the society above mentioned shall become incorporated, said Gillett, his executors, administrators or assigns are required and authorized to execute immediately thereafter and deliver to said society a good and sufficient warranty deed of said lot, with its appurtenances, for the use of said society as aforesaid, and their successors forever. To have and to hold said granted and bargained premises as aforesaid to him the said Gillett, his executors, administrators and assigns with all the privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging, and the said Rockwell for himself, his heirs and assigns doth covenant with the said Gillett, his executors, administrators and assigns that he is sised in fee of said premises, that he has good right to sell and convey the same, that they are free of all encumbrances and that he will warrant and defend the same to the said Gillett his executors, administrators and assigns, against the claim of all persons whatsoever and Eliza, wife of said Rockwell, in token of the relinquishment of her right of Dower in and to said premises has hereunto set her name and affixed her seal.

In witness whereof the parties above named have hereunto set their names and affixed their seals the day and year first above written.

Dennis Rockwell (Seal)

E. Rockwell (Seal)

Bazaleel Gillett (Seal)

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of Geo. Rearick.

This deed was Recorded 8th July, 1834, and acknowledged before George Rearick, J. P., the 30th day of June, A. D. 1834.

Recorded Page 224, Book G, Deed Record, Morgan County, Illinois.

Copied by (Mrs. Henry W.) Sara John English from Record in Morgan County Court House, Jacksonville, Illinois, Dec. 28, 1927.

PARISH REGISTER.

Notices relative to the organization of the Parish and concerning its history.

(The following is copied from a Record made by Revd. John Batchelder, August, 1834.)

The parish of Trinity Church, Jacksonville, Ill., was organized by a few individuals attached to the doctrines and forms of the Prot. E. Church on the 11th of August, 1832.

This was the *first* parish belonging to the Prot. E. Church, that was organized within the limits of the State of Illinois. Previous to the organization of this parish, no Episcopal Clergyman had laboured within the limits of the state, and so far as can be ascertained, but few sermons from Episcopal Clergyman had ever been preached in the state.

The Parish of Trinity Church was destitute of a minister till the summer of the year 1833, when the Rev. John Batchelder, from Providence, Rhode Island, took charge of it as its regular cleryman.

In the Autumn of this year (1833) the Wardens and Vestry of the parish determined to take immediate measures for the erection of a House for Public worship. Their means being too limited for the accomplishment of the object, by their request the Rev. Mr. Batchelder visited the Eastern Churches during the following winter for the purpose of soliciting pecuniary assistance. He was absent about five months, during which time they had no public worship.

In the following spring the erection of the church was commenced, Ebenezer T. Miller being the architect. On the 9th of June, the corner stone was laid with suitable religious exercises by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Smith of Kentucky, he then being on a visit to Illinois. In the corner stone was deposited a list of the names of the Bishops and clergy of the Prot. Epis. Church in the United States, together with a list of the organized parishes belonging to the same; a number of the "Episcopal Recorder," and a number of the "Illinois Patriot," together with the following brief record of the Church, and of the times.

“The corner-stone of this Church by the name of Trinity Church, Jacksonville, Illinois, was laid with suitable religious services on Monday, the ninth of June, in the year of our Lord 1834, by the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Kentucky, officiating by request of the Wardens and Vestry of said Trinity Church, assisted by the Rev. John Batchelder, Rector of said Church. At the time of laying the corner-stone of this Church, Andrew Jackson was President of the United States, and John Reynolds was Governor of the State of Illinois.

“The Diocese of Illinois was not yet organized, and there were but two organized parishes in the state belonging to the Prot. Epis. Church, viz. Trinity Church, John Batchelder, Presbyter, Rector, and Christ Church of Rushville, not yet supplied with a Rector.

“Jeremiah Barker and Bazaleel Gillett, were wardens of Trinity Church, and Joseph Coddington, Ebenezer T. Miller, Samuel M. Prosser, Dennis Rockwell, Ignatius R. Simms, Richard W. Dummer, Aylett H. Buckner, and Austin Brockenbrough were the Vestry. The parish of Trinity Church, Jacksonville, was organized on the eleventh day of August in the year of our Lord 1832, and was then destitute of a minister. The present Rector took charge of it in June, 1833.

“May the Great Head of the Church prosper the erection of this house now commenced in his name, and fill it with His presence and glory through all generations; Amen.”

At the time this parish was organized, and when the present Rector took charge of it, the number of families of which it was composed was about twelve. The year after the Rector commenced his labours among them, more than one-half of this number was separated from the parish by death, or removals or some other means. Several families likewise, who previous to his coming among them had professed attachment to the church, never after that took the least interest in it, but united their influence with that of those who never wished its prosperity. It must likewise be recorded,

that many who professed attachment to the Church have thus far evinced but little interest either in its worship, or its welfare; so that the difficulties under which we labour are truly discouraging; but the cause is of God, and it must succeed.

It should be remarked that within the last year we have had some additions to our numbers by removals into the place, and many, who were residents of the place and still stand aloof from us, would undoubtedly have joined us before this, had our own members lived more holy, godly, and righteous lives.

The number of families now (August, 1834,) attached to the society is fourteen. In addition to this the English settlement at Lynnville is included within the Rector's charge.

The number of communicants has never exceeded five; that is the present number.

During the first year of the present Rector's labours the Sacrament of the Lords Supper was administered but once; two children were baptised by him; there were four burials; and one marriage.

(Another Record by the same.)

"January 9th, 1836. The Church being completed, it was consecrated to the service and worship of Almighty God, by the Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, D. D. Missionary Bishop of the Prot. Epis. Church in States of Indiana and Missouri and having in charge the Diocese of Illinois, during the absence of its Bishop the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D. The Clergy present on the occasion were the Rev. Samuel R. Johnson of Indiana, the Rev. Mr. Darrow of Illinois, and the Rector of the Church."

For further information with regard to the history of the Parish and the affairs of the Church, reference must be had to the minutes of the proceedings of the Wardens and Vestry and the Journals of the Diocese. It ought to be added to the foregoing statement of the Revd. John Batchelder, that the Church building was erected upon ground donated for the purpose by Dennis Rockwell, Esq., and further, that for several years the Parish was aided by the

Board of Domestic Missions of the Prot. Episc. Church, and in 1848 it received aid to the amount of \$100 from Diocesan Missionary funds.

LIST OF MINISTERS (FROM THE BEGINNING).

- (1) Rev. John Batchelder, June, 1833-June 7, 1838.
- (2) Rev. Wm. Grant Heyer, Aug. 10, 1840-Sept. 19, 1842.
- (3) Rev. E. J. Darken, Oct. 12, 1842-June 4, 1844.
- (4) Rev. Jno. Stamer, March, 1845-Sept., 1845.
- (5) Rev. Jno. T. Worthington, May 12, 1847-Nov., 1852.
- (6) Rev. T. N. Morrison, May 1st, 1853-April 12, 1868.
- (7) Rev. I. L. Townsend, Nov. 26th, 1868-Jan. 6, 1872.
- (8) Rev. Joseph Cross, D. D., Nov. 15, 1872-Nov. 15, 1875.
- (9) Rev. John D. Easter, D. D., Ph.D., July 14, 1876-April 30th, 1889.
- (10) Rev. J. H. C. Fulton, S. T. D., Nov. 1st, 1889-May, 1895.
- (11) Rev. Leonard B. Richards, June, 1895-Jan., 1900.
- (12) Rev. Joseph Francis John, Dec., 1900-Oct., 1904.
- (13) Rev. William Mitchell, Nov., 1904-April, 1908.
- (14) Rev. Herbert H. Mitchell, Dec. 1st, 1908-Aug. 31, 1913.
- (15) Rev. Henry Ritchie Neely, Dec. 1st, 1913-May 31, 1915.
- (16) Rev. Joseph F. Langton, June 6, 1915-here in Dec., 1927.

Families and adult persons from 10th Sept., 1840 (the date of Mr. Heyer's list).

1840—

Mr. D. Rockwell and family. Removed.

Major Simms and family. Majr. withdrew.

Mr. Charles Ogle and family. Mr. O. deceased, family removed to Indiana.

Mr. E. T. Miller and family.

Mrs. C. Heslep and family. Removed.

Dr. B. Gillett and family.

Mr. Inc. Galbraith and family. Absented.

Mr. I. Gledhill and family. Mr. G. decd. and family removed from town.

Dr. Samuel Prosser and family. Dr. P. withdrawn.

Mr. I. M. Lucas & family, removed 1849 to Washington City.

H. B. McClure, Esq., and family. Removed.
Mr. I. T. Sigler and family. Mr. Sigler left the Parish.
Mr. G. A. Dunlap and family. Withdrawn.
Mr. Samuel R. Smith and family removed to Galena.
Mrs. M. McConnell and family.
Mr. B. B. Chamberlain and family removed to St. Louis.
Mr. Adolphus Cherrill and family removed to Augusta, Ill.
Mr. Inc. E. Tolpree and family removed to State of N. Y.
Mr. Jona. Tucker (deceased) and family, merged in I. L. Morrison's.
Dr. Augustus M. Heslep and family removed to St. Louis.
Mr. E. M. M. Clarke and family removed to Rushville, Ill.
Mr. A. Brother and family removed to St. Louis.
Mr. Edward Lambert and family absented.
Mr. Craven and family. Absented.

1842—

Dr. C. B. Zabriskie and family removed to New York 1848.
Mr. William Braidwood and family. Died and removed.
Mr. Joseph Heslep and family. Removed.
Mr. Saml. W. Lucas, removed to Peoria 1846.
Mr. David Robb and family.

1848—

Mrs. Sarah E. Hardin and family. Removed.
Mr. Henry Stryker and family.
Mr. Samuel Markoe and family. Removed.
Mrs. Sprowetts family. Absented.
Mr. Dresser and family. Removed to Naples.
Mr. Newell and family. Go to Springfield.
Mr. Inc. Iabina and family. Removed to Waverly 1848.
Mr. Samel Bacon and family. Went to St. Louis.
Mr. James Berdan and wife.
Mr. H. T. Collins and wife. Removed.
Mr. Thos. A. Colt. Returned to New York.

1849—

Mr. A. Rockwell and family. Mistake.
Mr. John Lindsey and family.

Mr. Hannant and family. Absented, returned, removed.
Miss Eliza Conn. Removed.

Sept.

1850—

Mathew Blackburn, wife and daughters and sons. Removed in the country.
Mrs. Swearengen and family. Removed.
Mrs. Marill McDougal (Miss McConnell) to California.
Mr. Stewart. Absented.
Mr. and Mrs. Willis. Removed.

1851—

Mr. John Bashfortts and wife. Removed.
Mr. Joseph Sheppard and family. Removed.
Miss Egbert.
Miss Vanderhoeff (Mrs. Wash. Hook).
Mr. James Simpson, Sept. '52. Removed.
Mr. J. W. Hook and family.
Mr. John Booth and wife. Aug. '52, moved to Pittsfield, Ill.
Mrs. Warren and family.
Mr. Wm. K. Ducey and family.
Mr. Warfield and family. Removed.

June 1

1853—

Mr. McEvers and family. Withdrawn.
Mr. Robert Roe and Wife. Removed.
Mrs. Tunney and family. Removed.
Mr. Edward Lax and wife and family, wife deceased.
Mr. Daniel Robb. Removed.
Dr. Rhodes and family.
Mr. Charles Smith and family. Removed.
Mr. Higgins and family.
Mrs. Dr. Cassell and family.
Mr. Epler, wife and family.
Mr. Jas. English and wife. Removed.
Mr. Wilson and wife. Removed.

1855—

Mr. Cane and family. Removed.
Dr. Wakely and family.
Dr. Long and family. Removed.
Mrs. Lightfoot and family. Withdrawn.
Mr. Clement. Removed.
Mr. Hubbel. Removed.

1856—

Mr. H. Talmage Collins and family.
Mr. Clarke and wife. Removed.
Mr. Mapes and family.
Mr. J. L. McConnel (died), family merged in Murray
McConnel's.

1857—

Mr. Peck and family.
Mr. Marsh and family. Removed.
Mr. John Flack and family.
Mrs. Sherwood and family. Removed.
Mrs. Philpot and family. Removed.
Mr. George M. McConnel and family.

1860—

Mr. Edmund Fox and family. Removed.
Mr. Neuruch and family. Removed.
Mr. G. W. Richards and family. Removed.
Mrs. Elisha Brown and family (1 daughter here). Re-
moved.
Mr. Charles Birmham and family. Removed.
Mr. Lynn and wife ceased to attend.
Mrs. Roberts.
Mrs. Hargrave and family. Removed.

1861—

Mr. Rodolph. Removed.
Mr. Baher and wife. Removed.
Charles Gillett and family removed.

1862-3—

Peter Tilton and family.

William Masby and family. Removed.

Mr. Strong and family. Removed.

1864-5—

Mr. Parker and family.

Mr. Palmer and family.

Mr. Essminger and family.

Mr. Caldwell and family.

Mrs. Gore. Removed.

Mr. Wilson and wife. Removed.

Col. Morton and family. Removed.

Mrs. Bennett. Removed.

Mr. Phillips and family.

Mr. Warfield, wife and family. Removed.

Mr. C. Miller and family.

1853—

Mr. I. L. Morrison and family.

Mrs. Matingly. Dead.

Mrs. Mary McCracken. Removed.

1865-6—

Mrs. Tomlin and family.

Mrs. Kelley.

Mr. William B. Mosbey and family.

Mr. Waller and family.

Mr. William Brown and family.

Joseph Grasse and family.

Henry Stryker, Jr., and family.

William Rockwell and family.

Moreen and family.

Dr. Wakely and family.

Mrs. Webster.

Mrs. Henry.

Mrs. Donaldson and family.

Dr. Milligan and family.

Mrs. McElhinney and family.

Mrs. Wm. H. Corcoran and family.

Mrs. Stella Poe.

Mrs. Matthew Blackburn.

Mrs. Daniel Howe.

Mrs. Harwood.

No regular list of Communicants was kept until 16th Aug., 1840, the following names and dates are, however, to be found in the records made by Mr. Batchelder, viz.:

“August, 1834. The number of communicants has never exceeded five; that is the present number. During the first year of the present Rector’s labours, the sacrament was administered but once: July 3, 1836. Miss Margaretta and Miss Della Saunders, together with Miss (Mary) Mauro were admitted to the communion.”

“Feb. 4th, 1838, Mr. Henry Robb was received to the communion on profession.”

These brief memoranda and the list of confirmations contain the only evidence of the names and number of the communicants anterior to Mr. Heyer’s term.”

Note relative to the List of Marriages.

Mr. Batchelder in his minute dated August, 1834, states that during the first year of his labours he had solemnized “one marriage,” no others are noted by him of an earlier date than 19th of July, 1836, when the following list commences.

MARRIAGES.

Date.

1836—

July 19—Mr. Samuel R. Smith-Miss Lucia Ann Dow, by Rev. J. Batchelder.

Dec. 8—Mr. Horatio G. Rew-Miss Dorothy A. Miller, by Rev. J. Batchelder.

1837—

April 20—Mr. Charles Ogle-Mrs. Amanda M. F. Smith, by Rev. J. Batchelder.

Oct. 19—Mr. Samuel H. Treat of Springfield, and Miss Ann Elizabeth Bennett of Springfield, by Rev. J. Batchelder in (church).

1838—

March 22—Mr. George O. Rear-Miss Sarah Heslep, by Rev. J. Batchelder.

1839—

Feb. 21—Mr. Josiah M. Lucas-Miss Della A. Saunders, by
Rev. Charles Dresser.

1841—

July 20—Mr. Joseph Heslep-Miss Sarah E. Reed, by Rev.
W. G. Heyer, at Manchester.

Sept. 28—Mr. John Scott-Miss Elizabeth Denby, by Rev.
W. G. Heyer.

1842—

April 19—Mr. James A. McDougall-Miss Marilla McCon-
nell, by Rev. W. G. Heyer (in church).

May 3—Mr. John Busher-Miss Hannah Emmerson, by
Rev. W. G. Heyer (in church).

—Mr. David Robb-Miss Catherine B. Reed, by Rev.
W. G. Heyer at Manchester.

1843—

Feb. 4—Mr. Wm. A. Hinman-Miss Grace A. Kingsbury,
by Rev. E. J. Darken (in church).

April 8—Mr. Fredk. Walters-Miss Ann Reynolds, by Rev.
E. J. Darken (in church).

Oct. 4—Mr. Jno. B. Sweatland-Miss Elvira J. Potter, by
Rev. E. J. Darken in church at Rushville.

Nov. 28—Mr. Jno. T. Worthington-Miss Jane A. Holland
by Rev. E. J. Darken at ch. at Rushville.

1848—

June 27—Mr. James Berdan-Miss Jane P. Simms, by
Rev. J. T. Worthington.

1849—

July 12th—Mr. Samuel Bacon-Miss Sarah K. Graves by
Rev. J. T. Worthington.

1851—

May 22—Mr. A. Cooper-Miss Mary P. Barker, all of
Waverly, by Rev. J. T. Worthington.

1852—

Sept. 12—Mr. James Simpson to Miss Sarah Sproule, by
Rev. J. T. Worthington.

Sept. 14—Mr. William Wade of St. Louis, Mo.,-Miss Jane Huffaker of Morgan Co., Ill., by Rev. J. T. Worthington.

Oct. 6—Jas. W. English and Miss Eliza Stryker by Rev. J. T. Worthington.

1853—

July 27—Isaac L. Morrison-Miss Ann B. Rapelje, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 13—Edward C. Lax-Miss Harriet A. Prosser by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1854—

March 7—John Muny-Miss Rachel Emily Reid, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 2—Edward Scott-Miss Martha A. Stringham, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 13—John McDougall-Miss Minerva McConnel, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1856—

June 10—William A. Turney-Miss Maria Warren, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Dec. 16—A. A. Lamb-Miss Frances L. Newhall, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1857—

Jan. 8—George M. McConnell-Miss Maria A. Gillett, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

March 31—John Jackson-Miss Mary Boystain, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Dec. 22—John Higgins-Miss Elizabeth Mapes, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Dec. 23—Buker Daniels and Miss Ellen R. Corcoran, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1858—

Feb. 23—Francis E. Dayton-Miss Mary Emma Flack, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April 13—Peter S. Compton-Miss Sophrona Corcoran, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

June 7—Joseph Biggs-Miss Artelissa J. Corcoran, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 12—George Cockin-Miss Harriet Claybrough, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1859—

—Peter Tilton-Miss Martha Ann Robinson, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April 15—Joseph Long-Miss Frances Lord, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 2—Austin J. Roberts-Miss Eliza W. Andras, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

August 22—Charles King-Miss Fannie L. Miller, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

August 23—Charles J. Dunlap-Miss Mary S. Long, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1860—

June 13—Samuel Taylor-Miss Eliza Jane Merriss, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

July 30—William K. Dewey-Anna E. Ross, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1861—

Jan. 5—Mr. Henry Weghoft-Miss Eliza Dederding, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Jan. 31—Mr. Ornan Pierson-Miss Maria Stryker, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Feb. 23—Mr. James Colen-Miss Emma Hines, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 10—Mr. Laurence C. Johnson-Miss Mary Ellen Seyler, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 29—Mr. Timothy Mason-Miss Eunice A. Stringham, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Nov. 5—William R. Mosly-Miss Ellen Markoe, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1862—

—Ruben Walton and Miss Sarah Blackburn, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 3—John M. Stringham-Nancy C. Vaughn, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

August 4—John Atyea and Margaret Daily, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1863—

Jan. —Thomas Booth and Louisa M. Warren, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 24—Shelton J. Mattingly and Miss Ann Blackburn, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1864—

Jan. 29—Robert J. Ingram-Miss Clara M. Sigler, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 13—James Rea and Miss Hannah Williams by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. —John Connally and Miss Susan M. Barnett, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 29—James D. Smith, Jr., and Elizabeth Brown, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Nov. 10—J. Lenbrock Warne and Margaretta C. Gillett by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1865—

Feb. 19—John H. Henkle and Cynthia G. Parker, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 16—William Phillips and Mary Baker, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 20—William Brown and Clara B. Robb, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 28—Christopher W. Pank and Lucy B. Wakely, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 11—Fredk. W. E. Bohn and Louise C. Thompson, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 24—Jackson Henderson and Martha E. Ray, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1866—

Oct. 2—Daniel Whitehead and Charlotte Crowther, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 16—Henry Stryker, Jr., and Elizabeth H. McClure,
by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Nov. 27—Barton W. Simmons and Chassia D. Lynn, by
Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1867—

Jan. 23—Walter Miller and Isabelle Brooks, by Rev. T.
N. Morrison.

Jan. 23—William E. Keefer and Mrs. Ann L. Baker, by
Rev. T. N. Morrison.

March 26—Sachaviell Cane and Nancy Beavers, by Rev.
T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 11—Abraham R. Gregory and Mary S. Andras.

NOTE RELATIVE TO BURIALS

Mr. Batchelder in his record of August, 1834, states that during the first year of his labours, there were "four burials," but there is no record of whom.

Burials from October, 1835, by Rev. Jno. Batchelder.

1835—

Oct.—"Mrs. Smith," a stranger. Mem. of Revd. J. Batchelder.

Nov. "Miss Spottswood," a stranger. Mem. of Rev. Jno. Batchelder.

1836—

Feb.—Augustus Collins, son of Mrs. Gillett, aged 11 years.

July 27—Tom Goodall, an infant.

Aug. 24—Infant child of Mr. Burtis.

Sept. 29—Infant child of Miron Leslie.

Oct. 4—Infant child of the same.

1837—

Jan. 11—Maria Jane Collins, daughter of Mrs. Gillett.

April 15—Sophronia, a child of Mr. Cochran.

May 15—Mr. Joshua D. Austin.

Per Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector:

1840—

Dec. 13—Mr. Charles Ogle.

1841—

July 31—Miss Rachel G. McQuilkin, died July 30th 9 a. m.

Sept. 8—Mr. James Conlin, a stranger, a native of Ireland.

1842—

April 21—Miss Hannah Vanlear Heslep, daughter of Mrs. Cassandra Heslep, aged 15 years, 1 month and 20 days.

Per Revd. Edward J. Darken, Rector:

1843—

Jan. 25—Mrs. Sarah B. Austin, widow of J. D. Austin, died 24th, aged 62.

Nov. 12—Walter Rockwell, son of Joseph and Sarah E. Heslep, died 11th, aged 3 months.

1844—

Oct.—Charles Saunders, son of Josiah M. and Della A. Lucas, died 30th, aged 3 yrs. 1 m. 29 dys., per Revd. John Stamer, Rector.

—Miss Lucinda Heslep, daughter of Mrs. Cassandra Heslep.

1847—

April—Clarence Saunders, son of Josiah M. and Della A. Lucas, aged 9 mos.

1848—

Jan. 7—Elizabeth, wife of William Braidwood, died 4th inst., aged 33 years.

Per Rev. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector:

1848—

March 14—Elizabeth Smith Hardin, daughter of Col. J. J. (decd.) and Sarah E. Hardin, born 26 Nov., 1844, died 11th inst., buried in the Corporation ground.

April 27—Joseph Gledhill, a native of Yorkshire, England, died 26th inst., aged about 50, baptised in the Established Church of Engd., buried on his farm about 3 miles N. of Jacksonville.

1849—

May 6—Died, Mary Ellen, daughter of Edward and Hannah Lamber, in her 9th year (not buried by me).

August, Friday 10th at 12 p. m. Died, Miss Harriet Adeline Simms, aged 23 years, 26 days, buried the 12th (daughter of Ignatius R. and Harriet Simms, born July 15, 1826).

Aug. 18—Died, Mary, daughter of Nathan and Nancy Dresser, aged about 18 months (buried the 20th in the East ground).

1850—

Aug. 7—Mrs. Elizabeth Kee, aged 77 yrs. and 6 months, a native of Donegal County, Ireland, and a member of the Prot. Ep. Church.

1851—

Nov. 11—Miss Sarah M. A. Worthington, daughter of John T. and Elizabeth Ann Worthington, died in Jacksonville on the 8th was buried in Rushville on the 11th by Rev. Charles Dresser. Age, 17th year.

1852—

Jan. 8—Mr. William Frink Wilson, a stranger from Urbana, Ohio, died in the Mansion House in Jacksonville on the 7th, was buried in the East ground on the 8th, aged about 27 yrs.

July 31—Buried Mr. Charles W. Willis, a native of England, aged 39.

Sept. 14—Ella, infant of Mr. Jno. L. and Mrs. Eliza M. Connell.

Sept. 14—Mrs. Duff, an emigrant from England, who died at Naples on the way to this place.

1853—

—Infant of Dr. and Mrs. Cassell.

1854—

March—Charles Corcoran, aged nine years.

July 25—Infant son of Mr. and Mrs. Ramsey, aged one month.

1855—

July 23—Frank Allen Morrison, aged nine months.

Sept.—Infant of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart.

Oct. 3—Sarah Ann Wakely.

1856—

Jan.—John Sigler, Jr., aged 20 years.

April—Mr. Francis Arnze of Arnzville, Cass Co., Ill.

Sept. 17—Holbert Clare Cane, aged 1 year.

Sept. 19—George D., infant child of Mr. and Mrs. Bolton of Springfield.

Dec. 15—Mrs. Eleanor F. Clark of Brooklyn, aged 83.

1857—

March—Jane Ann Stryker, aged 21.

March 28—Edward M. Koscealouski, aged 10 years.

April—Child of Scoot.

June 20—Infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Cane, aged 3 weeks.

1858—

—Infant daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Cassell.

Nov. 22—Charles W., son of David and Catharine B. Robb, aged 7 years and 7 months.

Nov. 22—Henry W. Bradford of Toronto, C. W., aged 33 years.

1859—

—Son of Mr. and Mrs. Cane, aged 6 years.

Oct.—Infant daughter of George M. and Maria McConnel.

Oct. 29—Margaret, daughter of B. and E. Daniels, aged 6 weeks.

Nov. 14—Harry H. Flack, aged 6 years.

1860—

—Infant of Mr. and Mrs. McDonal.

May 7—Francis M. King, wife of Ch. King, aged 22.

June 15—Earle, son of George M. and Maria L. McConnel, aged 8 m.

1861—

August 5—Infant son of Mr. and Mrs. Thente, aged nine months.

August 8—Owen Long; son of Charles J. and Mary S. Dunlap, aged 5 months.

Aug. 15—Hattie, daughter of E. C. and Harriet Lax, aged 18 months.

August 15—Son of Mr. and Mrs. Palmer, aged seven years.

August 28—Charles W. Dunlap, aged 25 years.

Oct. 23—Nellie E., infant daughter of W. D. and Anna E. Dewey, aged 3 months.

1862—

Jan. 19—John L. McConnel, aged 36 years.

—Mrs. Rebecca Markie.

—Infant daughter Mr. Edmund and Mrs. Fox.

—Major Newman.

—Infant child of Mr. Schofield.

Oct. 18—Thodes.

Sept.—Mrs. McCain of Chicago (Miss Mary Dixon).

Oct. 30—Charles W. Robb, aged 18 months.

1863—

—George W. Richards.

Sept. 13—Ann, infant daughter of Robert and Mary Bourns.

1864—

Jan. 21—Matthew Blackburn, aged 77.

Jan. 27—Mary Easton, daughter of Edgar and Amanda Easton, aged 2 yrs.

May 13—William Ramsey, infant son of Ramsey.

May 27—Dickson, aged 8 years.

July 31— Miller, aged 12 years.

August—Infant son of Mr. Robertson.

Sept. 4—Mrs. Cornelia Lightfoot.

Aug. 30—Mr. Cornelius Hook.

Oct. 5—Kate, infant of Edmund and Kate Fox, aged 13 months.

Oct. 7—Infant of Daniel and Miller, aged 2 years.

Oct. 13—Son of Baker, aged 2½ years.

Dec. 23—John V. Higgins, aged 39.

1865—

Feb. Infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. P. Tilton.

Nov. 1—Charles Sigler.

Nov. 19—Mrs. Ann Blackburn Mattingly, aged 36.

Dec. 2—Harry McFarland, son of David and C. Robb, aged 3 years.

1866—

Jan. 10—Carrie, daughter of Wm. K. and Anna E. Dewey, aged 3 years.

March 6—Mrs. Ann Wakely, aged 44.

March 22—Mrs. Harriet A. Lax, aged 34.

June—Mrs. Cane.

Nov. 2—Frederick Vanderhoef, child of Mr. and Mrs.

Hook.

Nov. 6—Margaret Johnston Warren.

Nov. 9—Mrs. Eliza McConnel.

Nov. 10—Thomas John, child of Thomas and Mary Bourn.

1867—

Oct. 20—Robert Bourn, aged 21 years.

Oct. 21—Mrs. Mary E. Prosser, aged

Nov.—Mrs. Harriet McClure, aged 54.

1868—

Jan. 5—David Robb.

Feb. 19—Mrs. Clara M. Ingram of Chicago.

June 30—Hatty Howe, aged 1 yr. 11 mos. 14 days. Buried by Rev. I. G. Gasmann. Child of Daniel and Nancy Howe.

May 6—Mrs. Elizabeth Gillett, aged 64 years, 5 months, 7 days.

Aug. 16—Dennis Rockwell, aged 74 years.

Dec. 20—Charles William Dewey, aged 4 yrs. 7 days.

1869—

- Jan. 8—William Shelton Craig, aged 8 months 21 days in Arcadia.
Feb. 12—Hon. Murray McConnel, aged 70 years, 5 mos. 4 days.
April 11—Bezaleel Gillett, M. D., aged 80 years, 2 mos., 14 days.
Aug. 1—John Edward Howe, aged 10 months, 14 days.
Aug. 6—William B. Mosby, aged 30 years, 2 mos., 5 days.
Sept. 28—Arthur Bradbury, aged 1 year, 1 mo.
Nov. 23—Caroline Egbert, aged 64 years, 5 mos.
Nov. 24—Mrs. Catherine C. Carson, aged 84 years, 2 mos., 11 days.
Dec. 14—Sophia Hannah Stookey, aged 3 mos.

1870—

- Jan. 10—William Gregory, aged 3 days.
Jan. 16—Mrs. Mary Sophia Gregory, aged 27 years, 7 mos., 13 days.
March 22—Mary Estelle Dayton, aged 5 days.
April 24—Henry Kislingbury, aged 47 years, 5 mos.
May 26—Emma Garetson Mosby, aged 1 yr. 0 mos. 28 days.
Sept. 5—William Britton, aged 4 years, 0 mos., 4 days.
Dec. 22—J. Washington Hook, aged 68 years.

1871—

- Sept. 27—Mrs. Margaret M. Derry, aged 50 years.
Dec. 22—Pope Brown, aged 13 years, 4 mos., 3 days.

1872—

- Sept. 4—Mrs. Emily E. Clarke, aged 29. Rev. W. S. Short, M. E. Church.
Sept. 18—Mrs. Cassandra Heslep (officiating minister, G. W. Stickney of Carrollton, Ia.). She was aged 88 years, 10 mos., 11 days.
Feb. 9—Mrs. Mary Lawton, aged 50 years. Jos. Cross.

1873—

- Oct. 17—Mrs. M. McConnel. Jos. Cross.

1874—

Jan. 25—Delia Charlton.

—Hattie Lax, aged Rev. F. M. Gregg.

March 22—Mary H. Rockwell, aged 17 yrs., 11 mos. Rev.
I. L. Townsend.

July 21—Louisa M. Phillips.

July 25—Edwd. Fidler.

Aug. 11—Joseph Cross, Jr.

Aug. 21—Mrs. Julia M. Collins (wife of H. T. Collins).

1876—

July 3—Henry Lloyd Clarke, son of Reuben and Ruth
Clarke, age 2 yrs., 3 m. Disease, maramus, buried
East Cemetery (Jacksonville), service read by Dr.
Crook.July 15—Percy Edgar Clarke, son of Reuben and Ruth
Clarke, age 10 m. Disease, Cholera Inf. Buried
East Cemetery (Jacksonville). Service read by J. D.
Easter, D. D.July 21—Willie Alfred, son of Alfred C. and Ellen
Thompson, 10 m., 11 d. Disease, Cholera Inf. Buried
East Cemetery by J. D. Easter, D. D.Aug. 17—Mr. Albert Short, disease, typhoid fever. Rev.
H. C. Whilley.Oct. 4—Lu Tilton, daughter of Peter and Martha Tilton,
age 2 yrs. Disease, teething, buried East Cemetery
by J. D. Easter.Oct. 16—Carrie Robb, daughter of Mrs. Catherine Robb,
age 10½. Disease, diptheria. Buried Diamond
Grove by J. D. Easter.Oct. 29—Henry Higgins, Sr., 77½ years. Disease, pleur-
isy. Buried Diamond Grove by J. D. Easter.Nov. 9—Mrs. Clara B. Brown, age 30 years. Disease,
brain fever. Buried Diamond Grove by J. D. Easter.Nov. 18—George Hale, age 8 years. Disease, diptheria.
Buried Diamond Grove by J. D. Easter.

1877—

April 16—Kate Tilton, daughter of Peter and Martha Tilton, age 9 mos. Pneumonia, buried East Cemetery by John D. Easter.

April 29—Frank Cameron, age 30 yrs. Disease unknown. Buried East Cemetery by John D. Easter.

June 24—Susie Atwater, adult. Disease, consumption. Taken to New Haven for burial, service by J. D. Easter.

Sept. 25—Fred Peck, age 31 years. Disease, gangrene. Buried Diamond Grove, service at the grave by J. D. E.

1878—

Jan. 26—John Fidler, age about 65 years. Disease, apoplexy. Buried East Cemetery. Services at the grave by J. D. E.

March 8—William Bond, age 26 years. Disease, consumption. Buried East Cemetery, by John D. Easter.

May 22—Jesse Weller. Disease, apoplexy. Buried Diamond Grove, by John D. Easter.

July 6—Mattie Susan Curtis, daughter of Thomas and Sarah Curtis, age 3 mos. Disease, congestion of brain. Buried East Cemetery by John D. Easter.

July 14—Elmer W. Dayton, son of Oliver and Belle Dayton, age 4 mos. Disease, congestion of brain. Buried Diamond Grove, by Rev. Dr. Morrison.

Dec. 8—Jonathan Gill, age 48 years. Disease, spinal meningitis. Taken to Mass. Services by J. D. Easter.

Dec. 9—James, son of Peter and Martha Tilton, age 14 days. Disease, premature of birth. Buried East Cemetery, by J. D. Easter.

1879—

Jan. 23—Laura Lee, colored servant of Mrs. Callnage, 70 years. Disease, abcess in side. Buried in East Cemetery by J. D. Easter.

June 4—Anna Mabel Dewey, age 7 yrs., 3 m. Disease, consumption. Buried Diamond Grove, by J. D. Easter.

May 15—Mary Ann Garney, age 79 years. Disease, rheumatism. Buried East Cemetery by J. D. Easter.

Sept.—Lieut. Wm. L. English (Remains removed from Montana) age 37 years. Wounded at the Battle of Big Horn, 1877. Buried Diamond Grove by J. D. Easter.

Oct.—James Lawton, age 27 years. Suicide under insanity. Buried Diamond Grove, by J. D. Easter.

Oct. 23—Miss Hattie Elliott, age 26 years. Disease, typhoid fever. Buried East Cemetery, by J. D. Easter.

Oct. 24—Mrs. McCarthy, age 56 years. Disease, cancer. Buried Diamond Grove, by J. D. Easter.

Dec. 3—James Walker, age 6 years. Disease, scarlet fever. Diamond Grove, by J. D. Easter.

Dec. 31—Harriet McClure Stryker, age 7 yrs., 8 mos. Disease, brain fever.

Note relative to the List of Baptisms.

Mr. Batchelder's minute of August, 1834, states that in the five years of his labours there were *two baptisms of children*, but whether he meant to refer to the two first upon the following list we have no means of determining.

BAPTISMS

Baptisms from June 1st, 1834. By Revd. Jno. Batchelder,

Date of Baptism

1834—

June 1—At Lynnville, Charles, child of Mr. Wm. Greer.

July 27—Sarah Ann, child of Mr. Craven.

Oct. 5—At Lynnville, Ann Elizabeth, child of Mr. Holmes.

Nov. 2—At Lynnville, Mary Ann, child of Mr. Beilby.

1835—

Oct.—John, child of Mr. Craven.

1836—

July 25—Thomas, infant child of Mr. Goodill.

Dec. 5—John, child of Mr. Goodall.

Dec. 5—Elizabeth, child of Mr. Mason.

1837—

March 20—Sophronia, child of Mr. Cochran.

April 1—Matthew, child of Rev. Jno. and Hannah Batchelder.

April 16—Leslie, child of Bezaleel and Elizabeth B. Gillett.

June 18—Thomas, child of Mr. Harrison.

Sept. 18—Joseph Randolph, child of Joseph and Mary Coddington.

1838—

March 4—William Frederic, child of Mr. S. G. McAllis of Waverly.

March 18—Robert, child of Mr. Robert Batchelder.

July—Maria Augusta, daughter of Bezaleel and Elizabeth B. Gillett.

July—A child of Mr. Ogle's.

July—A child of Mr. Greer's.

By Bishop Chase, Oct. 15, 1837, Miss Sarah Chase Saunders, adult.

By Rev. J. De Pin, of Galena, Jan. 17, 1838, child of Isaac G. and Jane P. Isreal.

1839—

July 7—Jane Catherine, child of Edward and Hannah Shurtliff, born June 3d, 1833. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Lemuel B. Hull.

July 7—Alfred Pearson, child of Edward and Hannah Shurtliff, born Dec. 3d, 1835. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Lemuel B. Hull.

1840—

June 7—Edward, child of Bezaleel and Elizabeth B. Gillett. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Chas. Dresser of Springfield.

June 7—Mary Elizabeth, child of Adolphus and
Cherrill. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Chas.
Dresser of Springfield.

Sept. 21—Harriet Adeline, child of Ignatius R. and Har-
riet Simms, born July 15, 1826. Sponsors, the par-
ents, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

Sept. 21—Middleton Ward, child of Ignatius R. and Har-
riet Simms, born March 17, 1828. Sponsors, the
parents, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

1841—

Feb. 1—Amanda Malvina (wife of Mr. Chas. Ogle) by
Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

March 31—Mary, child of James M. and Mary Bucklin,
born March 5, 1839, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

April 9—Lucinda, child of Thomas and Cassandra Hes-
lep. Sponsor, the mother, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer,
Rector.

April 9—Hannah Vanlear, child of Thomas and Cassan-
dra Heslep. Sponsor, the mother, by Wm. G. Heyer,
Rector.

June 15—Harriet N. (wife of Horatio N. Pettit), by
Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

July 9—Mary (wife Austin Brockenbrough) by Revd.
Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

July 9—Mary Brown, child of Austin and Mary Brocken-
brough, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

July 9—John Champe, child of Austin and Mary Brocken-
brough, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

July 9—Brown, child of Austin and Mary Brockenbrough,
by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

July 9—Columbus, child of Austin and Mary Brocken-
brough, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

July 9—Lucy Pamela, child of Austin and Mary Brock-
enbrough, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

July 9—Eliza, child of Austin and Mary Brockenbrough,
by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

1842—

- March 16—Mary Harriet, child of John E. and Caroline Tolfree. Sponsors, the parents, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase.
- March 16—Mary Jane, child of Josiah M. and Della A. Lucas, born Feb. 8, 1840, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase.
- March 16—Charles Saunders, child of Josiah M. and Della Lucas, born Sept 3, 1841, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase.
- March 16—Margaret Saunders, child of Bezaleel and Elizabeth Gillett, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase.
- Sept. 12—Cicero Davis, child of Ebenezer T. and Lucinda Miller by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.
- Sept. 12—Charles Terry, child of Ebenezer T. and Lucinda Miller, by Revd. Wm. G. Meyer, Rector.
- Sept. 12—Frances Lucinda, child of Ebenezer T. and Lucinda Miller, by Rev. Wm. G. Heyer.
- Sept. 12—Joseph, child of Ebenezer T. Miller, by Revd. Wm. C. Heyer.
- Sept. 16—Howard January (child of Alexander and Sidney Brother), by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.
- Sept. 16—Louisa Frances, child of Alexander and Sidney Brother, by Revd. Wm. G. Heyer, Rector.

1843—

- May 6—Eliza Jane, child of Thomas H. and Smith, by the Revd. Edward J. Darken, Rector.
- May 6—Martha, child of Thomas H. and Smith, by Revd. Edward J. Darken, Rector.
- May 6—Elias Brevoort, child of Christian B. and Josephine Zabriskie, by Revd. E. J. Darken, Rector.
- May 21*—Alice Elizabeth, child of Emmerson and Hannah Ward, by Revd. E. J. Darken, Rector.
- May 21*—Margaret Ann, child of Emmerson and Hannah Ward.
- May 21*—John, child of Emmerson and Hannah Ward, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

May 21*—Louisa Jane, child of John and Emma Abbott, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

May 21*—Henry, child of John and Emma Abbott, by Revd. E. J. Darken, Rector.

*The five names marked by star are in bracket and those words at the end, "Then, at Mound Meadow."

June 29—Ellen, child of Samuel and Rebecca Markoe, by Revd. E. J. Darken, Rector.

July 16—Elizabeth, child of James and Sarah Ranson, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

July 16—John, child of James and Sarah Ranson, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

July 16—Mary Ann, child of James and Sarah Ranson, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

July 16—William, child of James and Sarah Ranson, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

July 16—Peter, child of James and Sarah Ranson, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

July 16—Mary Jane, child of William and Anna Richardson, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

July 22—Philander Chase, child of Joseph and Sarah Heslep, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase.

July 22—John Frederick Rigby, child of Revd. Edward John and Frances Louisa Darken, born 14 Dec., 1841, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase.

July 22—Thomas Eugene De Champflour, child of Revd. Edward John and Frances Louisa Darken, born April 21st, 1843, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase.

Nov. 10—Walter Rockwell, child of Joseph and Sarah Heslep, born 15th Aug., 1843, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

Nov.—Jane A., child of Holland, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector, at Rushville.

Nov.—Clara, child of Jacob O. and Ann Jane Jones, born May, 1843, by Rev. E. J. Darken at Rushville.

- Nov.—George, child of John and Martha Todhunter, born Sept. 22nd, 1843, by Rev. E. J. Darken, at Rushville.
Dec. 9—Nathan Kingsbury, child of William A. and Grace A. Hinman, born Nov. 16th, 1843, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

1844—

- April 24—John Edson, child of Elder T. and Olive E. Van Alstine, born Feb. 17th, 1844, by Rev. E. J. Darken, Rector.

1847—

- Dec. 3—Sarah, child of Robert and Elizabeth Sprowell, born Dec. 1, 1829. Sponsor, Ellen Sprowell, sister, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.
Dec. 5—Margaretta Caroline, child of Bezaleel and Elizabeth B. Gillett. Sponsors, the parents and Miss Margaret Saunders, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

1848—

- Feb. 13—Emma Reed, child of David and Catharine B. Robb, born Sept. 1, 1844. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington.
Feb. 13—Clara Berdan, child of David and Catharine B. Robb, born Nov. 6, 1846. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington.
Feb. 13—Samuel David, child of John and Margaret Linisey, born Oct. 15, 1847. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.
Feb. 13—Minerva, child of Rose, born Sept. 6, 1836. Sponsor, Mrs. Cassandra Heslep, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.
Feb. 13—Dorothy (colored), surname *Smith*, born 1826. Sponsor, Mrs. Sarah E. Hardin, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.
April 15—William Gibson, child of Thomas and Cassandra Heslep, born Jan. 20, 1817. Sponsor, his mother, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

June 11—Rebecca (wife of Samuel Markoe), born Dec. 5, 1820. Sponsor, her husband, by Rev. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

June 11—Samuel, child ofBacon, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

June 11—Harriet Elizabeth, child of John and Frances L. Jabine, born June 27, 1836. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

June 11—James Thomas, child of John and Frances L. Jabine, born Oct. 16, 1843. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

June 11—Laura Jane, child of John and Frances L. Jabine, born Dec. 8, 1845. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

June 14—Theodore Lewis, child of John and Frances L. Jabine, born Jan. 2, 1848. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Aug. 16—James Edward, child of Revd. J. T. and Jane A. Worthington, born July 30, 1848. Sponsors, the parents (private), by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector, at home.

Oct. 1—Amanda Carlton, child of John T. and Mary Sigler, born Sept. 18, 1833. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Oct. 1—Mary Ellen, child of John T. and Mary Sigler, born Aug. 16, 1838. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Oct. 1—Louisa Emma, child of John T. and Mary Sigler, born Sept. 1, 1841. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

1849—

March 25—Joseph, child of Thomas and Cassandra Heslep. Sponsor, his mother, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

March 25—Emily, child of Samuel and Rebecca Markoe, born April 22, 1848. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

May 1—Mary Ellen, child of Edward and Hannah Lambert, born Oct. 3d, 1840. Sponsors, the parents, do (sick), private, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector, at home.

May 6—Mary, child of Nathan and Nancy Dresser, born Feb. 27, 1848. Sponsors, mother and Mrs. Jane A. Worthington, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

May 6—Rebecca, child of Samuel and Rebecca Rogers, born March 5th, 1835. Sponsor, Mrs. Nancy Dresser, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

May 6—Mary Kate, child of David and Catharine B. Robb, born 1848. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

May 6—Clarissa, child of John T. and Mary Sigler, born April 3, 1844. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

May 6—Charles Edward, child of John T. and Mary Sigler, born April 8, 1846. Sponsor, the parents, by Rev. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

June 29—Everard Ignatius, child of Mason W. and Sarah L. Newell, born Nov. 22, 1843. Sponsor, the mother, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

*July 11—Cassandra Jane, child of Horatio H. and Harriet N. Pettit, born Feb. 21, 1845. Sponsors, the parents and Mrs. Cassandra Heslep and Mrs. Lucinda Miller, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

1850—

May 19—Sullivan, child of Benjamin and Sarah Sumner of Lawrence County, Ill., born April 24, 1830, witness, Dr. Gillett, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

June 2—Joseph, child of Richard and Sarah Fielding of Pike County, Illinois, born Nov. 11, 1834, witness, Dr. Gillett, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

July 14—Joseph Washington, child of Joseph and Sarah E. Heslep, born 1849. Sponsor, the mother, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Aug. 11—William, child of.....&.....Kee, born Jan. 2d, 1850. Sponsor, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Aug. 11—Henrietta, child of John and Mary Lindsey, born May, 1850. Sponsors, the parents, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Sept. 8—Mrs. Marilla McDougall, child of Murray and Mary McConnell, born Jan. 4, 1821. Sponsors, Mrs. A. Rapalje and Miss Margaret Hapier, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Sept. 22—Miss Minerva, child of Murray and Mary McConnell, born Dec. 21, 1823. Sponsors, Mrs. A. Rapalje and Mrs. McDougal, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Sept. 22—Edward, child of Murray and Mary McConnell, born July 14th, 1840. Sponsors, Messrs, Jos. Berdan, Henry Stryker, and Mrs. McDougall, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

1851—

Feb. 8—Charles Fenton, child of Wm. H. and Margaret N. Corcoran, born 1845. Sponsors, the parents, baptized in sick bed.

June 8—Elizabeth, child of Ira and Harriet Mapes, born Dec. 17th, 1835. Sponsors, Miss M. McConnell.

June 8—Stephen, child of Ira and Harriet Mapes, born Oct. 9, 1837. Sponsor, Miss M. McConnell.

*June 29—Traver, child of Mason W. and Sarah L. Newell, born Feb. 9, 1846. Sponsor, the mother, by Rev. J. T. Worthington.

June 8—Child of Ira and Harriet Mapes, born Dec. 3rd, 1839. Sponsor, Miss M. McConnell.

June 8—Mrs. Hendrickson, child of Mr. and Mrs. Fox, witness, Miss M. McConnell.

July 10—Robert Wallace, child of Robert Wasson and Caroline Bush, born April 22, 1851. Sponsors, the parents and Dr. B. Gillett, by Revd. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

July 18—Ella, child of John and Eliza J. B. McConnell, born 21 June, 1851. Sponsors, Mr. James Berdan and wife and Miss Minerva McConnell, by Rev. Jno. T. Worthington, Rector.

Aug. 10—Mary Jane, child of Charles and Sarah Smith, born 3 June, 1850. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Eliza Koch.

Aug. 24—William Henry, child ofand Eliza Bone, born June, 1851. Sponsors, Mrs. Sigler and Miss Cornelia Sigler and the mother.

1852—

Jan. 7—William Frank, child of Charles and Sarah Wilson of Ohio, aged about 27 years. Baptized on his deathbed and died about 3 hours after.

Jan. 11—Cathe. Jane Booth. Witness, John Booth, her husband (Hypothetical baptism).

Jan. 11—John Edwin, child of Jno. and Cathe. Jane Booth, born March 8, 1851. Sponsors, parents and Miss Minerva McConnell.

Jan. 11—Rowland Madison, child of Jno. T. and Jane A. Worthington, born 10 Nov., 1851. Sponsors, Dr. B. Gillett, Dr. R. M. Worthington, and Mrs. Ann Rapalje.

Feb. 1—Harriet, child of Dr. Saml. M. and Louisa (decd.) Prosser. Sponsor, Mrs. Berdan.

Feb. 1—Martha Ann, child ofand..... Stringham, born 1835. Sponsor, Mrs. Worthington.

Feb. 15—Nancy Murphy, born 1839. Sponsors, Mrs. Rapalje.

Feb. 15—Lela, child of Saml. and Rebecca Markoe, born 1851. Sponsors, the parents only.

Feb. 15—William Charles, child of David and Catharine B. Robb, born 1851. Sponsors, parents only.

March 29—Fannie Louise, child of Edward H. and Sarah C. James, born Aug., 1851. Sponsors, mother, Miss M. Saunders and B. Gillett. The parents live in Missouri.

Feb.—Morisco, child of John and Mary Hannant, born March 11, 1835. Witness, Mrs. Worthington.

Feb.—Rebecca, child of John and Mary Hannant, born Dec. 2, 1838. Witness, Mrs. Worthington.

June 27—Eliza Douglass, child of John and Leach. Witness, the congregation.

July 18—Anne Maria, child of Charles and Sarah Smith, born May 29, 1852. Sponsors, parents.

July 18—John C., child of Jno. C. and Morris, about 5 months, the mother (private baptm.) sick of small pox, from St. Louis, Mo.

Aug. 16—John Thomas, child of Jno. T. and Mary Sigler, born Nov. 7th, 1833. Witnesses, the parents. Baptized on a sickbed.

(This ends Mr. Jno. T. Worthington's baptisms.—S. J. English.)

1853—

Nov. 16—Murry Dennison, child of John and Eliza McConnell. Sponsors, James Berdan and Jane P. Berdan, by T. N. Morrison.

1854 —

Jan. 15—Julia Stryker, child of James and Eliza English, born Aug. 2d, 1853. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. H. B. McClure, by T. H. Morrison.

Jan. 15—John Fuller, child of David and Catharine B. Robb, born April 18, 1853. Sponsors, parents, by T. N. Morrison.

Jan. 22—John Joseph, child of John and Margaret Lindsey. Sponsors, parents, by T. N. Morrison.

April 23—Virginia Sawyer, adult. Sponsors, Mrs. McClure and Mrs. Higgins, by T. N. Morrison.

Nov.—Frank Allen, child of Rev. T. N. and Ann Eliza Morrison, born Oct. 26, 1854. Sponsors, Dr. B. Gillett, Henry Stryker and Mrs. Morrison, by T. N. Morrison.

Nov. 19—George, child of Edward C. and Harriet A. Lax. Sponsors, parents, by T. N. Morrison.

Nov. 19—Hettie, child of Samuel and Rebecca Markoe. Sponsors, parents, by T. N. Morrison.

1855—

May 6—Isaac L. Morrison, adult. Sponsors, Henry Stryker, James Berdan, by T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 1—John Robert, child of Sachavil Cane and Elecia Cane, born Aug. 11, 1853. Sponsors, parents, by T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 1—Holbert Clare, child of Sachavil Cane and Elecia Cane, born Sept. 15, 1855. Sponsors, parents, by T. N. Morrison.

1856—

May—Fannie and Holmen, children of David and Catharine B. Robb. Born Jan. 27, 1856. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Berdan, by T. N. Morrison.

May—Lizzie Bross, child of Owen M. and Elizabeth Long, born July 24th, 1855. Sponsors, parents, by T. N. Morrison.

June—Mary Charlotte, child of Julia M. and Henry Talmage Collins, born June, 1855. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Harriet McClure, by T. N. Morrison.

1857—

March 25—Edward M. Xoscialouski, in sickness, by T. N. Morrison.

June—Isabella, child of Rev. T. N. and Ann Eliza Morrison. Sponsors, Dr. Gillett and wife and Mrs. Morrison, by T. N. Morrison.

June—Clara Louise, child of James and Eliza English, born Sept. 27, 1856. Sponsors, parents and Miss Louisa Stryker, by T. N. Morrison.

June—Child of Cyrus and Epler. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Ann Eliza Morrison, by T. N. Morrison.

June—Child of Cyrus and Epler. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Ann Eliza Morrison, by T. N. Morrison.

July 5—Blanch, adult. Mrs. Sherwood (parent). Sponsors, Mrs. Sherwood and Mrs. Ann Eliza Morrison, by T. N. Morrison.

July 7—Howard, child of John and Minerva McDougall. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Eliza McConnell, by T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 4—May Kingsley, adopted daughter of Jas. and Jane Berdan. Sponsors, adopting parents and Mrs. May Eliza Simms, by T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 4—John W., child of Samuel and Rebecca Markoe. Sponsors, parents, by T. N. Morrison.

Dec.—William Butler, by T. N. Morrison. Hogelom, adult. Sponsors, Dr. B. Gillett and Henry Stryker, Jr., by T. N. Morrison.

1858—

Jan. 17—Miss Ann Warrens, adult. Sponsors, Dr. B. Gillett and wife, by T. N. Morrison.

May—Florence Augusta, adult, of Albion. Morrison, by T. N. Morrison.

May 9—Mary Louisa Prosser, adult. Aged 16 years. Sponsor, Mrs. Mary Eliza Prosser, by T. N. Morrison.

Susan Caroline Morrison, adult, aged 15 years. Sponsor, Mrs. A. E. Morrison, by T. N. Morrison.

Julia Melton, adult, of Alton.

June 6—Martha Jane Marsh, born June 17, 1815. (Sponsor Marsh, husband and father.) By T. N. Morrison.

Sarah Mehitable Marsh, daughter of former, born Nov. 21, 1840. Sponsor, Mrs. A. E. Morrison, by T. N. Morrison.

- Sept. 19—Miriam Amelia, child of I. L. and A. B. Morrison, born Oct. 28, 1857, by T. N. Morrison.
- Oct. 3—Alfred Abel, child ofSmith, born March 10, 1845. Sponsor, parents.
- Edmund Thomas, child of Smith, born March 23, 1849. Sponsors, parents.
- Mary Ann, child of Smith, born April 23, 1853. Sponsors, parents.
- Harriet Ann, child of Smith, born April 3, 1858. Sponsors, parents.
- Oct. 17—Charlotte Robertson. Parents, H. T. and Julia M. Robertson. Sponsors, Charlotte Bohnsen and parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- Oct. 24—Warren L. Parents, David and Catharine Robb. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1859—

- April 27—George Washington Richards. Sponsors, Mr. H. Stryker and Wm. L. Mayo, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- May 1—Frederick Huston. Parents, T. N. and Ann Eliza Morrison. Born Oct. 13, 1858. Sponsors, parents and Dr. B. Gillett, by Bishop Whitehouse, at request of Rector.
- May 1—Caroline Adalcar. Parents, Joseph and Sarah Heslep. Born April 6, 1852. Sponsors, Dr. and Mrs. Gillett, by Bishop Whitehouse.
- May 1—Sarah Jane. Parents, Thomas and Mary Bonn, born March 14, 1859. Sponsors, parents, by Bishop Whitehouse.
- May 1—Virginia Vane. Parents, E. C. Lax and Harriet. Born Aug. 5, 1856. Sponsors, parents, by Bishop Whitehouse.
- May 1—Carl. Parents, Cyrus and Cornelia A. Epler. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Stryker, by Bishop Whitehouse.

Sept. 25—Sophia Hurd. Parents, Henry and Sophia A. Stryker, born June 25, 1859. Sponsors, parents and Miss Charlotte Stryker, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1860—

Jan. 22—Edward Payson Holmes, deaf and dumb, adult, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Feb. 5—Earle, parents, G. M. and Mara A. McConnel, born Oct. 5, 1859. Sponsors, Dr. B. Gillette and Mrs. Eliza McConnel, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

March 29—Frank. Parents, Samuel and Rebecca Markoe. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 20—Mattie. Parents, E. C. and Harriet Lax. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 27—Lavinia Grace (adult) Baher. Sponsors, Baher, Dr. Gillett and wife, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 29—Eva Maria. Parents, L. and Lavinia G. Baher. Sponsors, Baher, Dr. Gillette and wife, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

June 17—Ida Louisa. Parents, G. W. and Matilda Richards. Sponsors, parents and Dr. and Mrs. Gillette, by T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 19— Cane. Sponsors, parents (in private), by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 29—Abraham Palmer. Sponsors, parents (in private), by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 2—Eliza Edward. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 2—Harriet Adalene. Parent, Adelene Philpot. Sponsors, Parents and Mrs. Dewey, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 2—Ada Fannie Miller, adult, of New Orleans. Sponsors, Mrs. Lucinda Miller and Mrs. A. E. Morrison, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 2—Ada. Parents, Cicero Davis and Ada F. Miller (N. O.). Sponsors, Ada F. Miller and Mrs. A. E. Morrison, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 2—William. Parents, E. T. and Lucinda Miller, Sponsor, Mrs. L. Miller, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 15—William Prescott. Parents, William and Susan E. Chase, born Feb. 13, 1860. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Miller.

1861—

March 31—Franklin Price, adult. Sponsor, Mr. Henry Stryker, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

July 14—Henry William. Parents, T. N. and Ann Eliza Morrison, born March 26, 1861. Sponsors, Dr. B. Gillette, Henry Stryker, Sr., and Mrs. Morrison, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

July 14—Earnest. Parents, Cyrus and Cornelia A. Epler. Sponsors, Dr. B. Gillette and parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 23—Charles W. Dunlap, adult, aged 25 years. Sponsors, William K. Dewey and Wm. M. Mayo, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 26—Caroline Hawley. Parents, James and Ann Phillips, born April 27, 1861. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. T. N. Morrison, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 29—Charlotte. Parents, James and Eliza English. Sponsors, Henry Stryker, Sr., Charlotte Stryker and Eliza English, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 13—Alfred Tucker Welbourn. Parents, Isaac L. and Anna R. Morrison. Sponsors, parents and James Berdan.

Dec. 15—Mrs. Sarah Ann Armitage, adult, born Oct. 10, 1840. Sponsor, Felix Armitage (her husband), by Rev. S. J. McMasters at Cairo.

1862—

Jan. 5—John L. McConnel, adult, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Jan. 5—Bella. Parents, John L. and Eliza McConnel. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 10—John Robertson. Parents, Henry Talmage and Julia M. Collins, born Jan. 15, 1862. Sponsors, Henry Stryker, Sr., Mrs. Harriet McClure and parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 29—Charlie W. Robb, infant son of David and Catharine B. Robb. Private, by T. N. Morrison.

1863—

April 5—Thomas Johnson Hook, adult. Sponsor. John Hack, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Ann Eliza Galbreath, adult. Sponsors, Mrs. Peck and Tomelson, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April 5—Eliza Ann, adult. Sponsors, Mrs. Virginia Sawyer and Mrs. Eliza McConnell, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Lou Virginia Sawyer, adult. Sponsors, Mrs. Virginia Sawyer and Mrs. McConnell, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April—Kate Sawyer, child. Sponsors, Mrs. Virginia Sawyer and Mrs. Eliza McConnell, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 31—Mary Sophia (adult). Parents, Andras. Sponsors, Mrs. Andras and Mrs. T. N. Morrison, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

June 3—Ophelia Matilda (adult). Parents, Corcoran. Sponsors, Mrs. Corcoran, Mrs. T. N. Morrison, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 22—Cain.

Sept. 10—Ann Bourns. Parents, Robert and Mary Bourns, born March 22, 1863. In private, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Sept. 27—Maria Louise. Parents, Maria and Ornan Pierson. Sponsors, Henry Stryker, Louisa Stryker and mother, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1864—

April 24—Marian. Parents, George M. and Maria A. McConnel, born Oct. 3, 1863. Sponsors, parents and Mary L. McCracken, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

- June 5—Joseph. Parents, Thomas and Mary Bourns. Born Dec. 2, 1861. Sponsors, parents and Mr. John Hack, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- June 5—William. Parents, Thomas and Mary Bourns, born Oct. 2, 1860. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. John Hack, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- June 12—Samuel Prosser. Parents, Edward C. and Mattie Lax. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Higgins, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- June 12—Isabelle. Parents, Daniels, born April 1, 1863. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- July 24—Blanche Nettleton. Parents, Cyrus and Cornelia A. Epler. Sponsors, parents and Charlotte Stryker, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1865—

- May 27—Joseph Henry. Parents, Ornan and Maria Pier-son, born Dec. 7, 1864. Sponsors, parents and Mr. John Hack, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- June 11—Lew Wallace. Parents, Mrs. Mary Ellen John-son, born Aug. 8, 1862. Sponsor, John Hack, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- June 11—Jesse. Parents, Edward and Amanda Easton, born March 28, 1864. Sponsors, mother, Mr. M. Elln Johnson and M. Hack, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- Aug. 6—Harry Edward. Parents, William B. and Ellen Mosby, born Oct. 5, 1862. Sponsors, parents and Samuel Markoe, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- Aug. 6—William Howard. Parents, William B. and Ellen Mosby, born Aug. 13, 1864. Sponsors, parents and Samuel Markoe, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- Sept. 24—Nathaniel. Parents, James and Eliza English, born June 26, 1865. Sponsors, parents and Henry Stryker, Sr., by Rev. T. N. Morrison.
- Oct. 22—Frances Lucinda. Parents, Cicero D. and Ada F. Miller, born Aug. 22, 1861. Sponsors, Mrs. Ada F. Miller and Mrs. Lucinda Miller, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 22—Emily Leavens. Parents, Cicero D. and Ada F. Miller, born Aug. 22, 1861. Sponsors, Mrs. Ada F. Miller and Mrs. Lucinda Miller, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 22—Loraine. Parents, Cicero D. and Ada F. Miller, born Feb. 4, 1865. Sponsors, Mrs. Ada F. Miller and Mrs. Lucinda Miller, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Dec. 20.—Harry McFarland. Parents, D. and Catherine B. Robb. In private, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1866—

Emma Hicks. Sponsors, Mary Sophia Andrus and Mrs. A. E. Morrison, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Loraine Elmira Johnson, adult. Sponsor, Mrs. Lucinda Miller by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April 22—Agnes Audby Wakely, adult. Parents, Dr. T. A. Wakely. Sponsor, Mrs. A. E. Morrison, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April 29—Margaret Johnston Warren, adult. Miss Ann Warren. Sponsors, Mrs. Ann Warren, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April—Mack, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

May 14—Mary McConnel, adult, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

July 15—Maude Ann. Parents, Cyrus and Cornelia A. Epler. Sponsors, parents and Miss Louisa Stryker, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Nov. 1—Frederick Vanderhoff. Parents, J. W. and Matilda Hook. In private, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Nov. 8—Thomas John. Parents, Thomas and Mary Bourn. In private, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Nov. 25—George Dennis. Parents, William and Laura C. Rockwell, born July 3, 1866. Sponsors, Dennis Rockwell and parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1867—

Clifford. Parents, Charles and Virginia Sawyer, born May 21, 1865, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Helen. Parents, Charles and Virginia Sawyer, born May 21, 1865, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Charles Briggs. Parents, Charles and Virginia Sawyer, by Rev. T. N. Morrison. Born March 16, 1860.

Howard Irwing. Parents, Charles and Virginia Sawyer, by Rev. T. N. Morrison. Born June 16, 1862.

June 16

June 23—Robert Brewster. Parents, Geo. M. and Maria A. McConnel, born March 13, 1866. Sponsors, parents and Mr. and Mrs. Warne, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

June 23—Edward Edgar. Parents, J. Tenbrock and Margaretta C. Warne, born Nov. 1, 1866. Sponsors, parents and Mr. and Mrs. McConnel, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 8—Mary Brent. Parents, Elisha W. and Mary Brown, born June 27, 1856. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 8—Washington Adams. Parents, Elisha and Mary Brown, born Nov. 11, 1861. Sponsors, parents, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 8—Mary Kate. Parents, William and Clara B. Brown, born Aug. 15, 1866. Sponsors, parents, Mrs. Mary Brown and Mrs. Robb, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Oct. 8—Mary Maxwell. Parents, Elisha and Emma Brown, born April 14, 1867. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Mary Brown, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Dec. 29—Murry Angle Reynolds. Parents, Mary Eliza Wells, born Oct. 31, 1867. Sponsors, Mrs. E. Walls, William and Laura C. Rockwell, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

1868—

March 29—Geo. Thomas. Parents, Thomas and Mary Bourn, born Oct. 19, 1867. Sponsors, Mary Bourn, I. L. Morrison, H. Higgins, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

March 29—Charles Edgar. Parents, Edgar and Amanda Easton, born Dec. 26, 1867. Sponsors, Mrs. Easton and Mr. Johnson, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April 5—William Austin. Parents, William and Laura C. Rockwell, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April 5—Angelina Christina. Parents, Simon J. and Sophia J. Starkey, born May 5, 1867. Sponsors, Simon J. and Sophia J. Starkey, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

April 9—Carrie Webster, adult. Sponsor, Mrs. J. D. Kelly, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 16—Henry William. Parents, James W. and Eliza English, born April 30th, 1868. Sponsor, Henry Stryker, Sr., by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 16—Mrs. Eliza Higgins, adult. Sponsors, Maria and Henry Higgins, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

Aug. 16—Mary. Parents, Henry and Eliza J. Higgins, born May 13th, 1868.

Dec. 17—Charles William. Parents, William K. and Anna E. Dewey, born Dec. 10th, 1864. Baptized in private, in mortal illness, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector. Supposed to be mortal, but the child recovered and was rec'd into the church Dec. 19, 1869.

1869—

Jan. 8—Charles Edgar. Parents, John William and Sarah Ann Craig, born April 15th, 1868. Baptized in private in Arcadia, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

Jan. 17—Norman Bezaleel. Parents, Edward James and Carrie Gillett, born Aug. 18, 1867. Sponsors, H. Talmage Collins, the father and Maria A. McConnel, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

St. Michaels day—Jacob Washington Hook. Baptized hypothetically, adult. Mr. John Flack, Mrs. Hook, witnesses, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

St. Michaels day—Mrs. Jennie Palmer, adult. Witnesses, Mr. John Flack, Mrs. James Berdan, Mrs. Hook, by Rev. I. L. Townsend.

- St. Michaels day—Francis Katie Bailey, adult. Witnesses, Mr. John Flack, Mrs. Jas. Berdan, Mrs. Warren, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- May 2—Napoleon. Parents, Wm. L. and Amanda V. Gray. Sponsor, Robert Bradbury, by Rev. I. L. Townsend. Born May 9, 1856.
- May 2—Rosa Lee Osborne, born Oct. 10, 1859. Sponsor, Ida Virginia Sawyer, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- May 2—Elizabeth Beasley. Parents, William L. and Amanda V. Gray, born March 20, 1866. Sponsor, Addie Morrison, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- May 9—Arthur. Parents, Robert and Susannah Bradbury, born March 27, 1868. Sponsors, I. L. Morrison, W. F. Goheen and Louisa Stryker, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- May 9—Walter Hart. Parents, John and Mary Fidler, born March 29, 1868. Sponsors, John Flack and Henry Stryker, Sr., by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- May 29—Emily Margaret Dunlap. Sponsors, Mrs. C. K. Sawyer and Mrs. J. W. Hook, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- May 29—Clara Josephine (wife of) C. H. Tenyck, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- May 29—Charles Henry Tenyck, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Aug. 29—William. Parents, Daniel and Nancy Ann Howe, born March 10, 1867. Sponsors, William L. Gray, H. C. Collins and L. Josephine Townsend, by Rev. I. L. Townsend.
- Aug. 29—Daniel. Parents, Daniel and Nancy Ann Howe, born Aug. 13, 1862. Sponsors, William L. Gray, H. C. Collins and L. Josephine Townsend, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Aug. 29.—Hiram. Parents, Daniel and Nancy Ann Howe, born Oct. 10, 1864. Sponsors, William L. Gray, H. C. Collins and L. Josephine Townsend, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

Aug. 29—Rebecca Josephine. Parents, Wm. L. and Amanda V. Gray. Sponsors, William L. Gray, H. C. Collins and L. Josephine Townsend and mother, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

Sept. 12—Lloyd Warfield. Parents, William and Clara B. Brown, Nov. 24, 1868. Sponsors, Henry Stryker, (Sr.), and Mrs. D. Robb, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

Oct. 31—Robert. Parents, Martha and Peter Tilton, born Oct. 11, 1865. Sponsors, Henry Higgins, Mrs. Maria Higgins and the mother, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

Oct. 31—William Imly. Parents, Martha and Peter Tilton, born 1869. Sponsors, Henry Higgins, Mrs. Maria Higgins and the mother, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

Dec. 19—Willard Dickey. Parents, John William and Sarah Ann Craig, born Aug. 21, 1869. Sponsors, Henry Higgins and parents, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

1870—

March 23—Margaret Elizabeth. Parents, William Henry and Mary Elizabeth Richards, born Nov. 6th, 1869. Sponsors, Joseph Crist, Elizabeth Adams and the mother, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

May 15—Wilfred Gillett. Parents, George and Maria McConnell, born Sept. 21st, 1869. Sponsors, H. Stryker, Jr., Dr. and Mrs. H. W. Milligan and the mother, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

May 22—Thomas. Parents, William H. and Agnes A. Jackson, born Jan. 1st 1870. Sponsors, Ed. Lax, Dr. Wakeley (grandfather), and Mrs. I. L. Townsend, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

June 24—Emma Garetson. Parents, (Late) Wm. R. and Ellen M. Mosby, born May 27, 1869. Baptized in private in mortal illness, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

- Aug. 8—Arthur Carlton. Parents, William and Laura C. Rockwell. Born Feb. 19th, 1870. Sponsors, Mrs. Murray and Wash. Hook, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Aug. 28—Julia Alice. Parents, Henry and Eliza J. Higgins, born April 14, 1870. Sponsors, parents and Mrs. Maria Higgins, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Aug. 28—Louisa Long. Parents, Charles J. and Mary L. Dunlap, born Oct. 4, 1862. Sponsor, Mrs. Owen M. Long, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Aug. 28—Lizzie Bess. Parents, Charles J. and Mary L. Dunlap, born Jan. 3rd, 1865. Sponsor, Mrs. Owen M. Long, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Aug. 28—Mary Freeman. Parents, Charles J. and Mary L. Dunlap, born Jan. 5th, 1868. Sponsor, Mrs. Owen M. Long, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Sept. 4—Ethel. Parents, Ellen M. and (late) Wm. R. Mosby. Sponsors, H. Stryker, Sr., and the mother, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Oct. 7—Maggie Ella. Parents, Black, adult. Cornelia E. Smith, Louisa Stryker and William Gill, witnesses, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Oct. 7—Elizabeth Moor, adult, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Oct. 7—George Short, adult. Witnesses, Mr. and Mrs. Wash. Hook and Wm. Gill, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Nov. 20—Estella Moore. Parents, John and Mary Fidler, born Aug. 12, 1870. Sponsors, the parents and S. Josephine Townsend, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Nov. 20—Mary Ada. Witnesses, H. Stryker, Sr., Mrs. Johnson and Ida V. Sawyer, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.
- Nov. 20—Emma Laura Swals. Parents, Emma & Joseph Smith, born July 30, 1864. Sponsors, Henry Stryker, Sr., the mother and Ida V. Sawyer, by Rev. I. L. Townsend, Rector.

In this church are the records of those near and dear to me. My husband's parents, James W. and Eliza Stryker English were married here and their children nearly all baptized and married here. My father, the Rev. Joseph Francis John, was Rector from December, 1900 to October, 1904. I was married by Rev. Mr. William Mitchell, Rector, April 29, 1905, and my son, Henry John English, was baptized there July 15, 1906, by Rev. Mr. William Mitchell, the sponsors being the parents and his aunt, Mrs. Elizabeth Stryker. He was confirmed there by Rt. Rev. Bishop Sherwood, Feb. 23, 1919. His father was confirmed there March 26, 1899, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Seymour and was baptised there Aug. 16, 1868, by Rev. T. N. Morrison.

The old church was burned March 14, 1918, at 2:30 a. m.* and Henry John was confirmed in the Parish House which was used as the church until the new church was built.

So closely is this first Episcopal Church of Illinois woven in my life that I felt constrained to send its history as my part in helping the State Historical Society in its work of gathering the history of "Illinois' Old Churches."

"Humanity's greatest treasures are memories."

*This date was taken from Fire Department Record.

**OQUAWKA CELEBRATES ITS ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENT,
1927.**

BY MISS ELIZABETH SMITH.

There has long been a mild dispute as to whether the first white settler in what is now Henderson County was Captain Redman, a soldier of the war of 1812, who settled near what is now Lomax, or Dr. Isaac Galland, who settled on the banks of the Mississippi at the place now known as Oquawka, but then known as "Yellow Banks, in 1827. There is no question, however, but that Dr. Galland was the first white settler to locate at this point. He came here in 1827 and erected the first house built here.

The Indians called the place O-quawk-i-ek—meaning "Yellow Banks", from the color of the sand bluffs up the river. An account of the building of Dr. Galland's cabin states: "There were two white men to help him, save his teamster, and in the emergency he hired six or eight Indians, who were encamped at a point of timber below. He had to pay for each log as it was rolled to its place and then gave them a drink all around. As they were unused to such labor, and particularly after they had imbibed two or three drinks of liquor, thereby becoming unsteady in their movements, they were unable to perform heavy work. Often, at the stage of the labor, the logs, which were unhewn and of the blackjack variety, coming down on their bare arms and breasts, would tear off great flakes of skin. They would give an ejaculatory "ouch," and at once quit work for the day. Their love of the firewater was so great, however that they would always return the following day, thereby repeating the process until the house was completed."

In 1828 Dr. Galland sold his place at "Yellow Banks" to S. S. Phelps, who with his young bride and his brother Wil-

liam, located here and entered upon the business of trading with the Indians, in which business the brothers achieved a marked success. The business was carried on principally with the Sac and Fox Indians and extended over a large portion of Western Illinois and Eastern Iowa. Mr. S. S. Phelps and another brother, Alexis Phelps, later laid out the present Village of Oquawka, the name chosen by them being a corruption of the Indian word above referred to. Since that time the Village has had a varied history and a great many of the interesting things in the early history of this part of Illinois happened in this vicinity. Abraham Lincoln made his first visit to Oquawka during the Black Hawk War, and spoke here again in 1858, as did also Senator Douglas.

In the early summer of 1927 the Reverend W. E. Woods, Pastor of the Oquawka Methodist Church, conceived the idea of observing the one hundredth anniversary of our first settlement in some appropriate manner, and his plan materialized in a Home Talent Chautauqua and Home Coming which was held on August 2, 3, 4 and 5, 1927. The enterprise proved to be a pronounced success not only in a financial way, but also in the matter of attracting large crowds of people from this part of the state, and also a number of former residents from a distance.

The Home Talent Chautauqua part of the program consisted of home talent entertainments on the evenings of August 2nd, 3rd and 4th. A large chautauqua tent had been procured, large enough to seat 800 or 900 people. The first program on Tuesday evening, August 2nd, was of a miscellaneous nature and quite diversified, consisting of music, vaudeville performances, readings, drills by the little folks, etc. The program was enthusiastically applauded by the audience, and the performances were really of considerable merit.

On Wednesday evening, August 3rd, the performance consisted of home talent comedy which, with the musical features of the program and some specialties between acts, occupied the whole evening.

The largest crowd present at any of the entertainments appeared on Thursday evening, August 4th, and the program this evening was devoted to historical features appropriate to the occasion. County Judge, J. W. Gordon, gave an address on the subject "Reminiscences of Yellow Banks", in which he recounted many of the interesting events in the history of Oquawka from the time of the first settlement up to about fifty years ago. This address gave evidence of a great amount of time and research on the part of the speaker, and one of the comments of the local paper on it was that it "should be preserved as one of the worth while historic documents of the village."

Following the delivery of this address, the most interesting feature of the entire Chautauqua was staged, being the pageant of early Oquawka history, ending with the famous town lot auction held in 1836, at which auction people as far away as New York City were present. An interesting thing in connection with the history of that time was the incident referred to in the pageant, when Governor Duncan of Illinois offered the Phelps Brothers \$100,000.00 for their interests in the enterprise. Some of the persons represented in the pageant were Dr. Galland, Judge Daniel McNeil, Jr., the first Probate Judge, and Mrs. McNeil, Mr. and Mrs. S. S. Phelps, Mr. and Mrs. Alexis Phelps, Black Hawk and his wife, their daughter and her husband and two sons, Governor and Mrs. Reynolds, Governor and Mrs. Duncan, President and Mrs. Andrew Jackson, various people from New York, Judge Winfield Scott, Colonel John B. Patterson, Colonel George Davenport, Reverend Trotter, a son-in-law of Peter Cartwright and Pastor of the Canton and Henderson Mission in 1834, besides a number of early settlers, and last, but not least, "Nigger Dick," the only slave who ever lived here, he having been purchased by the Phelps Brothers and given his freedom.

As a specialty between acts of the pageant, "Nigger Dick" drove through the tent the carriage in which Abraham Lincoln rode into Oquawka in 1858, in which were seated Abraham Lincoln and S. S. Phelps. (Mr. Phelps entertained

Mr. Lincoln when he spoke here in 1858.) This carriage had been kept by Mr. Phelps and his descendants and was available for this incident. There was one person present in the audience who was an eye witness of the parade staged for Abraham Lincoln from Oquawka Junction to Oquawka in 1858, being Miss Olive Forward, now of Gladstone, Illinois.

The pageant as a whole was a very unique affair and all who took part in it entered into the spirit of the affair and made it quite a success.

Friday, August 5th, was the Home Coming day. There was no set program for the day except a parade in the afternoon participated in by those who had appeared in the pageant, and many others. The Lincoln carriage was the most interesting exhibit in the parade. After the parade an informal meeting was held at the tent, being called to order by the Hon. E. L. Werts, President of the Village. The speech making was impromptu, largely, one of the short addresses being given by Mr. W. K. Stewart of Monmouth, whose father had the honor of introducing Mr. Lincoln on the occasion of his speech here in 1858 during the senatorial campaign. Following the afternoon's program a fish fry was served by the ladies of the Methodist Church.

During the entire four days plenty of music was furnished by the Oquawka Community Orchestra and a Martial Band. In connection with the Chautauqua and Home Coming the merchants of the village made an extra effort and displayed in their windows numerous relics and articles of historical interest in connection with the early history of this vicinity. The entire program, or rather series of programs, from start to finish, marked a great occasion in the history of this little village and plans are contemplated for making this an annual affair.

NECROLOGY

MARX D. HAUBERG, 1837-1928.

Marx D. Hauberg was born in Schleswig Holstein, Germany, Sept. 29, 1837. He came to the United States with his parents in the year 1848; lived at first in Tennessee and a year later came to Rock Island County, Illinois, living the first few years at Moline, and then the family moved to a farm. There was still much unimproved land in Rock Island County in the early fifties and the senior Hauberg pre-empted several tracts direct from the U. S. Government. The subject of this sketch passed to his reward Jan. 4, 1928, at the old homestead which for seventy-five years had been his home.

Mr. Hauberg was a successful farmer; for many years he was a buyer and shipper of live stock to the Chicago markets. He was a community-minded man, active in the early development of church; of school; the Grange; Farmers Mutual Benefit Association; the Annual County Fair held near Hillsdale. He often served as a judge of exhibits at the Illinois State Fair and was instrumental in having the State Fair permanently located at Springfield. He was an early member of the Modern Woodmen of America; a member of the Masonic Order; member of the Rock Island County Historical Society and of the State Historical Society, and past president of the County Old Settlers' Association.

Politically Mr. Hauberg became a leader in the Greenback, and later in the Free Silver movement. At Indianapolis, in 1890, he was appointed a delegate-at-large for Illinois to attend the meeting at St. Louis, Mo., in Feb., 1891, where he participated in the organization of the Populist Party. As a candidate for Sheriff he missed election by less than a hundred votes. This led to his candidacy in 1886 for the State Senate and while he again failed of election it was a matter of satisfaction that he carried his own home County by a handsome majority in spite of the fact that the County normally

was heavily Republican. In his later years he cast his presidential ballot respectively for Roosevelt; for Woodrow Wilson at the time of his second candidacy for the president, and, for Harding and Coolidge.

In 1862 Mr. Hauberg was joined in marriage with Miss Anna Margaret Frels, a native of Rock Island County, and of whose early life a short sketch is to be found in "Some reminiscences of Pioneer Rock Island Women" by Mrs. K. T. Anderson at page 73 in the "Transactions" of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1912. Mrs. Hauberg preceded her husband in death after fifty-six years of wedded life. Surviving them are six daughters and two sons who carry on with a bequest from their parents of all that is handed down of character, of integrity, of all that is best out of the often severe years of pioneer life.

Mr. Hauberg lived in a generation of pioneers when the majority had but little schooling. Altogether the time he spent in school amounted to but a few weeks, but he was a constant reader. As a rule he continued his reading far into the hours of the night and was reputed to be a well informed man. He was a great walker. Walking to Moline and back, a round trip of forty miles meant little to him in his younger days. His farm was six miles from the nearest town (Hillsdale) and he uniformly walked, rather than trouble to hitch up a horse. After his 80th year he became a member of the Black Hawk Hiking Club and participated in a number of its outings. In his ninetieth year he was still a believer in his own self reliance, and carried on his usual program such as travelling to Colorado and to South Dakota to visit his daughters; hurrying home in order to prepare his usual exhibits of fruit and vegetables for the County Fair. He was proud of the half dozen blue ribbons and several red ribbons won at last year's Fair. He attended a short time before his illness a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Old Settlers Association, and, after a light "stroke," which in a few weeks caused his death, he insisted on sitting up to shake

hands with a large party of the Black Hawk Hiking Club as they visited his farm.

In 1923 he published his "Memoirs," a book of two hundred pages which gives a word picture of the times through which he lived and in which he was an active participant.

He was a member of the Illinois State Historical Society and took a great deal of interest in the work of the department.



CHARLES F. HILDREDTH.

CHARLES FREMONT HILDRETH, 1861-1928.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS STOCKING.

In the appraisement of a human life which, closing, leaves a lasting impress upon the community in which it was lived, certain qualities of spirit are seen to stand forth predominantly, like peaks in the glow of the sinking sun. That quality which markedly distinguished Charles Fremont Hildreth was the spirit of service.

One generously gifted with this spirit, and wise in its expression, must live under the constant pressure of demand. Mr. Hildreth recognized this, and accepted its responsibilities. To the simple ministration by a cheering word, as to the exacting service of nation-wide extent, he gave himself freely. Thus he became, in large measure, "neighbor to the world."

His preparation for a life of service seems to have begun even at his birthplace, in Bennington County, Vt., for that region was hallowed by the service of patriots, and over the old Revolutionary battlefield, within sight of Hildreth homestead, there seemed to hover the spirits of those who gave their lives for national freedom. Here began the development of that keen interest in matters historical, which found partial expression later in his activities as a member of the Illinois State Historical Society. Here, too, doubtless began that conscious and careful cultivation of those kindly and gracious qualities of manner and conduct which became fixed and distinguishing characteristics of the matured man.

That the spirit of determination dwelt in the boy from the beginning was attested by his splendid triumph over the handicap of a lack of educational advantages. When a lad of but twelve he was abruptly uprooted from historical Vermont and taken to Prattville, Alabama, where his father had become superintendent of a cotton mill. Thereafter, in the hard actualities of a drab environment, his opportunities to

attend school dwindled, till at last they ceased altogether and he was set to steady employment in the mills.

But though, in his own words, his total schooling was not more than the equivalent of the seventh grade, he set about supplying the lack by voluminous reading in his leisure hours, by contact with men who had something of value to impart, and—when conditions permitted, years later—by wide travel at home and abroad. Thus, at the time of his passing, he stood forth a man of thorough culture, with well developed literary talent, with a mentality sharp-whetted by rigorous application, and with an understanding of his fellow men made deeply sympathetic by his own enforced wrestling with the problems of life. He had become a true humanitarian.

The mere enumeration of life's waymarks profits nothing, yet in Mr. Hildreth's career each appears to have been set up by that same dauntless determination to live a life of purpose. At the early age of seventeen he courageously broke the limitations of the South. At Janesville, Wis., he learned telegraphy in preparation for railroad service. Fourteen years of such service followed, at Ackley, Iowa, and at Decatur, El Paso, and Pana, Illinois. In 1891 he was transferred to Freeport, Ill., in the capacity of freight agent for the Illinois Central Railroad. But a few months later came another sharp breaking of limitations, and he launched boldly out upon his own resources. A short experience as a manufacturer followed, and then, having decided to make Freeport his place of permanent residence, he opened an insurance agency and entered upon the work in which he was to find his greatest opportunities for service and his largest success.

The ensuing years came freighted with demands, for his value of society was quickly recognized. Did the community bring its lack of library facilities to Mr. Hildreth's attention, he threw himself into the task of securing for it a Carnegie Library, and served on the Library Board. Did the Chamber of Commerce have need of his clear thought and wise counsel, he became its president and guiding force. Did vexing questions of civic policy arise, requiring patience and the wisdom

of experience, he gave himself without reserve to their solution. With the memory of his own early struggles, he rendered the cause of education exceptional service as member of the Board of Education. Mindful of his own boyhood, he became president of the Y. M. C. A. and shed his strong influence for good upon the youth of the community. When "Four-Minute Speakers" were needed, in the tense days of the World War, he was promptly chosen. Service, unstinted, he gave—and not of the lip, evaporating into mere preaching, but of the heart and hand. As secretary of the Freeport Building and Loan Association, as president of the Illinois Building Association League, as trustee of his church, he dedicated his industry to service. His unfailing good-nature, his abundant cordiality, his animation, his saving wit—even his ready smile for all alike—constituted a measure of service by which the community greatly profited.

In the field of insurance his service was large and broadly extended. Called to apply his incisive thought to tangled phases of this business, he rendered such brilliant service that he was elevated to the presidency of the National Association of Insurance Agents, and delegated to present issues before the National Association of Insurance Commissioners and the Insurance Commission of the Illinois House of Representatives. His sound judgment was immediately recognized, and his excellent counsel was thereafter constantly sought.

To such as he, service becomes the sole measure of usefulness. It likewise becomes the precise measure of success. He found material prosperity—and he found charity. The gropings, the strivings, the sufferings of his fellow men were to him matters of personal concern, and for that the love which centered in his home drew out to far horizons. He became widely known, his friendship eagerly sought and prized. His home life was in the broadest sense ideal—he was married August 28th, 1889, in Hutchinson, Kansas, to Helen P. McLafferty, who survives him—and the glow of hospitality which emanated from his home was felt afar.

The region about Freeport is rich in historical associations. Mr. Hildreth yielded gratefully to its invitation to re-

search, and devoted much time to its study, both locally and in the library of the Illinois State Historical Society. When a movement was launched to mark the site of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport with a suitable monument, he assumed an active and helpful part.

Waymarks of service, these(arresting attention because of their prominence; but when, through the hush of death, the lowly and unknown, both white and colored, came to his home to look again upon the face of him who had befriended them, the community realized that many an act of loftiest service remained unrecorded except in the hearts of these humble folk.

So lived and served Charles Fremont Hildreth. Still serving—for he was securing tax data in behalf of his city that bleak afternoon of January 3rd last when he was stricken—he passed. And passing, left an impress which shall long withstand time.

MRS. ELLA W. BRAINERD, 1840-1928.

Mrs. Ella W. Brainerd, for nearly three quarters of a century a prominent resident of Lincoln; for twenty years president of the Illinois Presbyterial Foreign Mission Board, and noted for her religious, and philanthropic deeds, died at 6:20 o'clock, Friday morning, April 20, at her home, Brainerd Farm, 1006 North Union street, after but a brief final illness.

The death of Mrs. Brainerd, whose charitable and Christian works had made her one of the best known and most beloved women in this section of the state, came as a distinct shock to the community.

While she had been bedfast nearly five years, as a result of a broken hip sustained at Thanksgiving time, 1923, Mrs. Brainerd had been cheerful and maintained an active mind until a sudden heart attack Thursday. During the winter she suffered from influenza which left her heart in an enfeebled condition. Death occurred at the age of nearly 88 years.

Ella W. Owsley was a native of Kentucky. She came to Illinois with her parents in 1851, settling first at Jacksonville where she was educated at the Jacksonville Female Academy. A few years later she moved to Lincoln, where in January, 1858, she married Ben H. Brainerd, prominent land owner and banker. They settled on a 320 acre farm at the edge of the city on North Union street, where Mr. Brainerd died May 30, 1891. An only son of Mr. and Mrs. Brainerd, died in infancy.

Mrs. Brainerd has since resided on the home place, which was remodeled into a beautiful home that became one of the show places of the city. The thirteen columns around the southern plantation style home came from the old Marine Bank of Springfield, Illinois. Her grounds and gardens were stocked with flowers and shrubs of all varieties. As a girl Mrs. Brainerd knew Abraham Lincoln well.

Her philanthropies in the church and elsewhere were maintained throughout her life. She was one of the bene-

factors of Lincoln Chautauqua which owns Brainerd Park, named in her honor.

Many young people, both relatives and friends, were aided to college education through Mrs. Brainerd's generosity.

After the death of Mr. Brainerd, there resided with Mrs. Brainerd her sister, Mrs. Anna M. Sims, her niece Mrs. Nellie S. Bergen, and the latter's daughter, now Mrs. H. B. Harts, of Ardmore, Oklahoma. For the last thirty years Dr. C. S. Oglevee, who has been manager of Mrs. Brainerd's estate, has resided at Brainerd Farm and has been as an adopted son of Mrs. Brainerd.

Mrs. Brainerd's first state Presbyterian office was that of treasurer. She held other synodical offices, until elected state president, a position she held for twenty years. On retirement she was made president emeritus. She also was a member of the Presbyterian mission board of the northwest. For over 20 years she was president of the mission society of the First Presbyterian church of Lincoln. Within the past year she received a highly prized pin, sent her as an honorary member of the Foreign Mission board of the Presbyterian church of the United States, the highest honor within the power of the organization to bestow.

For two years after Mrs. Brainerd sustained a broken hip in the fall, she hovered between life and death. The will of an active mind to live, however, prevailed and she began to mend. In September, 1925, she began a novel occupation that lasted until her last illness. This was the designing and making of dresses for hickory nut dolls for charity.

She had done beautiful needle work all of her life, and the occupation furnished an outlet for her active mentality and busy fingers. So feverishly would she work at this task that she forgot her suffering. More than 1,000 of these dolls were completed, and while many were given to friends, a majority were made on orders, and were sold and the proceeds given to the church.

Politics, current events and the news of the world interested Mrs. Brainerd to the last. She loved good literature,

and her libraries were voluminous. She was a constant newspaper reader and expressed a lively interest in daily happenings to the very last.

Ella W. Owsley was born in Lincoln county, Kentucky, June 1, 1840, the youngest daughter of Henry Hawkins Owsley and Mary Finley Owsley. Her grandfather, Henry Owsley, a native of Virginia, and grandmother, Martha Bayne Owsley, a native of Maryland, had emigrated to Kentucky on horseback in 1787.

The Owsley family was traced back in unbroken lineage to England in the fifteenth century. It had its origin along the River Ouse. Captain Thomas Owsley, who immigrated to Virginia in 1694, was the first Owsley in America. Among his direct descendants was Governor William Owsley, the fourteenth governor of Kentucky.

Mrs. Brainerd's father, Henry Hawkins Owsley, was a wealthy plantation owner. He owned many slaves, but when the abolition movement arose, he became a warm advocate, and voluntarily freed his own slaves, who were devoted to him.

Mr. Owsley served several terms in the Kentucky legislature, where he was one of the fathers of the Kentucky good roads movement, and was instrumental in passage of legislation creating the first stone turnpikes through the Kentucky Blue Grass region.

When Mr. Owsley and family moved to Lincoln in the fifties, the family homestead was at the corner of Kickapoo and Tremont streets, on the corner now occupied by the new residence of Frank Pfau, Jr.

Mr. Owsley died in 1867, at the age of 81 years. His wife died in 1886 at 87 years of age.

Of the surviving family, Miss Kate Owsley, who for many years, alternated her residence between Danville, Kentucky, and Lincoln; together with Mrs. Anna Sims, made their home with their sister, Mrs. Brainerd. Mrs. Sims, next to the last to pass away, died four years ago at 88 years, the age to which Mrs. Brainerd lived.

The twelve children of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hawkins Owsley, now all deceased, were: Mrs. Harriet Bayne Jordan, William Owsley, William Owsley II, John E. Owsley, Mrs. Martha Susan Cook, Mrs. Agnes Howell, Catherine F. Owsley, Mrs. Mary Wilson, Mrs. Clara Wilson, Mrs. Anna M. Sims, Mrs. Elvira Davidson, Mrs. Ella W. Brainerd. The youngest brother, William Owsley II, was killed in a hunting accident in California, after mining successes in the gold rush of 1849.

Many relatives, living at a distance, were informed by telegram of Mrs. Brainerd's death. Lincoln relatives include Mrs. N. S. Bergen and Mrs. Mary D. Brown, nieces, and Brainerd C. Snider, nephew.

Mrs. Brainerd traveled extensively in the later years of her life and visited Bermuda, Jamaica, the far west and all sections of this country, as well as Europe. She was fond of collecting basketry, shells, carvings, pictures, pottery, etc., on her travels and her beautiful home held many interesting mementoes of her travels.

If there be any virtue in immortality upon this earth it would be reserved without stint for such a wonderful Christian character as Ella W. Brainerd. She lived a Christian life such as is given to few. Her philanthropic works and her nobility of character were known wherever her name was known. A large share of her worldly goods went to further the cause of Christianity in this and in distant lands, and her daily life was an exemplification of charity and of good deeds that sprang from a heart incapable of anything but good. The lives of all with whom she came in contact were better lives for having known Ella W. Brainerd. Her passing leaves a void in the family circle, in the church, in state and in world-wide religious circles—a void that will remain, tinged with sweet memory, long after her passage to her Heavenly reward.

The late Ben H. Brainerd was born in Charleston, South Carolina, a son of Rev. Eleazer Brainerd. He was educated at the Farmers' College, Ohio, and at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

He came to Logan county in 1857 and in partnership with William M. Dustin, opened the first bank in Lincoln, known as the banking house of Brainerd and Dustin. He was also one of the first organizers of the First National Bank of Lincoln and one of its largest stockholders, and was interested in other business and farming enterprises. At the time of his death he left farm holdings in Logan and Sangamon counties and also had extensive holdings in Nebraska and Kansas.

Many citizens of Lincoln today recall his golden rule business spirit. He would make many personal loans, on moral security, and expect only repayment without interest where he had faith in any friend who might be hard pressed for funds. In politics he was a staunch republican, and in religion a devout and liberal member of the Presbyterian church.

Funeral services for Mrs. Brainerd were held at 2:00 o'clock Monday afternoon, April 23, from the First Presbyterian church, Lincoln, Illinois, Dr. Eliot Porter in charge. Burial was made in Oak Ridge cemetery, Springfield, where Mr. Brainerd is buried.

JOHN M. GLENN, 1859-1928.

John M. Glenn, secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, died at Hot Springs, Arkansas, April 22, 1928.

Mr. Glenn was born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, November 14, 1859. He was the son of John J. and Mary Jane Patterson Magaw Glenn. The family moved to Monmouth, Illinois. Mr. Glenn's father was for many years judge of the Circuit Court.

Mr. Glenn graduated from Monmouth College, 1883, with the degree of Master of Arts.

Soon after his graduation he became city editor of the Monmouth Atlas. In 1886 he came to Chicago as a reporter on the Inter-Ocean. In 1887 with Paul Selby he bought an interest in the Illinois State Journal at Springfield. A year later he sold this interest and returned to Chicago. He was New York correspondent for the Tribune 1893-4 and in 1894 became political editor of that paper. In 1895 he went to the Times-Herald as political editor. In 1887 he was secretary of the Chicago Civil Service Commission.

In 1898 Mr. Glenn was appointed secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. The organization at that time consisted of forty-two manufacturing firms banded together to oppose legislation adverse to the interests of industry. Under Mr. Glenn's direction the Association grew to a membership of three thousand firms producing ninety per cent of the goods manufactured in Illinois.

Mr. Glenn was president and treasurer of Glenn & Company, publishers of Manufacturers' News; Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois Industrial Council; Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois Manufacturers' Mutual Casualty Association, Inc.; Director, American Manufacturers' Foreign Credit Underwriters, Inc.; Director, Association of Arts and Industries; Member of Board of Governors, Chicago Heart Association. He was a member of the Union League, Chicago Athletic, Mid-Day, Glenview, Press, Traffic, Evanston Country, Sangamo and

Illini (Springfield) clubs; Illinois State Historical Society, Chicago Historical Society, Indiana Society of Chicago, Chicago Art Institute and Phi Delta Theta fraternity. He was a republican in politics and a member of the Presbyterian church.

Mr. Glenn married Miss Jeannie Chapin of Kirkwood, Illinois, in 1888. Mrs. Glenn survives him, with two daughters and two sons, Miss Mary Glenn, Mrs. Thomas Gerald Bryce, John J. and Robert.

Funeral services were held in the First Presbyterian Church, Evanston, April 26, conducted by Reverend David Hugh Jones, pastor of the church, assisted by Dr. Theodore C. Seares of the University of Chicago and Dr. Thomas Hanna McMichael, president of Monmouth College. Burial was at Monmouth.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmond J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-34. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1927. (Nos. 6-26 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. clvi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. 1. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Atton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles by Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph. D., LL. D. lxxv and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall. xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Out of print.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I. No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXI. No. 1, April, 1928.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to X, inclusive.

*Out of print.

OFFICERS
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May 1928—May, 1929

President

OTTO L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Daytona Beach, Fla.
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City
JOHN MCAULEY PALMER.....Washington, D. C.
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island

Board of Directors

CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP.....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH.....Carbondale
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
J. A. JAMES.....Evanston
IRA W. ALLEN.....La Grange
LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana
THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.....Urbana
H. J. PATTEN.....Evanston
LOGAN HAY.....Springfield
GEORGE DIXON.....Dixon
LINCOLN WELDON.....Bloomington
GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield
THOMAS REES.....Springfield
JOSEPH B. OAKLEAF.....Moline
CORNELIUS J. DOYLE.....Springfield

Secretary-Treasurer

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents

THE PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN ILLINOIS

CONTENTS

I.	Officers of the Society.....	vii
II.	Appeal to the Historical Society and the General Public..	xi
III.	Matthew Spinka, Ph.D., Editor. Journal of a Pioneer Missionary, the Rev. Lemuel Foster.....	183
IV.	John McAuley Palmer, Brigadier General, United States Army (retired). President Lincoln's War Problem...	200
V.	Earl W. Wiley. Discovery of Record of Lincoln's Chicago Speech of Oct. 27, 1854.....	218
VI.	Duane Mowry, Contributor. Fourth of July Oration of Hon. James R. Doolittle. An address which was not delivered	224
VII.	Blanche S. Charters. Alexander Charters.....	233
VIII.	Lelah Foster. Macon County, Illinois.....	235
IX.	Alta Mae Speulda. Unveiling of the Kelley Cabin Marker, Springfield, Illinois.....	242
X.	R. E. Hieronymus. "The Pioneers." Statue by Lorado Taft unveiled at Elmwood, Illinois.....	253
XI.	Paul Benjamin Corr. Northwest Territory Celebrations..	260
XII.	William Underwood Halbert. Family History of John Halbert of St. Clair County Illinois.....	273
XIII.	Necrology. Mrs. Paul Selby Mrs. Mary Turner Carriel	281
XIV.	Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society	287

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(MEMBERS PLEASE READ THIS CIRCULAR LETTER.)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography, and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian Tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Co-operative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed Works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; Materials for Illinois History; old Letters, Journals.

2. Manuscripts; Narratives of the Pioneers of Illinois; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great Rebellion, or other wars; Biographies of the Pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every County either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs, a sketch of the settlement of every Township, Village, and the Neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois History.

3. City Ordinances, proceedings of Mayor and Council; Reports of Committees of Council; Pamphlets or Papers of any kind printed by authority of the City; Reports of Boards of Trade; Maps of cities and Plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in the State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Illinois; Political Addresses; Railroad Reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual or other Reports of School Boards, School Superintendents, and School Committees, Educational Pamphlets, Programs and Papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier Laws; Journals and Reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' Messages and Reports of State Officers; Reports of State Charitable and other State Institutions.

7. Files of Illinois Newspapers and Magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of Counties or Townships, of any date; Views and Engravings of Buildings or historic places; Drawings or Photographs of scenery; Paintings; Portraits, etc., connected with Illinois History.

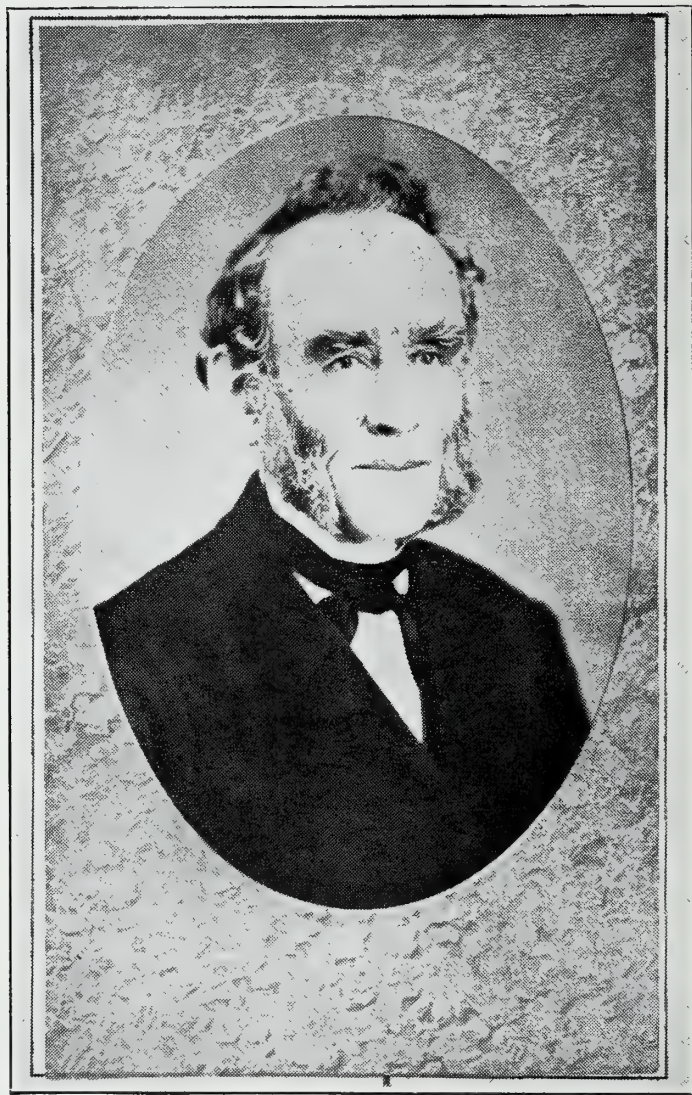
9. Curiosities of all kinds; Coins; Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statuary; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes—their History, Characteristics, Religion, etc.; Sketches of prominent Chiefs, Orators and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities, and Implements; also Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics. It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.



REV. LEMUEL FOSTER.

JOURNAL OF A PIONEER MISSIONARY— THE REV. LEMUEL FOSTER

EDITED BY MATTHEW SPINKA, PH.D.

Even though great men often affect their times in a spectacular fashion and consequently history perpetuates the memory of their deeds, the laborious task of building a civilization depends to a far greater degree upon the unostentatious but faithful exertions of humbler men who have built their lives into the very fabric of the growing structure, just like the shells of the insignificant creatures of the sea untold generations ago have built the chalk-cliffs of Dover. Without these patient, plodding toilers, these “mute, inglorious Miltons,” the building of new states and new civilizations could never have been begun. These humble men, ennobled by a great idea and inspired by an altruistic passion, have spent themselves in the task of converting a wilderness into a civilized state.

Such was the life of the Reverend Lemuel Foster, a Congregational minister, whose journal is presented herewith. He came to Illinois in 1832, and was instrumental in organizing a number of churches in various pioneer communities, besides making his voice count in the anti-slavery struggle and other reforms of the day.

Mr. Foster was born on Nov. 24, 1799, at Burkhamsted, Litchfield county, Connecticut. His father, a carpenter by trade, died when Lemuel was a little over twelve years old, and the boy stayed on the farm to help his widowed mother till he was twenty years of age. Early resolving to enter the ministry, he then began a course of preparatory studies in the Williamstown College in Massachusetts. During his student years he partly supported himself by performing various odd jobs and partly by drawing upon his slender means left him by his father, and when sickness prolonged the years of

preparation, he even had to borrow money to keep himself in school. By dint of industry, perseverance, pluck and self-sacrifice, he went through Yale College and graduated from the Yale Theological Seminary with the class of 1828.

He married Miss Lydia Conderry, a thrifty New England school teacher, and after having been commissioned a missionary to Illinois by the American Home Missionary Society, travelled the 1200 miles in a buggy and settled in the Sangamon county. Two years later he removed to Bloomington which was laid out just the year before (1833) and organized the first church there. His outspoken opposition to slavery made him a comparatively marked figure, and his experiences in Bloomington afford some interesting side-lights on the history of the slavery question in Illinois. Later he became active as lecturer and writer on temperance and slavery, and his Alton period is especially interesting in this connection. His later life comprised varied activity in founding new churches at various points in central Illinois, but is not of sufficient general interest to be included in the scope of the journal. He died in 1872 at his home in Washington Heights, near Rock Island.

The first part of the journal was written by Mr. Foster, while the latter part was written by another hand; from the context it is quite obvious that it was the hand of Mrs. Foster. The portion selected for publication comprises about two-thirds of the entire manuscript. The original is the property of the Congregational Historical Society of the Middle West, and is deposited in the Library of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

* * *

“THE JOURNAL”

Being early in this State and having been requested to give some account of my missionary work, I consented to do so—without thinking of the disagreeable task of talking about myself. To avoid this as much as possible, I was about to give a sheet or two of general remarks. But this would be of no use or interest, not presenting the past scenes and circumstances of missionary life. So if I do anything, I must descend somewhat to connected particulars and speak of my own mat-



MRS. LEMUEL FOSTER.

ters, and when I get all the I's in the lan-(guage?) used up, I shall of course have to stop.

In giving a proper view of my missionary work, I need to go back to its commencement in the fall of 1832, or perhaps even to my marriage with Miss Lydia Conderry, a practiced New England school-teacher of our native place (Hartland, Hartford Co., Connecticut,) awhile before, whom I married with the express understanding that we were to be missionaries in Illinois if health and means should permit.

Some of my class at Yale, graduating in '28, were in the company made up to come West as missionaries and to co-operate in starting a college at Jacksonville, Illinois. I was absent from the Theological Seminary when the company was made up, in consequence of prostrated health, and hence did not formally join the enterprise. But my heart was in it as to the missionary part, and as health improved with relaxation and exercise, my arrangements were made accordingly. On leaving the Seminary, I was licensed to preach, in May, 1831, by the Hartford North Association. I then engaged as an agent of the Connecticut Bible Society for six months, to get exercise and health, and then preached, as occasion demanded, in two or three places for a time, as a supply. In one of these places I was requested to settle, which my mother, then living, urged me to do.

But duty seemed to point me West, and being recommended by the brethren to the American Home Missionary Society, I received a commission from that body to labor as their missionary in Illinois, to take effect from the time of starting. To promote health and save expense, we concluded to make our journey by private conveyance. So putting all my means, except some books, etc., and our spending money (the former sent by water) upon a good strong horse and buggy, we started from the vicinity of Hartford, Connecticut, September 5, 1832.

We left warm and interested friends, who gave us not only their prayers and Godspeed, but also a good supply of tracts and religious papers, which we could distribute and use to advantage on the way. We made it a point to have family worship at every tavern and with every family where we put up for the night, and were able to carry it out except in a very

few instances. The first Saturday night brought us to a narrow valley of the Alleghany Mountains, to a dingy-looking little village with a single tavern, and that much the worse for wear. It had about it a full complement of loafers with unmistakable signs of whiskey.

But finding it too far over another ridge to the next town, and being told we could stay, we concluded it might be just the place for a missionary to spend the Sabbath, and had our horse put out. We found that there had been a military muster here that day, and some of the men had been outmustered by whiskey. We made no investigations in the bar-room, but found the family very kind and ready to fall in with our wishes for worship. They told us there was no meeting on the Sabbath for miles, but they had circuit preaching there on a week day. In the morning I sought an interview with the landlord, told him my profession and proposed to have preaching. I found him a good-natured Pennsylvania Dutchman who wanted to please everybody, but he thought there was no place for preaching.

I told him I could preach in his bar-room. He looked in at the door and at the remnants of the muster there and seemed to conclude it would not do. At length he said I could preach in his kitchen after dinner, that he would put in boards as seats and send his boys up and down the valley with the notice. So at the given hour we had a congregation of some 40 or 50 gathered in the kitchen, and began with singing some good Methodist tunes. A narrow hall passing the bar-room led into the kitchen and as the exercises proceeded, the inmates there put out their heads to look and those outdoors leaned on the doorposts and listened, and one by one they came till all were gathered in our place of worship. The presence of the Lord was there—we had a precious meeting; there I preached my first missionary sermon. In converse with some of the good ladies after the meeting, I found that they loved the gospel, rejoiced to hear it, and the landlord himself seemed much pleased with the occasion. We felt it to be a profitable day, and when we came to take our leave, our

host would take only about half the pay, and followed us to our buggy with a "God bless you, Sir."

Before another Sabbath we fell in, on the National Road, with two or three small families traveling as we were to Illinois, though with double teams and better prepared to make speed. We told them our plan of stopping on God's day; but when Sabbath morning came, they were preparing to go on as usual. No persuasion could induce them to stop; others were traveling, and they could not afford to lie-by on expenses. They went on, and about the middle of the week we came up with them, kept company awhile, and then passed them. On the Sabbath they passed us, and we again passed them still earlier in the week, and at length left them entirely behind. They had fine horses, but I noticed that they appeared jaded and way-worn as we last had passed them, whereas our horse, after the last Sabbath of our journey, on taking him from the stable Monday morning, pranced by me like a colt.

After a drive of nearly 1200 miles by daily count, filled up with many interesting incidents and kind, preserving Providences, we reached Jacksonville, Illinois, just five weeks from the time of starting. We were happy to meet there the brethren from Yale, who had come out in the College effort the fall before, and were cordially welcomed by them.

The meeting of the Synod of Illinois was then just at hand, and leaving my wife with friends there, I went with Bro. Sturtevant and others to that meeting at Vandalia, then the capital of the State. There was no Congregational body in the State to attend, and we did not stop to spend a thought about it, nor was it *necessary*, or *duty*, until Presbyterians in after times began to "isimize" religion. I should think more than half the brethren there were born Congregationalists, but we were all for *work*, not for an *Ism*. The meeting was an occasion of much interest, full of cordial sympathy, devotion, ardor and hope—all evidently seeking to be employed on our new and interesting field in the best manner.

Brethren newly arrived secured their locations, and I was pointed to a church already formed in the northern part

of the Sangamon county. After returning from the meeting, I immediately repaired with my wife to the place, where we were cordially received by the good people already settled there. Many of them were from the same Presbyterian church in Kentucky, and they with others had been formed into a church a little before by the Reverend John G. Bergen of Springfield. But he was 20 miles off, and could be with them but little, and they were waiting for a minister, as he had promised to send them one from the Synod, if possible.

Our first home was with one of the Elders of the church, a kind, patriarchal man known all through the region as Father Moore; he, and his kind wife, with their attentive sons and daughters, made us very welcome. We were also welcomed by others upon whom we called, and were soon personally interested in them and they, apparently, in us. My first preaching in the settlement was at Father Moore's house. He then went with me to a grove 10 miles off where more of the church members were located and where they had a log meeting-house. Here I was to spend half my time, and soon my engagements for labor were fully made out.

Although we were most kindly entertained at Father Moore's and no charge was made for board or housekeeping, yet I told the brethren that this would not do, that they must provide us with a cabin and that we would wait on ourselves, and if they would bring us meat, flour, etc., to live upon, we would allow them the usual price for the articles as so much paid by them toward my support, or my salary from the Society. This they regarded at first as an unnecessary Yankee plan, doing discredit to their hospitality; they wanted us among them all, and so we were. They would not take a visit as a visit at all, unless we stayed overnight, and if two or three days, so much the better. But after a few weeks, they fell in with my suggestion and appropriated a cabin in Father Moore's yard near his house, and having obtained our clothes, bedding, etc. sent by water, we commenced house-keeping by ourselves. Our cabin was 14 feet square, having but one room, made of unhewed saplings, and the door and the loft overhead were too low for a six-footer as I happened

to be. Still, in one place where the puncheons of the floor were somewhat sunken, I could stand erect when tired of stooping. But this made us a very pleasant home, study, kitchen and all, and very convenient for Mrs. Foster, who had so many things to borrow at first and who was so much under Mother Moore's wing.

Our communion season for the winter which was made rather a protracted meeting, was held in the grove 10 miles off, as there was a meeting house. Not being ordained, I was assisted in this by Bro. Bergen of Springfield. We had there a time of much religious interest and some five persons united with the church. In the spring I visited a large settlement 5 miles off in another direction, notorious as having always excluded preaching, Sabbath School efforts, and everything of the kind. One Saturday I took a quantity of Sabbath School papers and tracts in my saddle-bags and rode through that settlement, calling at all the cabins, talking with the parents and children, leaving them tracts and promising to preach about Sabbath School the next day at 11 o'clock in their school house. When the hour came, the house was full. All the settlement was there. I had taken along some friends to aid in singing and in organizing a school, if we should be able to do it. After the usual singing and prayer, I spoke to them for an hour, telling them all about Sabbath Schools, their beginning, object, manner of conducting them, answering objections and pointing out their blessed influence, and giving examples of their great benefits. When I was through, I called on them to say whether they would have a Sabbath school there or not, and if they would, to show it by rising. All rose, men, women and children, in earnest for the school. A son of Father Moore was appointed as superintendent and other friends as teachers, and I promised to come and see them and to preach once a month. The school went on with great interest, parents and children gathering in it, a supply of Testaments and a second-hand library books being gratuitously furnished. The reigning influence in the place was greatly changed.

As I was there to preach one Sabbath afternoon along in the summer, one of the men took me by the hand and with tears in his eyes said: "Sir, you can't imagine what the school has done for us! Why, it used to be that our boys were in all sorts of mischief on the Sabbath, hunting and fishing and robbing every melon-patch; but now they are all taken up with their lessons on the Sabbath, and even on the week-days they take their testaments into the field with them to study when they stop for rest." Indeed, I had seen them as I came to the meeting, sitting in the shade of hazels and crabapple trees, getting their lessons for the next Sabbath. I left that region at the close of my year, but our Methodist brethren, who before were excluded from the settlement, enjoyed a blessed revival there soon afterwards.

As the spring opened, we also left our dear cabin at Father Moore's for a more central place, where Mrs. Foster commenced a school, being earnestly solicited to do so, as good teachers were difficult to obtain. The school flourished and exerted a very happy influence in the community.

In September of that year ('33) the Sangamon Presbytery met with our church, and not having been ordained as an evangelist in the East, thinking it better that it should take place among Western brethren, I there applied for ordination.

Bro. Bascom (now at Princeton), a classmate at Yale, having come into the State a little before, also made the like application. Only three ministers of the body were present, and they were very careful Presbyterians. Of course, it came out in the examination that we had been in the Congregational connection and approved of that church polity, although holding the same faith with Presbyterians and cordially co-operating with them in the Plan of Union.¹ The brethren of the Presbytery were evidently a little fearful of our former connection, but finding no good reason otherwise for setting us aside, we were regularly ordained.

¹ The Plan or Union, entered into by Presbyterians and Congregationalists in 1801, provided for co-operation in home-missionary work. It became mutually unsatisfactory, to the Presbyterians because of the liberalizing theological influences emanating from Yale, and to the Congregationalists because of losses of many churches founded on the basis of the Union.

But with my people Congregationalism was altogether a new idea. The *word itself* seemed fraught with heresy. Then I had preached to them almost a year without letting them know that I was a Congregationalist! It looked like a design to deceive them, and some of them, as I understood afterward, remembered expressions in my preaching which they thought indicated that I was not orthodox on the imputation of Adam's sin. Still the majority part took us as we appeared, were very friendly and desired our stay. But I had then made several missionary tours, became more acquainted in the State and knew that there were many destitute places more important than North Sangamon. I felt it duty therefore to leave for some of those places, as my year closed.

With this in view, I visited Bloomington, in McLean county, sixty miles north, which had then just been laid out as a town. It was on the side of a fine grove, already surrounded with farms, and bade fair to become the county seat. A young brother from Pennsylvania in feeble health (a Mr. McGeuch) had been there and preached awhile, but soon sickened and died. These circumstances led me to the place. I found there a good brother from Massachusetts with his excellent wife, a Mr. A. C. Washburn, who had come West as a teacher and who is still a pillar in the First New School Presbyterian Church there. Three miles across the grove lived a Mr. Benjamin Depew and his wife, warm-hearted, active Christians from Indiana, now both gone to their rest. There were also others, and especially some good, pious mothers who cared for Zion; moreover, several of our Methodist brethren and sisters were on the ground. But the proprietor of the town and those particularly associated with him were not pious. Still they were anxious to have preaching as a help to their town, and the prospects were such that I deemed it duty to make an effort there. But as no house could be had in the place and as Mrs. Foster had an interesting school where we were, we concluded not to remove to Bloomington till spring. However, I spent most of my Sabbaths there, traveling back and forth sixty miles every two

or three weeks and finding a very welcome home when at Bloomington, either with Bro. Washburn or Depew.

Early in the spring I organized a church in Bloomington with eight members, and being aware that Congregationalism would be misunderstood, except by Bro. Washburn and his wife, and neither of us caring for the Ism but for the Cause, I formed it Presbyterian, with Bro. Washburn the only elder. This having been done, the little church made an application for aid, and my second commission from the Home Missionary Society, after an interval of six months, was obtained to labor there.

As² I said before, the town was laid out in the summer of 1833, it being in a desirable portion of the county and in a pleasant location, quite central. It was soon talked of as the county seat, and attracted much attention. Immigrants flocked in and put up little temporary shanties. In the spring of '34 when we moved, there were several little houses in process of erection, and quite a beginning of the town had been already made. Mr. F. had purchased a tract of 40 acres, mostly wooded land adjoining the town plat and running south into the grove, by selling our Athens property in Sangamon county, which enabled us to pay for it in part. While our house of two rooms on the ground and one and a half stories high was being built, we moved into a cabin much inferior to the one we had left, but we were glad to get even this shelter. During that time Mrs. Foster taught school in a miserable cabin with very little chinking or daubing, and with puncheon floors raised sufficiently high to afford shelter to all the swine in the neighborhood. These latter afforded us very undesirable music at times, as the only amusement. We remained here till our house was ready for occupancy, when we took our school into one room, while we occupied the other. As there was no school within the radius of sixty miles around us, we took six scholar boarders (one to work for her board). This brought us into close quarters, for our school-room was full as well as our hands and hearts.

² From this point on to the end the diary was written by Mrs. Foster, as it is easily detected from the context.

Our only place for preaching was a small building called Court House, where all sorts of performances were enacted during the week, so that when Sabbath morning came, much unpleasant work was to be done to clear away the filth and rubbish and to put it in order for God's worship. This Mr. Foster often did with his own hands, carrying the fuel in his own arms from his wood-pile and making the fire himself, as our deacon's wife was now dead and he was away on an agency. There was now no preaching within one hundred miles of us, except a circuit rider's who preached here every alternate Sabbath, bringing his big Bible in his saddle-bags as was the custom in those days. Mr. Foster missionated about as occasion demanded, finding here and there open hearts and willing hands to receive him. He went to a little town which was just starting, called Waynesville, twenty miles distant, the settlers of which had but recently come from Ohio; here he formed a church of a few members and supplied them every second or third Sunday for a year or two.

Our town improved rapidly, houses went up seemingly as if by magic. Two young men, Gridley and Covell, came and set up a country store with all sorts of merchandise; this was a great feat in the history of the place. Others set about building a hotel. As the place improved, our school became large. The Sabbath school which at first was a mere unit with no teachers at times but ourselves, was now overflowing. It was not only important, but a necessity, that something be done for both of these objects. Mr. Foster, therefore, with his great heart of enterprise and benevolence, despite his poverty set about building a Seminary, which would afford two large rooms below for school purposes and a hall above for meetings, till the church were able to provide something better. In order to give a start to the enterprise, he sold some land well adapted for the run of a sawmill for one hundred dollars per acre, and took his pay in lumber or sawing. Our own lot furnished a location and timber for the frame. This, together with some small subscriptions obtained about in the region, enabled us to make a beginning. But many were poor and providing homes for themselves, conse-

quently could help but little. To complete the enterprise, Mr. Foster started East in the spring of '35 to procure funds, for he felt it vain to think of completing it without further aid. But in this he was sadly disappointed, for some Western brethren had preceded him with a like application; moreover, some churches were completely drained of all surplus funds, while others had not looked into the subject and were a little suspicious of this Western pressure lest it might be a money-making concern, and refrained from giving. But he succeeded in procuring a pledge for three hundred dollars from an apparently wealthy citizen of Hartford, Conn., to be forwarded to us shortly after our return West. With this pledge, Mr. Foster ventured to contract for the completion of the building. This man soon failed in business, and the promised pledge, when it arrived, proved nothing else than money loan. This, together with the strain on our former ability to give, came very near sinking us into complete bankruptcy. But by the blessing of God, close management and self-sacrifice, we built the house and afterwards paid the debt. Now we had a good place for worship, and two large schoolrooms full of scholars, so that we had to employ an additional teacher. Mr. Foster having taken the classics and the higher mathematics and preaching every Sabbath, his head, heart and hands were full of work for the Master; this work he performed faithfully. Mrs. Foster still attended to a few pupils in their own house as heretofore.

Moreover, the Baptist brethren occupied our house in part, and the following winter we united together in protracted religious exercises which resulted in a glorious revival of God's work and many, as we had reason to believe, were brought into the fold of Christ, so that both churches were greatly strengthened. Several ministers of the gospel had now come into the State from the East, together with many good people who had located here in our midst, by which we felt greatly encouraged.

In the year 1838, feeling ourselves worn out with hard work, we arranged to go East for recuperation. In doing so, we found it necessary to procure persons to fill our place

while we were absent. Reverend C. Watson having just come to our town, consented to remain and to take charge of the church during our absence. We likewise secured competent teachers, rented our house till spring, packed our trunk, and were on the very eve of starting on our journey which was appointed for Oct. 1, 1838, and which was to be made with a horse and buggy, when Mrs. Foster was taken severely ill with fever. Thus we were detained, till the approach of cold weather forbade our going, as the journey at that season would be not only long but tedious. We had laid the foundation for both the church and the school, and had put things into pretty good working order when our plans were apparently frustrated, and we had nothing before us but rest. But God's ways are not as ours are, and He doubtless saw that our services were needed elsewhere. The way was now opened for a change, though we saw it not.

For our own gratification, as well as for recuperation of health, we took a trip south to Springfield where we had friends. Mrs. Foster remained here, while Mr. Foster proceeded to Jacksonville to see his old classmates and friends. While he was there, a call came to secure a principal to take charge of the Academy at Bethel, Bond county. They were not able to supply the man, unless Mr. Foster would consent to go. Bethel was located in a portion of the State where Eastern people had hardly dared to spend the summer in those days on account of the general prevalence of sickness there; Mr. Foster decided to go for the winter, provided Mrs. Foster's health would admit. On his return he found a decided improvement. We returned home, made all necessary arrangements, packed up our effects, and started south, arriving at Bethel on November 12, 1838. We found the new building not quite ready to occupy, but in a few days, on the 19th, we commenced teaching. Mr. Foster attended to the Latin and Greek courses and the higher mathematics, while Mrs. Foster took the school at large, as it consisted of pupils of all ages and grades. We also found a small congregation there, members of which had emigrated from the Carolinas, as long as twenty years ago, mostly on account of slavery.

They had made but slight improvements, and had but little enterprise as a body; still there were among them several good fathers and mothers in Israel on whom we could rely for Christian aid and sympathy and support as far as their limited means would allow. When we came, the Rev. Thomas Lippincott was preaching there as a supply, but when his year expired, he left because they felt that they were unable to support him with his large family. Mr. Foster then supplied the pulpit in connection with his teaching.

It had been their practice to hold a kind of camp meeting exercise every autumn; we found their log tents, as they called them, all in working order, surrounding the church. They appeared to think that any other protracted exercise was an evasion and a sort of Yankee plan. So we yielded to their custom at first. But it drew together all the unprincipled youngsters in all the region around, who proceeded to carry out their mischievous designs. Everything available was brought into requisition, but very little good was done. Mr. Foster preached in the neighboring districts as occasion required. Always busy, having the moral and religious interests of the community at heart, he also assisted in several protracted meetings where much good was done and many conversions resulted.

In the spring of 1840 we started East again with our horse and buggy. On our return, since our horse was slightly lame, we placed the whole equipment on a boat at Buffalo and crossed the lake to Detroit, and then continued by land to Bloomington. We went down through the State to Bethel. This was the fifth and last time that we have travelled the road in this way. We have usually performed the journey in about five weeks.

We then went on with our school and meetings as usual. Mr. Foster spent much time in writing articles for various periodicals. Nothing of special importance occurred till the year 1843, when we again went East, Mr. Foster having been sent by the Synod to attend a general meeting of that body in Philadelphia. We went by the Ohio River and stage to Connecticut, and returned by stage, boat, lakes, and stage to

Bloomington and then down through the State to Bethel. These eastern trips greatly improved our health and gave us renewed strength and vigor to go on with our work. We still pursued the same course of activity, writing, preaching, and teaching during the seven years of our stay here, and I trust with profit and satisfaction to all. It was known to our friends generally that Mr. Foster had an independent mind and took a fearless and decided stand on the reforms of the day, such as temperance, slavery, and Sabbath desecration, which caused more or less agitation throughout the country. He acted cautiously but decidedly, and the church always stood by him approvingly.

It was rumored that there was what was called an underground railroad running through the State, and the report had it that there was a depot established in Bethel. This created quite a feeling of hostility in the minds of the pro-slavery element. Although Mr. Foster had freely expressed his views on that subject in social converse as well as in our school and neighborhood lyceum, still the outsiders demanded a fuller expression, saying that he dared not to come out fully, if those were his views. His reply was that he took the Bible for his rule and guide on this as well as on all other subjects, and if they desired, he would expound his views in a sermon on a given Sabbath. When the day arrived, all the pro-slavery element from a vast region around was present. Our church was large, but every standing foot of space was occupied, big wagons were placed at the windows and were all filled. Mr. Foster had prepared two long sermons; but as all seemed attentive (with very few exceptions) and the opportunity was favorable, he gave them both at once, without any recess, preaching for more than two hours. He commented on every passage dealing with the subject within the lids of the Bible. It created quite a sensation, and our people trembled for his safety. I well remember having taken his arm as we left the church and passing by a gang of the pro-slavery rabble and seeing him bow to them and address them as "gentlemen." Although there were many and constant threats in circulation, we had but one slight annoyance, and

that was never known by our friends to this day. We acted upon the principle that the less said the sooner it would die out, while some others suffered severely from petty disturbances and destructive annoyances from time to time. Our church continued united with barely one exception—that of our principal physician—who was very hostile to the colored race. He made some strong demonstrations for a time, but soon found himself losing caste; thereupon his ardor abated and he became one of our warmest friends.

Mr. Foster improved all his leisure moments in improving his mind and laying up a store of knowledge for future use. In these studies his mind was drawn to various subjects for publication. As he said, he could reach many minds in this way, in connection with his daily ministration and pastoral work, by a little extra effort, and hoped by these means to do some good. But there was a strong barrier in the way: he was more than forty miles from a printing office, Alton being the nearest point, the roads were often bad and the weather unpropitious. But he was ambitious and not easily foiled in his purpose if he felt that he was engaged in his Master's service. On going there, he found a small church in Upper Alton without a pastor, and he was solicited to go there as a supply. Just at that critical moment he met the Rev. Charles Burton, a good man, who was seeking a location. Mr. Foster at once planned to get him to supply in Bethel and thus to release us. This seemed to meet his mind better than that of his people. But his mind was fully set and there was no alternative for them but to submit. So on Dec. 8, 1845, we left Bethel and commenced our labors in Upper Alton.

Mr. Foster employed his time mostly with his pen; he wrote for the *Oberlin Evangelist* and various other papers, as well as the *Truth Seeker Tracts*, tracts on the Sabbath and the temperance causes, etc. As the Sabbath was fearfully desecrated, he took up the subject, lecturing and writing on it, and enlisted many minds by forming a society for the suppression of the evil. Several clergymen lent their influence to this cause, and a marked change for the better had been

produced in all the region around. He was also a strong advocate of the temperance cause, and had labored for many years very efficiently in its behalf. The evil of drinking was very prevalent here, and his whole soul and energies were enlisted in its suppression: he lectured, founded societies, and his activity produced violent opposition of certain classes. But he regarded agitation as a favorable omen, as it led persons to think and to canvass the subject. By these means he hoped to bring about a reform which silence and contentment could not produce.

As he was a strong advocate of truth and right in its various forms, he ventured to take up the subject of slavery regardless of consequences. Since we lived so near the spot where the martyred Lovejoy fell in 1837, (indeed we were in the very room to which he fled for refuge to escape from mob violence, and saw the very bars and bolts which remained as evidence of the sad event) a spark of the fierce opposition to reform kindled by the pro-slavery element had not entirely died out, and a little fanning was likely to stir up into a flame again. Nevertheless, Mr. Foster felt it his duty to take up the subject, for he could not muzzle his mouth so long as sin predominated. In spite of strong opposition to him, there was no violence. They had enough of that years before. It seemed as if the course of God had rested on all that region ever since that sad event.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S WAR PROBLEM*

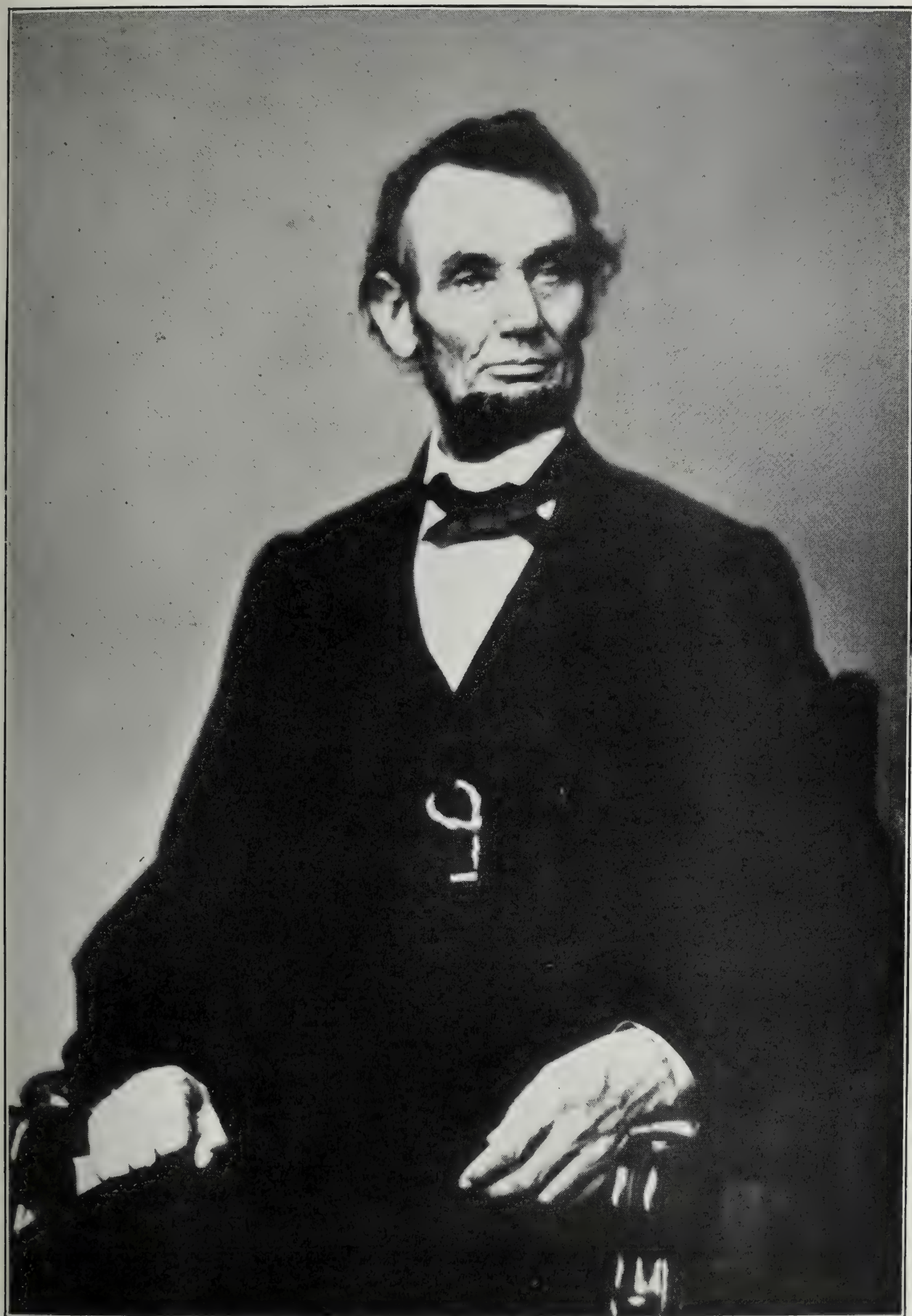
BY JOHN MCAULEY PALMER,
Brigadier General United States Army (retired)

In going over the material for this study of President Lincoln's War Problem, I soon became conscious of a new appreciation of the greatness of his purely military achievement. The reason for this is not far to seek. In returning to my reading of the Civil War period after an interval of more than a dozen years I brought with me the impressions of another war in which I had been a witness and a participant. I found myself contrasting the one situation with the other, and especially was I able to revive something of the atmosphere of the Civil War because I have lived, as you have lived, in the atmosphere of the World War. The two war situations were very different, but I find a new understanding of the older situation by contrasting it with the situation that came within the scope of my own recollection and experience.

As this new conception of Abraham Lincoln's war burden came to me through the emphasis of contrast, I know of no better way to submit it to you than to outline something of that same contrast.

We all remember our entry into the World War. Ten years ago this spring Congress declared war against the German Empire. This action was decisive and was fully endorsed by the American people as inevitable and necessary. Within the next few weeks under strong pressure of public opinion, laws were passed making all of our man power and all of our wealth available to the government for the prosecution of the war. All this was possible because the American people were united and were spiritually and morally prepared

*Reprint from the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1927.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

for war and because during the preceding three years they had come to appraise the formidable nature of the German War Power and to understand its threat against liberal civilization. We all knew that the danger called for the organization of all our resources and we made all of our resources available to our constitutional commander in chief. President Wilson was confronted by a tremendous task and responsibility, but from the beginning he was free to plan on the largest scale and to expend the national energies and resources without stint. Here we find the first great contrast with the Civil War situation. It was one of Mr. Lincoln's greatest war problems to awaken popular support at the beginning and to keep it alive through long years of discouragement and defeat.

In a technical military sense we were unprepared for the World War. But in a larger and more important sense we were prepared because the whole nation was imbued with the will to victory and was prepared to make all of the sacrifices that might be necessary to assure it. We knew at the start that it might be a long war and that it might tax all of our resources to win it. Indeed it was no small advantage that public opinion recognized the seriousness of the task and therefore spared the government any pressure for hasty results. The Wilson administration did not have to contend with that cry of "On to Richmond" which hurried the Lincoln administration into the disaster of Bull Run.

The main objectives of the World War were also clear. It soon became apparent that an American Army strong enough to replace the collapsing power of Russia must be organized, trained and equipped without delay; that this Army must go to France and that it must take a decisive part in the crushing defeat of the German forces on the Western front. The obstacles in the way of this enterprise were serious but they were clearly understood, not only by the government but by the people. The normal difficulty of transporting a great army overseas was increased by the German submarine. This peril must be overcome by our Navy and our shipbuilding industry must replace tonnage more rapidly

than Germany could destroy it. All this must be done without impairing the capacity of our industries to supply our Allies with food, munitions and other materials of war. It is true that the Government was given a gigantic task, but the broad issues were clear and it could count upon the unqualified support of the American people. The time element was indeed pressing, but for a time at least we could count upon the continued resistance of the great armies of Britain, France and Italy.

How different was the situation that confronted Abraham Lincoln when he assumed the office of President. He was facing the issues of a war that was all the more terrible because its outlines were vague and uncertain. The immediate objective was obscure and there was no united country to support him. The seven cotton states had already seceded and had formed a new Confederate government. North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, with the border slave states, were wavering and their action was largely dependent upon his handling of the critical situation that awaited him in Charleston harbor. He did not have the means of effective coercion and he was wise enough to see that even the threat of force would certainly extend the rebellion and alienate a large and influential element in the North. This was the first of many situations in which the President himself must find a homely practical solution and at the same time build up the necessary public opinion to support him. He could not hold Fort Sumter. If he yielded to the demand that it be surrendered to South Carolina he would virtually recognize the fact of secession and separation. If he ordered reinforcements he would drive the wavering states out of the Union. He must do something and yet not commit the overt act of war. He decided, as he expressed it, "to send bread to Anderson." But before this could be done the Confederate batteries had opened fire. This was the real declaration of war. It united the North and gave President Lincoln his first lease of war power. This was indeed his mandate from the people, but neither he nor the people were able to see the magnitude of the task as all intelligent Americans saw it in the spring of

1917. Neither the President nor the people had been schooled by the actual spectacle of war as we all had been when our crisis came in 1917.

To return to our contrast. When it became apparent that we must send troops to France, Secretary Baker, by a personal examination of existing records in the War Department, was able to select a commander who, on the face of the record, had the character, the loyalty, the intelligence and the experience under responsibility to fit him for the task. When General Pershing was summoned to Washington to receive his new command, he was assured by the Secretary that he would receive the full support of the government and that no detailed orders would hamper or interfere with his initiative or discretion. General Pershing arrived in Paris with his staff early in June. Before the end of July he had completed basic plans which were still under progressive development and with their original aims unchanged when the defeat of the Germans in November, 1918, brought the war to a sudden and unexpected conclusion. The army at home was formed, trained, supplied and transported in conformity with these plans. In August of 1917 we had but one partially trained division in France. By the 20th of February, 1918, four American divisions numbering approximately 110,000 men were in various sectors along the front. During May, June and the first part of July, American troops took an active part in checking the German offensives. Beginning July 18th, American divisions participated in ever increasing numbers in the great Allied counter-attack. September 12th and 13th, the American First Army, comprising 430,000 Americans and 70,000 French, made a brilliantly successful attack upon the strong German position of St. Mihiel. Before this operation was completed, elements of this new army began to concentrate in a new theatre of operations north of Verdun and west of the Meuse. In the Meuse-Argonne offensive, which began on September 26th and terminated with the armistice on November 11th, General Pershing victoriously commanded an army more than five times as large as the combined forces of Grant and Lee in the final campaign

of the Civil War. If we consider the development of this mighty force in the brief period between September, 1917 and September of the following year, we must recognize it as the greatest organizational feat in the history of the world. It was possible, in the first place, because all the moral and material resources of the nation were at the disposal of the government. But the fabrication of these great resources demanded two great men under the War President—one a trained military genius capable of planning, organizing and directing them, and the other a great war minister willing to give him power and responsibility, and capable of making the national resources available and subject to his demand. It is this ideal relation between the civil administration and the general in the field which is essential to the successful conduct of war. There is no finer example of this in history than is afforded by Secretary Baker's support of General Pershing. This team work between his subordinates was so perfect, that after approving the selection of General Pershing, the President was able to leave the conduct of military operations entirely to his Secretary of War.

When we return to the history of the Civil War, this ideal harmonious relation is apparently lacking. We find President Lincoln criticised for continually interfering with his generals and frequently changing them. After the initial disaster of Bull Run, the government and the people began to realize that they were confronted with a real war and that time must be taken to organize an effective army. This enterprise proceeded apace under a great organizing genius, General McClellan. But early in 1862, we find the President presuming to differ with his chosen general as to a purely military question, the choice of a plan of campaign. The President thinks that the general should move straight to the front toward Johnston's army which covers Richmond. The general prefers to shift his base down Chesapeake Bay and to advance on Richmond by the side door. The President reluctantly yields to the superior wisdom of the trained soldier and gives his consent with the proviso that Washington be adequately guarded. When he finds that this precaution

has been neglected, the President withholds troops that the general had expected to employ in his campaign. After fierce fighting on the Peninsula, McClellan finally shifts his army to the James. Then his army, within striking distance of Petersburg and Richmond, is recalled, and its divisions are turned over to a new commander, General Pope. When Pope is defeated and the army thrown back on Washington in confusion, the President restores McClellan to command. Here again the general's organizing genius asserts itself. The defeated army recovers its lost morale. McClellan checks Lee's promising invasion of Maryland, but allows him to escape after the battle of Antietam. Then the President relieves McClellan finally and selects Burnside, who suffers defeat in a hopeless attack at Fredericksburg. Then General Hooker has his chance. He crosses the Rapidan in a superb maneuver only to be defeated and to fall back before inferior forces under Lee. As Hooker advances to counter Lee's new invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, he, too, is relieved on the eve of battle and General Meade commands at Gettysburg. Again Lee is allowed to escape with his beaten forces. The inactivity of the Eastern Army continues to such an extent that a little later Lee is able to detach Longstreet and send him west to take part in the battle of Chickamauga. But on the day of indecisive Gettysburg news comes that after a brilliant campaign, General Grant has captured Vicksburg. A little later he restores the western situation in the battle of Chattanooga. A new commander with the knack of victory has arrived. This is the beginning of the end. The next year all of the armies are coordinated under Grant's command, the President no longer interferes with his military chief, and early the next year the final victory comes.

The customary summary of this record is given by the British General Lord Wolseley. In his introduction to Colonel Henderson's *Life of Stonewall Jackson*, he says: "In the first three years of the Secession War, when Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton practically controlled the movements of the Federal forces, the Confederates were generally successful.
* * * The northern prospects did not begin to brighten

until Mr. Lincoln, in March, 1864, with that unselfish intelligence which distinguished him, abdicated his military functions in favor of General Grant."

The inference is that Abraham Lincoln for three years deliberately retained the details of military command in his own hands, that this was the cause of continued but unnecessary failure and defeat, and that when he abandoned this foolish policy and gave the command to a general everything worked smoothly and the war proceeded to a victorious conclusion.

This much may be said, that if President Lincoln had selected and supported a competent commander in 1861, as President Wilson did in 1917, the potential superiority of the North must have manifested itself in earlier victory. But why didn't he do it? Was it because he assumed the unfamiliar burden and responsibility of military command from choice? Was it because he had a weakness of character or an over-weening conceit that impelled him to interfere with competent subordinates? If so, this did not manifest itself in other branches of his administration. There is no record of interference with the brilliant and decisive operations of the Navy in effecting the blockade and in securing command of the Mississippi and its tributaries. There is no record of interference with Chase in his brilliant conduct of the War Finances. There is no record, except one, of material interference with Seward's conduct of our foreign policy.

Why did not President Lincoln select and support a competent general in 1861 as President Wilson did in 1917? The answer is that he did make such a selection. On the advice of General Scott, who was himself too infirm for further active duty, President Lincoln did select an officer eminently qualified in character, intellect and experience for high command. His nominee, Colonel Robert E. Lee, had served on General Scott's staff in Mexico where he had established a brilliant record for exceptional military capacity and gallantry. He was the only officer, still in his prime, who had important experience in dealing with the problems pertaining to an army headquarters in war. That General Lee did not

accept the command of the Union armies was not President Lincoln's fault. But that the President was capable of picking a good general when he had one to pick is fully confirmed by General Lee's subsequent record in council and on the field of battle.

That the North should lose and the South should gain the only available officer prepared by experience for high command was a serious handicap that might in itself account for most of President Lincoln's troubles in the first two years of the war. But this situation was aggravated by a further handicap. As we shall presently see, the South also gained the only man in America who had prepared himself for command through long years of concentrated scientific study of the art of troop leading. There were brilliant young officers in the old army who had had valuable experience as subalterns in Mexico. But there was nothing in the routine of the old army in time of peace to prepare an officer for the conduct of war on a large scale. There was no system of military schools such as Leavenworth and the War College in those days and the isolated one company post of the old Indian Frontier was a poor place with meagre facilities for encouraging scholarship. Most of the officers were absorbed in the routine duties and the pleasures of the frontier, and probably few of them brooded much because officers in those days didn't have to go to school. But there was one queer, rather eccentric subaltern of the old army who did want to study his profession. After his service in Mexico he found little to stimulate or amuse him in his old time garrison life. This was Lieutenant Thomas Jonathan Jackson. He carried his eccentricity so far that he deliberately resigned from the army in order to have a chance to study military art. He settled down as a professor at the Virginia Military Institute, where he devoted his leisure to the study of Presbyterian theology and Napoleon's Campaigns. He did not merely read the Campaigns. He studied Napoleon's technique and practical business methods, just how he wrote his orders and why, just how he read his maps, just how he supplied his men, just how he stimulated their morale, just how he employed his artillery,

just how he conducted his reconnaissance, just how he regulated his marches. In short, he studied the technical practical business of war. Stonewall Jackson was thus the first American to graduate from a modern War College. It is true that he was at once the faculty and the class, but no War College ever had a better curriculum or a higher percentage of distinguished alumni.

In considering the brilliant operations of the Army of Northern Virginia, we can scarcely overestimate the influence of the close contact between Lee and Jackson. In the one, genius and character were tempered by experience, and in the other, genius and character were refined by scientific study. This is a most formidable partnership for the conduct of war. For a long time it was enough in itself to balance the numerical odds against the Southern cause.

When Robert E. Lee finally decided to go with his native state, President Lincoln had no other chance to pick a general prepared either by experience or specific training for the conduct of military operations on a large scale. There was no such person in the Union Armies. He could have no general until a general could be trained for him in the costly school of war. He was willing enough to delegate the responsibility when this man should arrive and he was always on the lookout for him. But until he did arrive, he must himself bear the burden of supreme command that the Constitution imposed upon him. He could delegate that responsibility, but heavy as it was he could not shirk it simply because it was heavy. Why did he not select Grant in 1861? It may be asked. Because the Grant of 1861 was not the Grant of 1863. Both Grant and McClellan were untrained in the art and technique of troop leading in 1861. But an army had to be organized before battles could be won, and it is doubtful whether anybody had higher organizing genius than McClellan. President Lincoln fully recognized this and gave McClellan the fullest credit for it even after he became convinced that he lacked what the Germans call the will to victory. That General Grant did have the will to conquer was his outstanding characteristic when he first emerged at Fort Donelson. Abraham

Lincoln, looking at the inner meaning of war, valued that trait as the pearl of great price. A little later when Grant was temporarily under a cloud and his enemies sought his removal, the President said, "But I can't spare that fellow. He fights." It is fortunate for Grant that he was not called to supreme command until his progressive schooling was complete.

The history of the Civil War shows that soldiers can be trained for effective fighting long before their officers can be trained for effective leadership. The highest test of true discipline is capacity to endure losses. No soldiers ever stood a more severe application of this test than the Federal soldiers at Antietam in September of 1862. But in spite of this splendid fighting capacity, the higher leadership was so uncoordinated and undeveloped that even superior numbers and superior equipment failed to secure a decisive victory over Lee.

This brings us to another remarkable contrast between the Civil War and the World War. St. Mihiel also was fought in September. Like Antietam, it was fought seventeen months after war began and about a year after military organization was seriously under way. But while Antietam was a bungled and uncontrolled battle so far as higher leadership is concerned, at St. Mihiel a much larger American army, in its first fight, won a beautifully coordinated attack against a powerful system of German intrenchments. The American soldiers at St. Mihiel did no better fighting than their grandfathers did at Antietam. The difference was that there was an effective trained leadership and general staff organization at St. Mihiel which was totally lacking in the Northern Army in 1862.

This great difference between the Civil War and the World War is due to the wisdom and foresight of Elihu Root who organized our general staff system and developed our schools of military application during his term as Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's first administration. Most of our leaders and higher staff officers in the World War were directly or indirectly the product of these reforms. We went

into the Civil War without an army and also without a trained overhead competent to lead an army. The war was prolonged because many of its earlier battles were indecisive maneuvers in which men suffered and died not for victory but that their leaders might learn to lead. We also went into the World War without an Army, but we did have a trained army overhead competent to train an army and to lead it when trained. The leaders and staff officers of the World War had also had their Bull Runs and Antietams, but due to the wise provision of Elihu Root they had been able to write them in ink instead of writing them in blood. Secretary Root saw to it that our future Stonewall Jacksons need not resign from the army in order to study the art of war.

At this point it will be well to consider another initial advantage that the South had over the North. When the Southern Army was organized the experienced officers who came to it from the old regular army were spread over the whole force which was thus leavened with such military experience and training as was available. The North did not adopt this sensible policy. A large number of the available veterans were absorbed in a foolish and unnecessary increase of the Regular Army. Indeed, in 1861, General Grant condemned this plan and recommended the contrary policy of disbanding the Regular Army and spreading its trained personnel as a leaven over the great national army of volunteers. When the new volunteer regiments were forming in the spring of 1861, many Northern governors asked the War Department for trained officers to command them. The ill-advised expansion of the Regular Army made it impossible to grant these requests. If later there were too many inexperienced political generals in the federal forces it was largely because the governors were forced to appoint inexperienced political colonels in 1861.

We may now begin to consider the real nature of the war problem that confronted Abraham Lincoln. He, an unskilled civilian, was forced to conduct a great war without the aid of trained commanders and trained staffs. He was forced to coordinate separate armies operating in several wide and

different theatres of war. He was forced to exercise that function of supreme command which is involved in combining the efforts of the Navy and the land forces. He was forced without the stimulus or the immediate hope of victory to develop and keep up an effective war spirit in a divided, inexperienced and undisciplined people. He must not be judged as the civil head of a government free to act through competent delegated military agencies. He was not in that position until 1864. If we would appraise his military genius and achievement we must consider it in the light of the actual task imposed upon him.

In the first place he soon came to understand and master the fundamental nature of war. With his wonderful capacity for concentration and analysis he penetrated its outer semblances and got at its real nature. Among the books that he read and understood was von Clausewitz's great treatise on the fundamental nature of war. Most German scientific books are difficult to read but Clausewitz is probably the most abstruse and involved of all German treatises. It is astonishing to think that an unschooled civilian absorbed in great executive responsibility could dig into this turgid mass and master it. But Mr. Lincoln's intellectual ascendancy was the result of a life time habit of self education under difficulties. We are familiar with the miracle of his literary supremacy. When we realize that this man who had but twelve scattered months of schooling could eventually compose the most severely chaste prose eloquence in our language, we should not be surprised at other manifestations of his supreme intellectual power. In this connection Lord Charnwood calls attention to his deliberate self culture in the interval of political inactivity between 1849 and 1854. In this connection he says:

"There was, however, one methodic discipline, highly commended of old but seldom perhaps seriously pursued with the like object by men of forty, even self-taught men, which he did pursue. Some time during these years he mastered the first six books of Euclid. It would probably be no mere fancy if we were to trace certain effects of this discipline upon his mind and character. The faculty which he had before shown

of reducing his thought on any subject to the simplest and plainest terms possible, now grew so strong that few men can be compared with him in this."

It is interesting to reflect that about the time that Stonewall Jackson was schooling himself for war in the little town of Lexington, Virginia, Abraham Lincoln also was schooling himself for the same war in the little town of Springfield, Illinois.

The central idea in Clausewitz's book is the profoundly simple one that war is merely a special violent form of political action and not a separate thing in itself. This implies that generals and armies are merely the instruments by means of which, under certain conditions, statesmen must attain purely political ends. Many statesmen and many generals have failed in the conduct of war because they did not understand the significance of this great principle. I have not been able to determine when Lincoln began his study of Clausewitz, but on May 7th, 1861, less than a month after the fall of Fort Sumter, he said:

"For my own part, I consider the central idea pervading this struggle is the necessity that is upon us of proving that popular government is not an absurdity. We must settle this question now, whether in a free government, the minority have the right to break up the government when they choose. If we fail, it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves."

Thus at the very beginning while surrounded by every confusion of thought and purpose, he had unerringly pointed out the underlying political significance of the approaching struggle. I doubt if he had read Clausewitz at that time. But if not, it is certain that his intellect was prepared to receive the teaching of the great military philosopher who first deduced the true principles that govern the application of military forces toward political ends. Lincoln thus stood as he had stood at the beginning of the political campaign of 1858 when he had said:

"If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it."

It is also apparent that President Lincoln followed Clausewitz from his fundamental premises through their application to the great principles of strategy and combat. In his correspondence with McClellan in the spring of 1862, on the advantages and disadvantages of the proposed Peninsula Campaign there are unmistakable signs of the Clausewitzian influence. Not a mere use of the language but a firm grasp of the simple principles that underlie the complexities of war. McClellan does not want to advance directly against Johnston because he knows that Johnston is strongly intrenched and because he quite erroneously estimates that Johnston has superior numbers. President Lincoln modestly expresses the fear that his general will encounter the same enemy behind the same intrenchments when he reaches the new theatre of war. He also suggests that in his proposed line of advance, the Army of the Potomac will not only lengthen and complicate its communications but will no longer cover Washington and the hostile approaches to Maryland and Pennsylvania. If the correspondence contains internal evidence that the statesman had pondered the great philosopher of modern war, I am unable to find any traces of the same influence upon the language or the mind of the general.

Clausewitz's definition of war as a phase of political action also suggests that as wars are conducted to gain the aims of statesmanship, so the general must obtain the means of conducting war from the statesman. It is therefore not only the duty but the interest of a wise general to maintain harmonious relations with the head of the State and to welcome a mutual understanding. If this relation did not exist between Lincoln and McClellan it was McClellan's fault. On the evening of November 13th, 1861, the President went with Secretary Seward and John Hay to see the General at his house. McClellan was out. When he came in he was told by the porter that the President was waiting to see him. He passed the door where the President and the Secretary of State were seated and went upstairs. They waited about half an hour, and once more sent a servant to tell the General they were there. The answer came that General McClellan

had gone to bed. On the way home when Hay spoke to the President about the incident, he simply said that it was better in such times not to be making points of etiquette and personal dignity. On another occasion when the General failed to keep an appointment with the President, he said, "Never mind. I will hold McClellan's horse if he will only bring us success."

Unfortunately for General McClellan, he did not perceive the true relation between the civil and the military power in the democratic state. He considered that the President's legitimate and necessary interest in military operations was an improper interference in his sphere as a commander. No hope of success could be founded upon such a relation but it is an astonishing proof of President Lincoln's patience and forbearance that he did not permit his personal feelings to influence his attitude toward General McClellan until he had given him every chance to succeed. He continued to hold McClellan's horse for more than a year.

General McClellan was a great organizer. He was called to high command before he was trained for it either by experience or by scientific study. But he had more fundamental defects of intellect and character. He suffered from the chronic delusion that he was always outnumbered. He lacked the instinct of appraising the enemy's situation that is so characteristic of all great commanders. Grant relates that on his first engagement he was disturbed by misgivings as to his own situation until it suddenly dawned upon him that his opponent also was probably having troubles of his own. The morning after the battle of Antietam, General Lee prepared to resume the fight with his shattered forces though in a dangerous position with his back toward a broad and treacherous river. At this time General McClellan had superior forces including 26,000 fresh troops present or within call. No general ever had a greater chance of decisive victory. But he did not seize it. In accounting for Lee's audacity on this occasion, the Confederate General, E. P. Alexander, says, "Lee, alone, was unmoved. He had read McClellan's inmost soul and knew that he was not to be feared." The following

night, Lee withdrew his shattered army and was permitted to cross the Potomac unpursued.

Abraham Lincoln also had read McClellan's soul. Through his strong common sense fortified by his scientific study of the inner nature of war, President Lincoln had grasped the great but simple Napoleonic principle that wars are won by seeking and winning battles and not by maneuvering for positions. He therefore could not delegate his responsibility as the constitutional commander-in-chief until he could find a general fit by training and character to conduct war in that way. In the meantime, the war was a fact and not a theory. It had to go on and he had to bear the burden of control and responsibility. So much for the legend that President Lincoln prolonged the war by needless interference with competent generals who otherwise might have ended it.

An earlier generation criticised Mr. Lincoln on the ground that he played politics in the conduct of the Civil War. This is true and he won the war because he played his politics supremely well. But he did not put the politics in the war. The war grew out of politics in the first place. It could not be sustained except by politics and its true military objectives were determined by political aims. Let us take the question of slavery for example. Both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis knew that slavery was the underlying issue but neither of them mentioned slavery in their first practical statements of the objects of the war. Lincoln stressed the Union and Davis stressed independence. Davis could not avow slavery because that would destroy his hope of foreign intervention. Lincoln could not assail slavery because that would drive the border states out of the Union and into the Confederacy, and also shatter his precarious political footing in the North. The ultimate extinction of slavery was always in Mr. Lincoln's mind as a primary objective of the war, but he finally approached emancipation, not as a moral issue, but purely as a war measure. And for the moment it was decidedly a politician's emancipation. It was to apply only in enemy territory where he could not make it effective. But

this was just enough to destroy any chance of foreign intervention and not quite enough to alienate the border states. It was quite enough to satisfy England but not enough to irritate Kentucky. For the moment he preserved slavery for his friends while he destroyed it for his enemies. And it was good politics at a time when the very prosecution of the war depended upon politics. In the Congressional elections of 1862 shortly after he signed the Emancipation Proclamation, the administration lost heavily in New York, Pennsylvania and the Middle West. It was only by gains in the border states that the President preserved a majority essential to the further conduct of the war.

Since the World War there has been a growing controversy in Great Britain bearing upon the proper relations between the civil and military authority in the modern state. One of the interesting aspects of this controversy has been a new interest in President Lincoln's conduct of the Civil War. More and more his record is being studied by those who seek to determine the true place of military institutions in the democratic state. The new verdict is quite different from that which Lord Wolseley gave thirty years ago when he wrote the introduction to Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson*.

In one of these books, "*Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War*" by General Maurice, we find Lincoln, the civilian, held up as a model war executive, while Jefferson Davis, the trained soldier, is presented as the perniciously meddling war President. In an introduction to another book, "*The Perils of Amateur Strategy*," by General Ellison, Lord Esher mentions Lincoln with the elder Pitt and even with Napoleon as an example of supreme capacity for the conduct of war. Another new English book by General Colin R. Ballard fully justifies its remarkable title, "*The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln*."

As I come back occasionally to the home of my boyhood, I recognize a gradually growing sanctity in the atmosphere of this town. This may not be so apparent to my old friends who have always lived here. This sanctity grows with the ever growing fame of Abraham Lincoln. We have lived to

see a time when Springfield-on-Sangamo is beginning to stand with Stratford-on-Avon as a shrine to the supreme genius of the English speaking peoples.

DISCOVERY OF RECORD OF LINCOLN'S CHICAGO SPEECH OF OCTOBER 27, 1854

BY EARL W. WILEY

Piece by piece subordinate details of Lincoln's early career are being seized on and inserted into their proper grooves round the more conspicuous pegs. And as each new fragment is brought glimmering to the surface, old themes sometimes take on new color; in some cases myth and rumor and tradition are routed. Out of the constant digging comes a truer story of the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Such is the significance of the discovery that Lincoln made a political speech to "the people of Chicago on the subject of the Nebraska bill," October 27, 1854. It helps fill in the fallow spots of the little known canvassing itinerary which Lincoln followed in the eventful campaign following hard on the heels of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. More important, it throws a powerful gleam on the alleged "Peoria Agreement" made between Lincoln and Douglas in Peoria, October 17, 1854, to the effect that, tired of smashing one another further, both debaters would quit the stump for the few remaining weeks of the canvass.

That compact has long been clouded in doubt. Herndon and most of the early biographers of Lincoln, however, declared confidently that following a platform encounter between the two men there—their second of the canvass—that Douglas solicited conference with Lincoln and proposed the cessation of further canvassing for both of them for the campaign. It is a fact that the men did not meet again face to face on the same platform in that canvass, and that both ceased forthwith to electioneer strenuously. At least they faded out of the picture, yet the all-important crucial days of the campaign remained to them. But, in violation of the alleged agreement,

Douglas replied to Owen Lovejoy in Princeton following the alleged conference with Lincoln in Peoria, and Henry C. Whitney, a Lincoln biographer, further discredited the Herndon claim of agreement when he declared that Lincoln made a political speech in Urbana following the Peoria occasion a week, and that he heard it.

There has been no attempt made to discredit Whitney's testimony, yet there stood Herndon's word to the contrary! Discovery of the Chicago address would seem to verify Whitney's statement and dispose of the matter against Herndon, although it is possible that Lincoln and Douglas agreed in Peoria not to reply further to one another in the canvass as they had done in Springfield and in Peoria. The fact that Lincoln went to Chicago direct from Urbana to fill the speaking appointment at North Market Hall, and on the morning following the making of the address there returned to Urbana to resume court work, would further verify Whitney's position.

Announcement of the Chicago meeting was first made by the *Daily Chicago Journal* for October 27, 1854, as follows:

Come One, Come All!!!

Hon. Abraham Lincoln, one of the greatest orators and debaters in the country, will address the people of Chicago on the subject of the Nebraska bill, this evening at North Market Hall.

No historical loss is incurred by the fact that the text of Lincoln's Chicago argument was not recorded by the *Journal*. What he said was, probably, straight repetition of what he said in Springfield and in Peoria earlier the same month; and text of the Peoria speech can be found in his published addresses.

It has always seemed strange to me that Lincoln made so few speeches in Chicago as accredited to him. As the metropolis of the West it seemed fertile ground for speech-making; and he visited there frequently incident to his law work in the United States District Court. Earliest report of his speaking there goes back to the summer of 1847 when he, as Congressman-elect, made impromptu remarks to a

convention of inter-State delegates gathered in Chicago to urge Federal aid for internal improvements. He next spoke in Chicago for Zachary Taylor in 1848. In July, 1850, he made a eulogy on the death of Taylor, there. Then comes the newly discovered speech at North Market House in 1854. He met Douglas there in 1858 in the first clash of their canvass for the senate; it was the most important stump speech that he ever made there. He spoke in Chicago again in 1856 and in 1859 at special Republican conclaves, but not in public meeting. The address of 1854, accordingly, is one of the two reported stump speeches that Lincoln made in Chicago.

Report of the speech of October 27, 1854, I uncovered in the *Daily Chicago Journal* for October 30, 1854. But the *Journal*, before reporting the address first-hand, first copied reports of the speech as made by the *Tribune*, the *Democrat*, and by the *Democratic Press and Staats Zeitung*. The biographic sketch of Lincoln, with its appealing emphasis of his struggle from log-cabin to high standing, is one of the first of such accounts made of him. The report made by the *Journal* follows:

MR. LINCOLN'S SPEECH

On last night Hon. Abram Lincoln, a distinguished and able statesman and orator of this State, spoke on the Kansas-Nebraska bill to the citizens of this place, at North Market Hall. Although the notice that he would speak was given merely through the papers, the fame and reputation of the orator and the absorbing interest yet felt here on this subject, drew together a large and intelligent audience. The Hall was filled, and the speaker listened to with attention and approbation.

Mr. Lincoln is a Southerner by birth, and has many southern views and predilections, and in some of his positions, differed of course from the majority of his audience, but in all the essential doctrines involved in the Nebraska question, he is right, and his arguments and deductions met with the cordial approbation of his audience. He has left a most favorable impression upon those who heard him, and

will be remembered here with admiration and respect.—*Tribune*.

Hon. A. Lincoln, of Springfield, spoke with his accustomed ability to quite a large audience in North Market Hall last evening. Mr. L. is one of the ablest Whigs in the State, and does full justice to the side of the question he discusses.—*Democrat*.

The *Democratic Press and Staats Zeitung* also notice Mr. Lincoln's speech very favorably.

The impression created by Mr. Lincoln on all men, of all parties, was, first, that he was an honest man, and second, that he was a powerful speaker. Abraham Lincoln never trims a speech to suit a latitude—he is always the same man.

So far from deceiving any of his audience as to his position, he explains all his views and opinions so plainly and so clearly that no one can have any excuse for being deceived—a rarity among politicians of the present day most refreshing to contemplate. Mr. Lincoln has never been an aspirant for any office. The Springfield district sent him to Congress in 1847, as an honor to themselves and not to him. His great abilities and attainments as a lawyer, render a seat in Congress no sinecure to him. That his aspirations have never been for emolument or glory to himself, except where an unsullied conscience kept him company, his political enemies unite in acknowledging.

Mr. Lincoln has seen something of life—not in the modern acceptance of the phrase, but in reality. Born of parents who could only give him faith in virtue and rectitude, he has become what he is through the trials of poverty, and by the sweat of his brow. How he guided a flat-boat on the Ohio, or how he afterwards had his last articles of property, consisting of a chain and compass, sold under the sheriff's hammer, are matters of small interest now. How he became the most powerful speaker and one of the ablest lawyers in the West, are of no moment. That he is such will not be denied by those who have heard him on great occasions. He rises in might as the occasion rises in importance before him. His speech of last evening was as thorough an exposition of the

Nebraska iniquity as has ever been made, and his eloquence greatly impressed all his hearers, but it was manifest, as he frequently remarked that "he could not help feeling foolish in answering arguments which were no arguments at all." He could not help feeling silly in beating the air before an intelligent audience. It is a fruitless job to pound sand, under the delusion that it is rock. The laborer may get his eyes full, but the sand is just as sandy as it was before.

We are glad Mr. Lincoln has been among us so that we might get better acquainted with him, though we are sorry Mr. Douglas was not able to be present and conduct the argument with him. They last met at Peoria, and from all that we have been able to learn from the Nebraska men present on that occasion, Douglas had only a few remarks to make after Lincoln had finished.—The Anti-Nebraska portion of the audience say that the former individual was completely pulverized. That is the side of the story we are inclined to believe.

It is not at all important that we should give a report of his arguments of Friday evening.—Our readers, those of them who are not already convinced, are not open to conviction, and it is useless to waste any strength upon them. One or two of Mr. Lincoln's points, however, we cannot help referring to. He said that he had heard Mr. Douglas argue half an hour to show that there was a necessity of territorial organization in Nebraska and Kansas, as though it was the main point of all his efforts, and as though somebody was actually going to dispute him. It was a great trick among some public speakers to hurl a naked absurdity at his audience, with such confidence that they should be puzzled to know if the speaker didn't see some point of great magnitude in it which entirely escaped their observation. A neatly varnished sophism would be readily penetrated, but a great, rough *non sequitur* was sometimes twice as dangerous as a well polished fallacy.

In reference to a certain beast who inhabits a neighboring state, the democracy of which state sends him to the Senate, of course, Mr. L. said "there was one man in Congress, John Pettit, who had no difficulty in seeing that our

Declaration of Independence was a 'self-evident lie.'—More than this, he had no hesitation in saying so in a public debate in Washington. The Declaration of Independence was a 'self-evident lie.' What would have happened if he had said it in old Independence Hall? The door-keeper would have taken him by the throat and stopped his rascally breath awhile, and then have hurled him into the street."

Mr. Lincoln continued his speech until a little after ten o'clock, and returned to Urbana the next morning, where he was obliged to attend Court.

We hope Mr. Lincoln will come among us often. His great thoughts, his straight-forward honesty, his commanding eloquence and his unassuming integrity of purpose will make him friends in Chicago who will trust him and believe him as long as the principles of liberty are maintained and cherished in our midst.

AN ADDRESS WHICH WAS NOT DELIVERED:
FOURTH OF JULY ORATION OF HON.
JAMES R. DOOLITTLE

*Prepared by request to be delivered at the World's Fair at
Chicago, July 4th, 1893*

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

(Foreword)

The address of the Honorable James Rood Doolittle, one-time United States Senator from Wisconsin, which follows, is too good to be forever kept "under a bushel." Its optimism and intrinsic merit demand that it have "the light."

Having been prepared for delivery at the World's Fair at Chicago on July 4th, 1893, and not having been delivered because the management of the World's Columbian Exposition found itself unable to carry out the program as originally contemplated, it has seemed to the contributor that the publication of the oration in some permanent form and place belongs to the State of Illinois. And what place or form could be more appropriate for its appearance than the JOURNAL OF THE ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SOCIETY?

It is true that the address breathes a lofty, patriotic spirit. It tells of the hopes, and inspirations, and aspirations of the true American. It is altogether a noble and worthy effort. It is such a statement of America's case at the bar of international opinion as any good citizen ought to wish to hear, and, later, read. The letters which follow indicate the feeling entertained for the address by some of those who were so fortunate as to have had the satisfaction to have read it.

Of course, the oration was prepared for an international celebration of our nation's birthday. The audience was supposed to be composed of representatives of all of the principal nations of the civilized world. Quite naturally, there-

fore, its preparation and presentation were expected to supplement, in brief form and manner, the splendid showing which this country had made in the first hundred years after its discovery. It was pre-eminently proper that this should be done. The real misfortune is that the plans of those in charge of the event should have miscarried. Nevertheless, a worthy and patriotic effort was born, which now cries for a greater publicity than any which was supposed to be possible when its delivery was prevented.

Some of the opinions of those who read the address are here attached:

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN COMMISSION.

Office of the Director-General of the Exposition.

Chicago, Ill., U. S. A., July 20, 1893.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle,

Chamber of Commerce Building,
City.

My dear Sir:—

I am in receipt of your favor of July 17, enclosing a clipping of your address. I have read it with a great deal of attention and pleasure. It is truly an American speech, and I regret very much that you did not have the opportunity to deliver it on the Fourth as was the intention.

Yours very truly,

GEO. R. DAVIS,

Director-General.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, July 22, 1893.

My Dear Judge:

I have yours of the twentieth instant enclosing copy of the Fourth of July address which you were unfortunately prevented from delivering. It is eloquent and lofty in tone and breathes a refreshing spirit of patriotism. I am not so sanguine about the future as you are. I do not think the child has yet been born who will see plow shares beaten out of swords and pruning knives out of spears. Men are selfish and imperfect. They are of the earth, earthy, and judging

from the past, we are not justified in believing there will be a civilization in which the strong will not, if they can, oppose the weak.

However, I believe the influences of right will ultimately prevail over error. That is my sheet-anchor of faith and comfort.

Sincerely yours,

W. Q. GRESHAM.

Honorable

James R. Doolittle,
Chicago, Ill.

Chicago, July 10th, 1893.

To the Editors of the
Press of Chicago.

Gentlemen:

After it had been understood and announced that Ex-Senator Doolittle would deliver an address at the 4th of July Celebration at the World's Fair, at the request of myself, he prepared a short address. It is American all through, from beginning to end.

I was delighted with it, and I know every American would like to read it. It was not delivered simply because we were unable to carry out the program as originally contemplated.

I think it should be published. I have seen Mr. Doolittle, and he has consented to its publication.

Very respectfully yours,

M. B. MADDEN.

ADDRESS OF JAMES R. DOOLITTLE, PREPARED FOR JULY 4, 1893,
BUT NOT DELIVERED

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

This is AMERICAN DAY. We are here to celebrate it with every demonstration of joy. Because it is the birthday of our Republic;—that Great Republic of the New World, which Columbus discovered.

In the exuberance of our joy, to-day, we not only celebrate the Nation's Birth, but we do special homage to that "Old Liberty Bell"—now broken and silent—which first an-

nounced that great event in history. With an exaltation of patriotism akin to religious enthusiasm—as we salute the Old Flag,—the first flag of the Republic—by an electric touch here, in Chicago, we ring the “New Liberty Bell” in Troy, a thousand miles away.

Fellow Citizens: Tell me, why is all this? Are we in our senses? Or are we beside ourselves? *We are not beside ourselves.* A few words of truth and soberness will give good reason for all this.

The truth is: This Republic, though born in a day, is the outgrowth, and the heir of all the ages; and of all that is great and good in all the civilizations of the Old World.

There was no sufficient room to establish such a Republic, anywhere, in the Old World. God reserved it, in the fulness of time, for the New.

I rejoice at this occasion. Standing now, and here, at Chicago,—at the very heart of this Republic,—at the place where, of all others, that heart throbs deepest and strongest—standing too, in the presence of the World’s Columbian Exposition,—where all nations are represented,—as a native born American, in whose veins runs the blood of American ancestors for two hundred and fifty years, I rejoice with all my heart to be called upon to state the great AMERICAN IDEA; and to call upon all other Americans to rejoice, and to repeat with me

THE TRUE AMERICAN CREED

That creed, in which every American, native born, or foreign born, just in proportion as he understands it, is a true believer and enthusiastic devotee. For that creed he would live and labor, and, if need be, for it, he would dare to die.

On that creed, as upon its bed rock, our Republic rests. In that creed, it lives and moves and has its being.

Believing in that creed, in the depths of his soul—feeling his bosom swell at the thought of the present standing of this Republic among the Nations, and, still more, at the greatness and manifest destiny which, as sure as God lives, another century must bring—an American on this day, and on this

occasion would be false to himself, and disloyal to the Republic, if he did not speak out; and, speak in his loudest voice, his whole American thought, as to the place in human history which God has assigned to this Republic, and as to the Mission which it has to fulfill among the nations of the earth.

If, in the brief moment I stand here, I shall repeat, and ask every American to repeat with me, the substance of that creed, none of our distinguished friends and honored guests, who may be present, will construe our earnest American words into any disrespect for them, personally, or disrespect for the great countries and older civilizations they represent:

THE AMERICAN CREED

We believe in God, the Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth. *Under Him and under Him alone*, we believe in Man; male, and female, as He created them.

We know no masters; we acknowledge no dictators upon earth; we kneel to none but God; and not even then, unless in our own way. No matter in what land he may be born; nor, in what language he breathes his adorations to the Deity; whether born in a palace or born in a manger—Catholic and Protestant—Jew and Gentile,—all, all are children of the same Heavenly Father; sons and daughters of the same, ever living God.

As such, we believe, all have equal rights “to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” All have equal rights in obedience to physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual laws, to become true kings and queens,—that is, to be true men, and women—God’s only nobility; and, as such, to reign and have dominion over the earth, sea and air, and every other living thing, subject always to the one higher law—

“THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF.”

That higher law, to bring peace on earth and good will to men, was proclaimed in Judea nearly two thousand years ago, by the greatest of law-givers, as well as the greatest of social and political reformers,—by one “who spake as never man spake.”

That law laid the axe at the root of all monopoly, all caste, and all special privilege. It declared for the equal rights and brotherhood of Man, just as clearly, as did our Declaration of Independence, on the Fourth of July, 1776.

But, after a long struggle,—a struggle of sixteen centuries in the Old World, it was found, I repeat, there was no sufficient room there, to apply that great law of peace on earth and good will to men, to the affairs of human government. Therefore this new Continent was reserved under the providence of God, in His own good time, to be discovered by Columbus, and to be colonized for that very purpose; where, upon the grandest scale, in a fertile land, with continental proportions, between the two great Oceans, might be fairly tried the

HOLY EXPERIMENT OF MAN'S EQUALITY, BROTHERHOOD AND CAPACITY FOR SELF GOVERNMENT.

We believe in that great experiment, which is now and here going on. As Americans, pledged to the great doctrine of human brotherhood, we believe our true interest and true national policy is PEACE, with all the world. We believe that to be the true interest and policy of all other nations.

We believe international disputes can be better settled by Arbitration than by Arms; and, at this very moment an arbitration between us and Great Britain, at the Capital of the great Republic of the Old World, is going on.

We believe the time will come, and, we would gladly hasten its coming,—which the prophets have foretold, and for which the good men of all ages have longed and prayed,—when all wars shall cease; when the sword shall be beaten into the plowshare, and the spear into the pruning hook; and young men shall learn war no more.

We believe, also, that in the fulness of time—not by aggression—not by war or conquest, but simply by the light of our example, and by the successful results of our great experiment, all other civilized countries, with advancing light and experience will come to see and acknowledge the triumphant success of government, resting upon the intelligence, equality and brotherhood of man; and, in their own good time,

and in their own good way, with no dictation from abroad, will adopt and follow all that is good in our example.

Friends and Fellow Citizens: I have thus stated, in brief words, the *accepted* AMERICAN CREED.

For myself, personally, I am prepared to go one step farther.

In the light of the prophecies of the Old and New Testament,—that wonderful Book, accepted as divinely inspired, for so many centuries, and by so many hundreds of millions of the best, wisest, most learned, and greatest of mankind, as well as in the light of all history, after an earnest and careful study of that subject for more than forty years, I do not hesitate to declare: I believe the Republic of the United States of America, was foretold nearly 3000 years ago. It is that very political power which the God of Heaven, in the fulness of time, was to set up on this earth, wherein the power of Government, to use the language of the prophet, “shall not be left to other people.” In other words, all political power was to be left to the people themselves; it was to be in the oft quoted language of Lincoln “a Government *of* the people, and *by* the people and *for* the people”—a government to be founded upon man’s intelligence, equal rights and common brotherhood.

And, I believe, that this form of Government “shall never be destroyed.” In the language of the prophet, “it shall stand forever”; because, by every advancing step in the progress of civilization, man’s increasing intelligence, love for equal rights and sense of common brotherhood are made more and more evident, and more and more enduring.

I believe, also, in spite of all present warlike appearances—in spite of preparations for war on a gigantic scale now going on in Europe,—in spite of Krupp’s Monster Cannon now here at this Exposition, and all the models of steel clad ships of war of many nations, that the time is coming, and will not be long in coming, even if it can not come until after one more terrible war—until after that Battle of “ARMAGEDDON” in which—it is said, “the blood will flow to the horses’ bridles”; I still believe the time is coming, when all wars on

the earth shall cease; and the reign of Universal peace and good will to men shall begin.

I cannot conclude without saying one word more.

While we have done much to realize, we have not yet fully realized our great ideal. We are not yet in perfect harmony with our Creed.

We have had great evils to contend with. There was the terrible scourge of human Slavery. For more than a century it stood in our way, and threatened to destroy us. But thanks be to God, that evil is overcome at last.

I am not unmindful, too, that other great evils seemingly at war with our ideal still remain.

There are false systems of Money, and false theories of Finance. There are many unjust and unequal forms of Taxation; there are many forms of Monopoly and Special Privilege;—a species of Slavery for the Common People—whereby the Few, with avaricious hands, grasp the earnings of the Many. But, I believe, with free schools, free speech, a free press, a free pulpit, and a free ballot, the majority of our people have the intelligence, the moral character, the courage and the capacity to correct and remove them all.

The voice of an enlightened people is the voice of God.

I also believe, that in due time all land monopoly and all other forms of monopoly and special privilege shall cease; I believe that the time will come when poverty will be banished from the earth, so far, at least, that every honest and industrious man can well support his family.

Fellow citizens, bear in mind: It is *the family*, after all, which is the true Unit of Society,—the God-ordained family. It is in the family that every man may become a perfect man; and reach his highest and best estate; and, it is in the family alone, that every man may be PROPHET, PRIEST AND KING; and EVERY WOMAN MAY BE A QUEEN.

It is not in houses or lands, or gold or jewels, or stocks or coupon bonds and mortgages, that the greatness of the Republic consists; but in hundreds of millions of happy, free,

intelligent, and independent men and women, who, in their own homes, are rearing and training their children to be

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF GOD'S REPUBLIC.

There is land enough and room enough in that Republic, for a thousand millions under just and equal laws.

Yes, Fellow Citizens, I believe the time will surely come on this earth, when not only here in this Republic, but among all civilized nations, all who are willing to labor, may be able to do so; and, at proper periods of rest from labor, to sit down under their own vine and fig tree with none to molest or to make afraid. When that Higher Law—Love thy neighbor as thyself—shall rule all nations, and each shall grant to all others the same rights they demand for themselves, then, and not till then, will our Declaration of Independence, and the Old and New Liberty Bells have done their perfect work.

Then, and not till then, will the Mission of this great Republic be fulfilled. When that blessed time shall come, then, O! our Father, who art in Heaven, *THY KINGDOM WILL COME*, and Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Then, will all nations join to bring their offerings; their most precious metals and jewels to be melted down together to cast that

GREAT MILLENIAL BELL,

whose motto, in large letters of living light around it, shall be,

“LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.”

“PEACE ON EARTH IS COME; WITH GOOD WILL TO MEN.”

ALEXANDER CHARTERS

BY BLANCHE S. CHARTERS

Alexander Charters, travelling through the West with a party of gentlemen in the year 1837—the year of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne of England—was so charmed with the then village of Dixon, that he purchased the handsome estate on the bluffs of Rock River which he named Hazelwood, where he lived the life of a country gentleman for more than forty years.

His title, "The Governor," was purely "honorary," being accorded him by his countless friends and admirers, in sincere and loyal tribute to his great geniality, and his almost unstinted hospitality. Everyone who came to Dixon in those years was his guest, and the saying passed current that "after one crossed the Bridge all roads lead to Hazelwood."

The Visitor's Book at Hazelwood held such distinguished names as: Adelina Patti, on her first concert tour; Ole Bull, the violinist; Margaret Fuller, Countess Ossoli, William Cullen Bryant, whose poem, "The Forest Hymn" was inspired by the magnificent old trees of Hazelwood. The visit of Artemus Ward was a memorable occasion, a host of The Governor's Dixon friends being invited to Hazelwood to meet him.

Judge Charters, cultured and elegant, the only son of The Governor, and having just completed his study of the Law in "The Court of the Inner Temple" in London, arrived at Hazelwood in 1852, spending several years there, later residing in a delightful home on the borders of Rock River in Dixon.

And it was in this delightful spot that Madame Galli Curci, attracted by the spring-time perfume of lilacs in pro-

fusion—her favorite flower—wandered in admiration and delight, wishing that she might long linger here. And here, also, in earlier years, Abraham Lincoln was entertained, passing through Dixon, on his way from Springfield to Freeport for the celebrated Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

There still hangs on the wall at Hazelwood, a draught of the franchise of the Illinois Central Railway, which, at the very urgent request of Governor Charters, passed through the Hazelwood Estate.

Governor Charters was born on the even century, 1800, and died in 1878. And the entire community as they had been his guests for so many years—and indeed the whole countryside—now became his mourners. Special trains on the Illinois Central brought them to Hazelwood. The eulogy was pronounced by The Governor's long-time friend, and the genial and hospitable host of Hazelwood was laid to rest in the family cemetery on the Hazelwood Estate, located on Mount Kennedy, a beautiful rise of ground overlooking the river in a broad and sweeping view.

And to this day the memory of his spirit, so kindly and so generous, still pervades the domain of Hazelwood, and still lives in the hearts of the many friends and admirers of "The Governor."

MACON COUNTY, ILLINOIS

BY LELAH FOSTER

Macon County was so named in honor of Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, who was a prominent national character during many of the early years of our Republic, having served with distinction throughout the Revolutionary war—refusing payment for his service and refusing to accept a pension therefor.

He strenuously opposed the adoption of the U. S. Constitution on the ground that it conferred powers on the Federal Government which should be reserved to the State.

The first resident of Macon County to represent the County in the General Assembly was William Williamson, a member of the 9th Assembly which was convened at Vandalia in 1834.

The City of Decatur was so named in honor of Commodore Stephen Decatur.

Macon County was organized in 1829 and at that time included its present area and portions of the present Piatt, DeWitt and Moultrie Counties.

Prior thereto it constituted a part of the following counties to-wit:

In 1790 included in Knox County, N. W. Ter.

In 1801 included in St. Clair County, Indiana Ter.

In 1809 included in St. Clair County, Illinois Ter.

In 1812 included in Madison County, Illinois Ter.

In 1814 included in Edwards County, Illinois Ter. (except "the town of Niantic" which remained in Madison County; subsequently in Bond County, until 1821, then became a part of Sangamon County and finally in 1839 became a part of Macon County).

In 1816 included in Crawford County, Illinois Ter.

In 1818 included in Crawford County, State of Illinois.

In 1821 included in Fayette County, State of Illinois.

At a meeting of the County Court held at the house of James Ward on Monday, June 1st, 1829, it was ordered that Macon County be laid out into two Election Districts. All the territory lying South of the North Fork of Sangamon River to be known as Ward's District, and all territory lying North of said River to be known as Decatur District. The voting places for said Districts were fixed at the houses of James Ward and of Parmenus Smallwood, respectively. In June 1830 term, said court changed the voting place in Decatur District to the Court House in Decatur. In September 1830 it was ordered by the Court "that all that scope of county generally called Salt Creek timber be laid off into a District for election purposes, to be called Salt Creek District" and the voting placed at house of John Copenbarger.

In June 1831 the election place in Salt Creek District was changed to the house of Josiah Clifton, (This District now in DeWitt County).

At March Term 1832, it was ordered by the Court "that all that scope of country in Macon County including the Okaw settlement and half way through the prairie west, be and the same is laid out into an Election Precinct to be called Okaw Precinct," and James Cunningham, Henry Snider and John Thomason were appointed Judges in said precinct; Voting place to be at the house of James Cunningham; Voting place changed in 1839 to house of Andrew Low.

At December Term 1833 it was ordered by the Court that an additional set of Judges be appointed in Decatur District to hold an election at John Draper's with intent to form a new District. John Dickey, William Howell and James Piatt were appointed Judges therein, and

In March 1834 the Boundaries of said new District to be known as Draper's District were as follows:

"Beginning at center of Range 3 where Towns 16 & 17 join, thence East and North including the settlements on both sides of the North Fork of Sangamon river up to County line,

but not to include any part of Salt Creek." John Dickey, A. Marquis and William Howell appointed Judges and voting place fixed at house of John Draper.

In June 1835 the Court "Ordered a new District to be called Marion to include all voters in the following boundaries; East to include the Salt Creek timber, South in the direction of the Sangamon river, half across the Prairie, West to Smallwood's Mill and North to the County line and place of holding election shall be at the house of Benjamin Days."

In September 1835. Marquis Election District was laid off described as "Commencing at the East edge of Range 4 including the Sangamon River and its tributaries to the County line. Voting place to be at house of Abraham Marquis.

Township organization was adopted at an election held in November 1859, the voting of precincts being then known as Wards: Decatur; Maroa; Miller's; Prairie City; Big Creek; Draper's; Badger; Madison; Macon and Garver's. The boundaries of some of said precincts are not positively known, nor can we certainly fix the date or manner of the changes in the names of several of the towns as indicated below, though such changes were made between January 16th, 1860 and April 30, 1860.

The County was divided into Towns by a committee composed of William Cantrell, David Garver and James Dingman, said committee having been appointed by the County Court of which John G. Ricketts was presiding Judge, and M. G. Cameron and Jacob Spangler, Associate Judges.

Cantrell Street in the City of Decatur, was named after the above named William Cantrell, and William Cantrell, David Garver and James Dingman above named have many descendants and heirs in and about Macon County.

First Board of Supervisors was organized April 30, 1860, on which date the old County Court adjourned sine die.

Henry B. Durfee of Decatur, was elected first chairman of the Board.

The Original Board was composed of the following members:

James S. Parker, Austin, formerly called Montgomery.

John L. Armstrong, Blue Mound, formerly called Madison.

Henry B. Durfee, Decatur.

John W. Koehler, Ass't, Decatur.

D. K. Wilson, Friends Creek.

Abram Eyman, Harris.

J. Y. Braden, Hickory, formerly Bull Point.

John Rucker, Long Creek.

Wm. Crawford, Maroa.

Wm. C. Mayer, Mt. Zion, formerly called Wilson.

J. H. Hughes, Niantic.

Geo. W. Forrest, Oakley.

W. D. Hamilton, So. Macon.

Isaac S. Bordman, So. Wheatland.

James Lichtenberger, Whitmore.

At the second meeting of the new Board, in May 1860, the names of the Towns of Harris and Hickory were changed to Harristown and Hickory Point, respectively.

In February 1862, the Board detached from the Town of Long Creek the N. $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sections 9, 10, 11 and 12 in Town 16-3E and the N $\frac{1}{2}$ of Sections 7, 8 and 9 in Town 16-4E, and added same to the Town of Oakley.

The Town of Illini was detached from Harristown in February 1864, and was organized in April 1865, J. H. Pick-erel being the first Supervisor.

The town of Pleasant View was organized in 1868 from territory taken from the towns of South Macon and Blue Mound.

Milam was detached from Mt. Zion territory by resolution of the Board adopted September 1869.

At the first meeting of the settlers in Macon county called for the purpose of selecting the site for the County Seat, the majority voted to fix the center of the site at the point on East side of North Water street, between North and Eldorado Streets.

The decision provoked much ill feeling among the settlers South of the River, (by actual count in 1829, there were

21 more legal voters living South of the Sangamon in Macon County than there were North of the river), and a second meeting was held at which the former decision was recalled and the majority present were in favor of locating the site on the high lands of Capt. Allen lying just south of the present city. Before action was taken, however, this second meeting broke up in a free-for-all fist fight in which one settler was so badly beaten that he afterwards died in consequence.

A third and final meeting of the settlers was subsequently held and the present Lincoln Square was chosen as the site center.

The selection of names for our various Towns and Villages is a matter upon which very little light is thrown by County Records, although the following statement is generally accepted as fairly reliable:

The Town of Austin was named for Benjamin R. Austin, a prominent citizen, who surveyed and platted the site for the town, now City of Decatur.

The Town and Village of Blue Mound were so named from the two Mounds in the town, which, in the spring and summer-time, were usually covered by a profusion of blue flowers.

Friends Creek was named for George Friend, an early settler who came from Ohio.

Harristown was named for Thomas Harris, an officer in the Mexican war, and of some prominence in public affairs.

Hickory Point was named from "Old Hickory" a popular name for President Andrew Jackson.

Illini was a name borrowed from Indians, meaning Men.

Long Creek was named from the length of the small stream traversing that district.

Maroa was the name of a small section of the great Algonquin tribe of Indians.

Milam is supposed to owe its name to the fact that the man who proposed its name was a grower of a variety of apples called Milam.

Mt. Zion was a scriptural name.

Niantic, named for a town of that name in Connecticut from whence came a number of the settlers in that vicinity.

The village of Niantic first bore the name *Lockhart* for Calvin Lockhart, the first settler in that neighborhood; afterwards the village was called *Long Point*, and later was known as *Prairie City*, but finally its present name was adopted.

Oakley was a name chosen by settlers coming from a town of that name in Ohio.

Pleasant View was named from the splendid view of the surrounding country obtained from the tops of the Mounds therein.

South Macon. The word South was prefixed to the name of the County to avoid confusion of the names.

South Wheatland was named by an admirer of President Buchanan whose home in Pennsylvania was named Wheatland.

Whitmore was named for a family of that name who were among the first settlers in that district. John Whitmore secured the first marriage license in Macon County, and married Delilah Miller in the month of June 1829.

The definition of County is "A Circuit or particular portion of the State or kingdom separated from the rest of the territory in the administration of justice or public affairs." This county has a Board of Supervisors who meet four times a year to pay the bills incurred and pass on such matters as should come before their Board. There are 16 townships outside Decatur; each township of the 16 has one Supervisor and Decatur has one Supervisor and 18 Assistants. Each Supervisor is the overseer of the poor in his own township and no bill incurred in his township is paid coming to the Board unless it has the O. K. of the Supervisor. A chairman is elected who presides at all meetings of the Board, is Chairman of the Board of Review and appoints the committees who look after the county business. There are 21 committees.

The members of the Board are allowed \$5.00 a day and per diem for one day and it takes a great deal of work to carry on and see that all departments are fitted for the work they must do in the County offices. I believe one can hardly

understand how many times a month one has to go on County business to be able to serve the County to advantage, and unless a person has intimate knowledge he could hardly realize how much effort is used, and no one is overpaid.

The names of townships are Austin, Maroa, Friends Creek, Whitmore, Decatur, Harristown, Illini, Hickory Point, Niantic, Blue Mound, Pleasant View, South Macon, South Wheatland, Oakley, Long Creek and Milam and Mt. Zion. Austin and Milan townships have no towns. Towns are Maroa in Maroa, Argenta and Dan Town or Newberg in Friends Creek, Oreana in Whitmore—Harristown is in Harristown—Illini has Heman and Warrensburg, Hickory Point has Forsyth and Bearsdale, Niantic—Niantic, Blue Mound has Boody, Pleasant View has Blue Mound, South Macon has Macon and Walker, South Wheatland has Elwin, Oakley has Oakley, and Long Creek has Long Creek and Casner.

Decatur as you all know has just its own City; the township is fast coming into the city and in only a few years it will be all built up.

The term of office of each Supervisor is 2 years.

Congress 19

Senatorial 28

Supreme Court 3.

Appellate 3

Circuit 6

The Town Board, which takes care of all business that pertains to town business, consists of Supervisor, Town Clerk, Assessor and five Justices of the Peace to pass on all matters relative to Assessor's bond and confirming his appointees, and further the Board of Health for township looks after the health of such people who come to town for help. This board is Supervisor, Assessor, Town Clerk and Town Physician. Township consists of many sections of land; not all of them are full sections.

This paper was read before the Civics Division of the Woman's Club of Decatur, Illinois, at one of their sessions by Lelah Foster, Recorder of Deeds of Macon County.

THE UNVEILING OF THE KELLEY CABIN MARKER DEC. 3, 1927

BY ALTA MAE SPEULDA

The first cold blast of winter greeted the patriotic throng which gathered on the afternoon of Dec. 3, 1927, to pay homage to the first settler of Springfield, who braved the hardships of pioneer life, to recall the brief, picturesque career of John Kelley, and mark the spot where stood his cabin, the first home-site in Springfield.

The co-operation of the Illinois State Historical Society, with the Springfield Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution on this memorable occasion, on this the 109th birthday of the State of Illinois, reflects great credit upon its Librarian, Miss Georgia L. Osborne, under whose direction the research work was done, and Mrs. Isaac D. Rawlings, the regent of Springfield Chapter who gave untiringly of herself that this project might be accomplished.

One of the fundamental principles of the organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution is to mark historic spots, not to lose sight of places whose historic value has illumined the way of progress and to give honor to those pioneers who have sacrificed and made it possible that the present generation might enjoy all the wonderful works of God and the achievements of man.

Resolution authorizing the Springfield Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution to mark the site of the first cabin built in Springfield,—

Whereas, the first cabin in Springfield (known as Kelley's cabin) was erected on the property now generally known as the northwest corner of Klein and Jefferson Streets, and

Whereas, the Daughters of the American Revolution are perpetuating these historic spots with suitable markers, now therefore



TABLET UNVEILED BY MARGARET JOSEPHINE
WYATT AND CLIFTON GRAHAM, CHILDREN OF
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Be it resolved by the Council of the City of Springfield, That permission be and the same is hereby granted to the Springfield Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, to erect and maintain in the grass plot between the curb line and the sidewalk line at the northwest corner of Klein and Jefferson Streets, a suitable marker to preserve the site of the first cabin (known as Kelley's cabin) erected in the town, now City of Springfield, Illinois. The said marker shall be so erected and maintained so as to in no way interfere with public travel on said street.

Passed Aug. 22nd, 1927.

Recorded Aug 22nd, 1927.

M. M. SMITH,
City Clerk.

Signed Aug. 22.

J. EMIL SMITH,
Mayor.

Permission to mark this "Historic Spot" was granted by the property owners, the Central Illinois Public Service Company, Mr. Marshall E. Sampsell, president, Mr. J. Paul Clayton, vice-president, and Mr. B. King, manager of ice plants,—with only the following reservation,—"In case the buildings or structures are erected on this corner and street changes should make the location of the marker out of place so it would interfere with business or traffic, that you would grant us permission to allow the placing of the marker in the corner stone of the building or other suitable place to be mutually agreed on at that time."

A resolution was adopted at the October 20, 1927 meeting of the Springfield Chapter, D. A. R., giving permission to the Committee on "Preservation of Historic Spots" to mark the site of the "Kelley Cabin" and the committee presented to the Chapter a gift of seventy-five dollars (\$75) to defray the expenses.

The committee on "Preservation of Historic Spots" was composed of the following: Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Mrs. Irene De Haven Knox, Mrs. Mary Stuart Hall, Mrs. J. Ralph Tobin and Miss Alta Mae Speulda, Chairman.

The program was as follows:

Assembly, Bugle—Boy Scouts of America.

Invocation—Rev. E. S. Combs.

To the Colors, Bugle—Boy Scouts of America.

Salute to the Flag—Audience, led by Mrs. J. Ralph Tobin.

Color Bearer—Frederick Reid, President of Children of the American Revolution.

Introduction of Chairman, Miss Alta Mae Speulda—Mrs. Isaac D. Rawlings, Regent Springfield Chapter, D. A. R.

Brief History of the "Kelley Cabin"—Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Librarian Illinois State Historical Library.

Unveiling of Tablet—Mrs. Wm. Jackson Sweeney, State Regent Illinois D. A. R.

Ribbons Drawn by Margaret Josephine Wyatt, Ronald Clifton Graham, Children of the American Revolution.

Presentation of Boulder to the City of Springfield and Land Owners—Miss Alta Mae Speulda, Chairman.

Response in Behalf of the City—Hon. Roy M. Seeley, City Attorney of Springfield.

Response in Behalf of the Land Owners—Mr. J. Paul Clayton, Vice-President Cen. Ill. Pub. Ser. Co.

Introduction of Hon. James M. Garland, former Mayor of Springfield.

Introduction of Descendants of John Kelley—Dr. E. T. Spindel, great-grand-son.

Introduction of Officers of the State Historical Society and State Officers of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Springfield, the county seat of Sangamon County and the capital of the State of Illinois, is situated very near the geographical center of the State. It has many attractions and is rich in interesting and historical associations. Prior to the early American white pioneer occupation, the central portion of Illinois was claimed by the Kickapoo and Pottawatomie Indians. It is highly improbable that at any time the French occupied this territory, as they usually followed the water courses between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico.

As early as 1817 Elisha Kelley, a bachelor hunter of Rutherford County, North Carolina, explored this country and finding it abounding in game, decided to make it his home. He returned to Carolina and induced his father, Henry Kelley, and his four brothers, John, Elijah, William and George, and also the family of Andrew Elliott to emigrate to Illinois. In the spring of 1819 the Kelley families arrived, having wintered in Macoupin County.

John Kelley, the oldest of the brothers, built his cabin on what is now the northwest corner of Jefferson and Klein Streets. This was the first home built in Springfield. A little later another brother built his cabin a short distance west of John Kelley. William Kelley erected his cabin on what is now the C. A. Gehrman property on North Third Street. This cabin is still standing but has been weather-boarded by Mr. Gehrman. Andrew Elliott built his home on what is now North Grand Avenue west of First Street. These rude cabins on homesites constituted the first settlement and took the name of Newsomville.

On January 30, 1821, the General Assembly of Illinois passed an act creating the County of Sangamon. The original bounds embraced the following present-day counties or parts of counties: Part of Christian, a small part of Macon, all of Logan, Part of McLean, all of Tazewell, part of Woodford, part of Marshall, part of Putnam, all of Morgan, all of Menard and all of Cass. The territory constituting Sangamon County was thus set apart by law, but it was without officers. For the purpose of supplying them an election was held Monday, April 2, 1821, at the home of John Kelley, at which William Drennan, Zachariah Peter and Rivers Cormack were elected the County Commissioners. On April 3, 1821, they met, took the oath of office and entered upon the discharge of their duties. Charles A. Matheny was appointed clerk of the county commissioner's court, taking the oath of office at once, entering his bond with James Latham as his security.

They met April 10, 1821, at the home of John Kelley to select a temporary seat of justice which was decided to be placed at the end of Kelley's field, which is now the northwest

corner of Second and Jefferson Streets. This was designated by a stake marked Z. D. driven in the ground and John Kelley was given the contract to build the first court house which was the first building ever built within the town limits of Springfield, the name given the new county-seat.

The "Old Town Plat" surveyed by James C. Stephenson who was employed by Pascal P. Enos, Thomas Cox, John Taylor, and Elijah Nes, began at the Third Principal Meridian, which is about 200 feet west of Second Street and extended east to Seventh Street, from Madison to Monroe Street. This comprised the city limits.

The main reason for locating the county seat here was because this was the only settlement in the county large enough where enough families could be found in the vicinity of each other to board and lodge the members of the court and those who would likely attend its sessions.

John Kelley died here in 1823 aged forty years but his father, Henry Kelley, died at an advanced age in what is now Curran Township in 1832.

The land in this county was surveyed in 1821 but was not opened for sale and registration until November 1823. The quarter section of land staked out and occupied by John Kelley was entered by Thomas Cox, Nov. 7, 1823, being the first man to enter land in Sangamon County. John Kelley died before this land was offered for sale by the government and this accounts for the fact that his name does not appear on any of the deeds recorded in Sangamon County.

John Kelley was born in Rutherford County, North Carolina, in 1783 and was married to Mary Whitesides and had five children there, moving to Illinois in the fall of 1818. In 1821 Mrs. Kelley passed away and later John Kelley married Margaret Waldrup of North Carolina. They had no children. Margaret Waldrup Kelley, after the death of John Kelley, married Zachariah Peter, one of the first commissioners of Sangamon County. There are three living grandsons of John Kelley,—Joel Kelley of Edinburg, Whitfield Kelley and Benjamin Kelley of Curran. Dr. E. S. Spindel of Springfield is

a great grandson, being the grandson of William Kelley, who was the son of John Kelley.

SPEECHES OF THE PROGRAM

Owing to the inability of the National Chairman of "Preservation of Historic Spots," Mrs. H. Eugene Chubbuck, to be present, Mrs. Wm. Jackson Sweeney, the State Regent of Illinois gracefully unveiled the marker. She said: "It is very fitting that the Daughters of the American Revolution should preserve in immortal bronze the facts of history to be handed down to posterity that they may appreciate what the pioneer fathers did for us. It is one of the fundamental principles of the National Society to mark all spots of historic value and it is with great pleasure that I unveil this beautiful bronze tablet to the memory of John Kelley and the first home-site in Springfield."

As a representative of the Mayor of Springfield, no one was more ably fitted to make the response in behalf of the City Fathers, than the Hon. Roy M. Seeley, City Attorney of Springfield.

SPEECH OF THE HON. ROY M. SEELEY

To us, this spot is sacred ground. It marks the site of the first cabin erected in Springfield; the first meeting place of the County Commissioners of Sangamon; and it was here that the first court was held in April, 1821.

At present a cosmopolitan population thrives in this community whose numbers, activities, wealth and culture are ever on the increase.

Within a few years of the memory of our oldest inhabitants, this locality, that now comprises our beautiful city, was practically a wilderness with no inhabitants save the Indian and the native wild animals of a wild prairie country.

In early days, a doubt existed as to whether a prairie country was habitable and the impression generally prevailed that its characteristics were those of a desert.

Notwithstanding the fact that the prairie lands outstretched in all directions, early settlers unanimously chose to locate in the timber lands. The sod was thickly matted,

the wild grass grew luxuriant and tall on the open country, no plow had yet been invented to cleve it; it was therefore regarded as unfit for tillage and agricultural purposes.

The argument was made that should the prairie country ever become well populated, the owners in possession of the timber land would have the owners of the prairie lands at their mercy, for where could fuel, fencing or building material be procured except from the timber land? In early days the opinion was frankly expressed that the prairie lands would never be purchased from the Government; that they were not worth their taxes and would forever remain a pasture ground for the owner of lands near the woods; and so with axe and grubbing hoe the invaders bravely assailed the thickets, felled the trees and plowed among the stumps.

How have the introduction of plows, farm machinery, modern appliances and the development of our coal industries shattered the confident forecast of our ancestors?

The advance guard of the army that came to hold the new possessions were not men of wealth, but rather such as desired by the strength of youth to wrest a competence from the wilderness, or at maturer age, ventured to retrieve fortunes that had failed.

They expected to endure hardships, and without flinching encountered the privations that marked frontier life in Springfield a hundred years ago. Money was scarce and little used. Necessarily, resort was had to hunting and agriculture as about the only vocation which promised a livelihood. Corn was cultivated largely with the hoe, small grains were sown broadcast, harvested with a scythe or cradle, threshed with flails or other devices equally inartificial.

Amid such surroundings, John Kelley braved the uncertainties of an unknown course and erected his cabin upon this spot. The dwellings then erected were built of logs chinked and daubed with clay, roofed with clapboards and floored with puncheons, the smooth side up, the round side down. There was a spacious fireplace constructed of stone or clay at the side or end and the broad chimney continued upward, made of sticks and mud.

In the course of time and the process of occupation, settlers became sufficiently numerous at attractive points to constitute distinctive neighborhoods. The development of these neighborhood settlements called for other factors of civilization. It opened the way for the fixing of trading points, for the store, the mill, the house, the school, the church, and by a gradual process of assimilation a great city has developed and grown around the site of John Kelley's cabin.

And, Daughters of the American Revolution, the City of Springfield gratefully accepts this marker in honor of the pioneer settlers and to keep fresh their memory. This marker should inspire and stimulate the young and be a solace to the old. The honor that is done here can only make for a better citizenship. John Kelley was its pioneer resident. Little did he dream what future years would bring.

It has been fittingly said by the historian in writing the history of Springfield and Sangamon County that, "The great characters which Springfield and Sangamon County has given to the world could never have been evolved from any other than a pioneer life. They will never again be equalled in our country until there appears some equally potential pioneer movement. It may be in morals, it may be in politics, it may be in society; but it must be such an awakening as takes men out of themselves and beckons them toward new and unexplored regions of thought and aspiration."

SPEECH OF MR. J. PAUL CLAYTON

Through the kind co-operation of the Central Illinois Public Service Company, especially its vice-president, Mr. J. Paul Clayton, the Springfield Chapter was able to place this marker and it is very appropriate that he should receive it and speak in behalf of the land owners.

REMARKS BY J. PAUL CLAYTON

When the Central Illinois Public Service Company purchased the ground on which we are standing we had no idea that this ground was the site on which the first cabin in Springfield was built.

When our consent was requested for the placing of this marker on this ground we very cheerfully consented because we are only too glad to cooperate in every way possible in the preservation and marking of the historic spots of Springfield.

The Central Illinois Public Service Company pledges itself to keep this ground in a presentable condition and to do everything possible to protect this historic monument.

The Hon. James Maurice Garland, a former Mayor of Springfield, is the oldest living native-born citizen. He was born Sept. 26, 1835, in what is now Lincoln Square, near the northeast corner of 6th and Washington Streets. He knew Mr. Lincoln and was a member of the Illinois State Legislature in 1881-1882 and Mayor of Springfield 1885-1887, is a Son of the American Revolution, his ancestors being James Garland, Capt. Edward Mitchell, who was at the surrender of Yorktown, and Wm. and Nicholas Hamner of Virginia. He said:

“Hearing the name of Andrew Elliott in the paper just read, recalls an incident of my early boyhood days. It was about 1842 when I was a boy of about 7 years old (you see, not being a woman, I do not hesitate to tell my age). I was in our garden, and we then lived on what is now the northeast corner of 6th and Mason Streets. Hearing a rustling noise, I looked up and saw a deer jump over our rear fence, and disappear over our front fence. Excited as a boy would be, I ran into the house and told my father. He doubted my story, but never wishing to accuse his children of falsehood and always insisting we must be truthful, he, himself went out into the garden and saw the deer tracks. Andrew Elliott was a noted hunter and kept a large pack of deer-hounds, and the territory partly now embraced in Oak Ridge Cemetery and reaching northward along Spring Creek to the Sangamon River was a famous deer-run. I have other reasons to remember Andrew Elliott. I knew him personally as a boy. One day with a boy companion, passing his apple orchard, where the ground was covered with apples, we climbed the rail-fence and filled our chip-hats with apples. Taking them home, my father asked me where I got them. I told him and

he said to me, 'Did you ask Mr. Elliott for them?' I said, 'No, sir. We just got over the fence and picked them up.' Father said, 'You go right back with those apples to Mr. Elliott and tell him how you got them.' It was a distance of a mile back to the Elliott home which was located on what now is North Grand Avenue, west of First Street. When I told Mr. Elliott what my father had said, he filled a corn-meal sack of a peck or more and smilingly told me to take them home.

"Not expecting to be called upon to speak today, I have made no elaborate preparation for my remarks, but I wish to thank the Springfield Daughters of the American Revolution for the kind invitation that brings me here today, to stand upon the ground of the home-site of John Kelley, who was the father-in-law of my old friend Andrew Elliott and where I played as a boy 90 years ago."

We were highly honored by the presence of so many distinguished guests who were introduced by the chairman. They stepped forward and said a few words of greeting or bowed gracefully to the assemblage and retired to the rear. These were:

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President Illinois State Historical Society.

Mrs. Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago.

Mrs. John Hamilton Hanley, Vice-President General from Illinois N. S. D. A. R., Monmouth.

Mrs. Wm. Jackson Sweeney, State Regent, Ill. D. A. R., Rock Island.

Mrs. Henry W. English, State Librarian Ill. D. A. R., Jacksonville.

Mrs. James S. King, ex-State Vice-Regent Ill. D. A. R., Springfield.

Mrs. Eli Dixon, ex-State Secretary Ill. D. A. R., Roseville.

Mrs. S. D. McKinney, ex-State Historian Ill. D. A. R., Alton.

Miss Maria Fairbanks, State Chairman "Americanism" Ill. D. A. R., Jacksonville.

Mrs. S. Frank Eastman, Regent, Pierre Menard Chapter, Petersburg.

Mrs. James Johnston, Regent, Ninian Edwards Chapter, Alton.

Miss Lotte E. Jones, Gov. Bradford Chapter, Danville.

Dr. Chas. B. Johnson, Champaign.

Mr. Benjamin Kelley, grandson of John Kelley, Curran.

Letters of regret were received from the following:

Mrs. H. Eugene Chubbuck, National Chairman of "Preservation of Historic Spots" N. S. D. A. R., Peoria, Ill.

Mrs. George Minor Spangler, State Registrar of Illinois, Peoria.

Mr. Samuel Insull, Cen. Ill. Pub. Ser. Co., Chicago.

Mr. Marshall E. Sampsell, President, Cen. Ill. Pub. Ser. Co., Chicago.

Mayor J. Emil Smith, Mayor of Springfield.

Four living generations, descendants of John Kelley, were present at the unveiling,—Mr. Benj. Kelley, grandson; Dr. E. S. Spindel, great-grandson; Mrs. Frances Spindel Coe, great-great grand-daughter; and Louis Coe, great-great-great grandson.

INSCRIPTION ON THE BRONZE TABLET

John Kelley erected
the First Cabin in
Springfield on this
Site in March, 1819.

The First County
Commission, April 2.
1821 and the First
Court, April 3, 1821,
were held here.

Springfield Chapter
Daughters of the
American Revolution

Dec. 3, 1927

Blessings be with them, and eternal praise
Who gave us nobler lives, and nobler cares,
The Pioneers! Who, on earth, have made us heirs
Of this great land of ours, and heavenly days.



LORADO TAFT'S PIONEER GROUP AT
ELMWOOD, ILLINOIS.

LORADO TAFT'S PIONEER GROUP AT ELMWOOD

R. E. HIERONYMUS, Community Advisor,
University of Illinois

"To the Pioneers who bridged the streams, subdued the soil and founded a State."

Such is the legend chiseled on the granite base upon which stands the Pioneer Group of Lorado Taft in the park and public square at Elmwood. Mr. Taft was born in this little city April 29, 1860. This bronze masterpiece was made possible in his birthplace through the cooperation of the sculptor and a large circle of past and present citizens of Elmwood.

The movement had its beginning at the time of the visit of the Art Extension Committee there three years ago. This Committee, of which Mr. Taft has been chairman from its organization six or seven years ago, makes an Annual Tour through some interesting part of the State. The Tour of 1925, known as the Lincoln Pilgrimage, started at the University of Illinois and ended in Peoria and included Monticello, the Allerton Place, Bement, Decatur, National Cemetery (Camp Butler), Centennial Building, the Lincoln Home and the Monument in Springfield, the State Park at Salem near Petersburg, Jacksonville, Winchester, Pittsfield, Payson, Quincy, Camp Point, Mt. Sterling, Rushville, Macomb, Monmouth, Galesburg and Elmwood.

Mr. E. L. Brown, a lifelong friend of Mr. Taft, gave a complimentary luncheon to the members of the Committee in the lecture room of the Congregational Church. It was in this building that Don Carlos Taft, the sculptor's father, conducted an Academy and occasionally preached for the society. A block or two away still stands the humble little home in which Mr. Taft was born. Just across the street in the little

park had gathered the children from the public schools and many citizens interested in the visit of the Committee and its distinguished chairman.

A group of children after singing "America" and "America the Beautiful," presented Mr. Taft with a large American flag, and another group sang "Illinois" and gave him the Illinois Centennial flag. The final session of the day was in the auditorium of the Congregational Church where the Art Extension Committee presented Mr. and Mrs. Taft a beautiful bouquet brought from Galesburg for that purpose. It was in this meeting after a response by Mr. Taft filled with tender memories of years gone by, that the suggestion was first publicly made that the people of his birthplace ought while the great sculptor is still in his prime to make possible the placing in the public park one of his masterpieces.

The seed was planted in fertile soil for within a few weeks the movement was under way that resulted three years later in the unveiling of the *Pioneer Group*. Mr. Taft proposed to produce such a statue on a cost basis and Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Brown, after talking over the whole matter with their family, offered to give \$5,000 on condition the people of Elmwood, past and present, would raise the necessary additional \$10,000. Early in September, after several conferences of interested leaders, "The Elmwood-Taft Sculpture Committee" was appointed. The members of this special committee have worked incessantly. Such an undertaking does not just happen. It is brought to pass through the well directed concerted effort of many people. The citizens of Elmwood and the state of Illinois are deeply indebted to this Executive Committee: Chairman J. Edson Smith, Advisory Chairman; Mrs. Marion Webster Lott, Chairman; M. E. Tarpy, Treasurer; F. H. Heptonstall; Mrs. Pauline Kemp; Mrs. Blair Armstrong.

After a quiet effective campaign of several weeks the original amount asked for was over subscribed, making a total of \$17,500 raised. The same careful methods used in securing the necessary funds were followed in the thorough prepara-

tions for the exercises connected with the unveiling of the statue. The original Executive Committee of six was enlarged by adding the chairmen of all standing committees necessary in working out the elaborate program. Invitations, Hugh McQuiston; Publicity, Brockett Bates; Reception, Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Brown; Traffic, C. A. Vance; Platform and Seats, Lloyd Waidel and H. J. Shively; Decorations, H. J. McCabe; Posters, Dr. Wayne H. Webster; Program, Executive Committee and S. R. Fleisher and E. E. Downing; Veiling of Statue, J. P. Bourgoin; Amplifier, C. D. Waibel; Exhibit, Woman's Club.

The day chosen months in advance for the unveiling was Sunday, May 27. Between 2,500 and 3,000 personal invitations, together with programs, were sent out by this special committee and the Art Extension Committee. The Associated Press, the leading daily papers, and the rural press throughout the state gave wide publicity to this historical event. The crowd that came to Elmwood that day was variously estimated at from 8,000 to 12,000 people. But the committees were so thoroughly organized and did such good team work that the multitude was cared for promptly and without accident.

The Elmwood Band opened with an hour's program while the people were finding their places. Among those present were editors of the daily papers in Peoria, Galesburg, Springfield, Bloomington, Decatur and other cities and many of the editors of the rural press of the state; Mayors and members of the councils of many places; representatives of Colleges, Normal Schools, University of Illinois, University of Chicago and of various welfare institutions of the state; many personal friends of Mr. Taft from his studio on the Midway in Chicago, and from Metamora, Minonk, and Urbana-Champaign where he had lived in earlier life.

State Supt. Francis G. Blair and President David Kinley of the University of Illinois extended greetings and congratulations. Ex-Governor Lowden, a neighbor at Oregon, sent a message saying: "This is a fine thing that Lorado Taft is

doing for his home community, but he is always doing fine things for everybody's community." Ex-Governor Fifer, of Bloomington, now 88 years of age, was unable to be present but sent a helpful message. Several other important telegrams and letters were read.

The music of the afternoon was by the Band, the Grade School Chorus and the Girls' Glee Club, Mrs. Edith Lyon of Elmwood, and Harold Dale Saurer of Bloomington. Hardesty Johnson, son-in-law of Hamlin Garland, had been announced as soloist but was detained in California.

The Chairman, R. E. Hieronymus, Community Adviser, University of Illinois, on behalf of the Elmwood-Taft Sculpture Committee, presented the statue to the Community of Elmwood. S. R. Fleisher, Mayor of Elmwood, accepted it on behalf of the City and the Community, immediately after the unveiling by Miss Emily Taft and Mrs. Marion Brown Pollitz, daughters of the sculptor and of the chief donor to the fund.

Mr. Taft was in his happiest vein and responded graciously when presented to the vast audience. "I am very grateful," he said modestly, "and very glad you have helped me in placing this group. It is not my gift to you, but rather your gift to yourselves. It would give me great joy to be able to place in every community some work of art that would make permanent the traditions around which it was founded. I should like to help in making all communities interesting to themselves. All have memorials, there is much to commemorate all through Illinois. All is changed now from the time of the pioneer. Now we travel where they used to travail. Now all are neighbors. All communities have paid tribute to war, horrible as it is, but there are so many other things to be capitalized. Better things should come to this state of ours, so rich, so fortunate. I should like to capitalize my belief in regard to art and its relation to time under three heads: First, as intelligent beings I truly believe we have a right to all beauty around us, in which we live and have our being—but fail to use it. Second, as intelligent beings and

heirs of the ages, we have a right to the heritage of the past with its magnificent works of art. The more we study the more we know that life is a very beautiful, mysterious thing. Third, as intelligent beings we have a right to all talent that springs up in our midst. We have a right to all the great deeds, the inspirations of the past and to perpetuate them. If we could but catch these and crystallize them into definite shape we would come near to solving the mystery of life which must forever remain something of awe, and indefinable. These expressions of the emotional life of the people are of immense value."

The Dedication address was by Hamlin Garland of New York City, brother-in-law of Mr. Taft. His well known, widely read books on the Western Border prepared him admirably for the task. The amplifiers carried his message to nearly all the great audience gathered to do honor to the Pioneers of the Prairie State and of the Central West. He chose for his theme "The Westward March of the Pioneer." "If I were asked," he said, "to indicate the most characteristic figure in American literature, or in early American life, I should describe the New World pioneer—the man who took his axe, his rifle, and his young wife and moved out into the wilderness to open a clearing in the forest and to build a cabin home. His like had never before been seen. Europe colonized in tribes, in communities. The individual explorer is a development of the western continent. From the earliest date of British settlement at Jamestown and Plymouth, or the landing of the Dutch in New Amsterdam, for nearly three hundred years our colonists have been led by this trail maker. Walking his solitary path, this vedette of American civilization has led the way across the valleys of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and then later over the Allegheny Mountains in to the forests of Kentucky and Tennessee. That these adventurous pathfinders, whether Dutch, English, Scotch or Irish, must have been individually the hardest, the most resourceful of their race, is self-evident, for these qualities are demanded by the forest and developed

stream. Only men of stout heart and strong hand, those to whom toil and hunger and solitude were accepted incidents in a life of adventure, responded to the lure of primeval vales and silent forest glades. Only the self-reliant could confront the forest and survive."

During the time he was speaking the bronze group stood near him as if listening to every word he was saying. And even with the farewell words of the speaker the Pioneer Group still stood. For it has come to Elmwood to stay and there it will stand for generations to come.

"As the Axe-men vanish," said Mr. Garland in closing, "as the trail-men fold their tents and steal away, their forms loom ever larger in our song. Who shall estimate the wealth of shadow, the fund of poetry, the splendor of romance, which the pathfinder, both red and white, have bequeathed to us?"

The trail of memory leads away to shadow-dappled glades. It offers the cabin and sweet sleep. It recalls the heroism, the simplicity, and the sanity of our grandsires. It enables us to overtake the things vanishing, to listen to the creak of the latchstring, to bend to the rude fireplace, and to blow again upon the embers, gray with ashes, till a flame springs up and the shadows of mournful beauty dance upon the wall.

Our material pioneering is done, but as we look back upon the trail already dim in the glooming of the past, we see the camp-fires sparkle. We hear the call, "Hello, the house!" and catch the hearty answer, "Come in, stranger!" We see the white-topped prairie schooners slowly toiling through the river beds, and we thrill to the power and poetry of these border wars, now almost forgotten. Dark and bitter as those experiences sometimes were, they were rich in hardihood, action, self-sacrifice.

I am glad that I was born early enough to catch the dying echoes of their songs, to bask in the failing light of their fires."

The Peoria Star voiced for all Illinois "Elmwood's Triumph" in an Editorial in that paper at the time of the

unveiling: "Elmwood is perhaps the most famous small city in the state. More men have gone forth from that place who have risen to fame in the world of art, finance, industry, politics, than any other city of its size in the middle west. Sunday came the peak of its artistic triumphs when Lorado Taft, world famous sculptor, dedicated his monument, "The Pioneers," which he has given to his native city. Of all the thousands who gathered to celebrate the occasion, none were prouder of Elmwood than the people of Peoria, who are proud to claim kinship to Elmwood and to shine in its reflected glory.

The significance of Sunday's event cannot be overestimated. It will be more far-reaching perhaps than any of us imagine. It will have an effect upon the culture, not only of the city of Elmwood, but the middle west. We of the west, who may have been regarded as barbarians in the world of art may now serve notice upon the effete east that we have arrived and that the portion of the United States west of Pittsburgh must be taken into consideration in considering the artistic resources of the nation.

"Elmwood shares with the balance of the world its admiration for the splendid genius of Lorado Taft, the great artist, the world citizen who was glad to come back to the place of his birth and pay tribute to the citizens who made the west what it is and who have contributed so tremendously to the growth and development of the United States."

The people of Elmwood insisted on showing their appreciation of the fine team work that has made possible the Pioneer Group. This proved to be the climax of the exercises. The presiding officer called to the platform Mrs. Marion Webster Lott, the general chairman throughout the entire campaign, and amid a storm of applause presented to her a huge bundle of roses as an expression of the gratitude of the Executive Committee and of the entire community for the faithful, efficient direction of the whole movement. It was a fitting close of three years of untiring work that has resulted in a United Community.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK
CONQUEST OF THE NORTHWEST — FORT GAGE
SESQUI-CENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE

By **PAUL BENJAMIN CORR**, Executive Secretary
Northwest Territory Commission

Independence Day this year held a double meaning for Illinois and the great expanse of territory lying west of the Mississippi River.

It marked the 150th anniversary of the capture of old Kaskaskia by General George Rogers Clark. Through this achievement Virginia claimed that region north and west of the Ohio River, or what was known as the Illinois country.

His expedition to the historic outposts, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher and Cahokia, was the step that made possible ultimate expansion of the United States to the Pacific Ocean.

Celebration of the sesqui-centennial of the capture of old Kaskaskia metropolis during the Revolutionary War of the region west of the Allegheny Mountains, marked a greater appreciation of one of the most romantic figures in American history, a man who conceived and carried out by strategy and diplomacy, a plan of winning a territory which embraces at the present time more than 20,000,000 inhabitants, and occupies an area of 250,000 square miles.

Sponsored by the Northwest Territory Commission, the celebration was held on the site of old Fort Gage, which overlooks the spot where Kaskaskia, long since the victim of the relentless waters of the Mississippi, once stood. Co-operating with the sponsors were organizations of states carved out of the Northwest Territory—the Illinois State Historical So-

ciety, the George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission of Ohio, the George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission of Indiana, the Michigan Historical Society, Minnesota Historical Society, and a committee appointed by the Governor of Wisconsin. Actual work of directing the details of the celebration was ably accomplished under the direction of Mayor E. H. Wegener of Chester, chairman, and others of the Randolph County Committee of the Northwest Territory Commission.

More than 7,500 gathered on the site of old Fort Gage to pay homage to George Rogers Clark. Large numbers came from Missouri and other states comprising the area of the Old Northwest.

The site of the celebration was a distant part of that metropolis which served as the capital of Illinois country under French, British and American flags. Old Kaskaskia proper, the home of French noblemen who had found their way to the great Mississippi valley, lies at the bottom of the Father of Waters.

What is now called Fort Gage, Elbert Waller, authority on Southern Illinois history, says is the remnant of Fort Kaskaskia burned by the French pioneers to prevent its being of service to their English conquerors. From the western breastworks one can see land reappearing where Kaskaskia once stood. From the expanse of water covering the site of the pioneer capital, one's vision travels 16 miles towards the setting sun and to bluffs on the Missouri side where during the Revolutionary War, Spaniards ruled.

Great trees have grown up to shade the spot where once stood this fort, but the outline of the stronghold, the moat which surrounded it and even the stones from the foundations of the buildings within the stockade, are still to be found.

To the north is the Garrison Hill Cemetery to which the bodies from the old Kaskaskia cemetery were taken when the relentless Mississippi threatened the historic churchyard. Down the hill is the home of Pierre Menard, the great friend of the Indians and of President William Henry Harrison, first

governor of the Indiana territory and hero of Tippecanoe. It was built in 1798.

What a gathering was there! From the island of Kaskaskia came bronzed sons and daughters of the pioneer French, from the surrounding country came direct descendants of members of Clark's army who were given Illinois land grants, and descendants of those men who were to Illinois what the signers of the Declaration of Independence were to the nation.

Cities of Southern Illinois joined in producing an historic pageant which told of the journey of Monsieur Louis Joliet and Father Marquette down the Mississippi River and how old Kaskaskia, founded by the latter, had been moved down to this location at the mouth of the Kaskaskia River from the site on the Illinois River. It pictured the regret of the pioneers at the passing from French to British rule.

Then it described in a graphic manner the dramatic capture of Fort Gage under the command of Rocheblave, when on the night of July 4, 1778, the soldiers of Clark's army overpowered the British garrison without firing a shot. In picturesque costumes, to the tune of instruments that were played by the Illinois French 150 years ago, characters portrayed the dance of the Kaskaskians while they were celebrating unwittingly the second anniversary of Independence Day. It depicted Clark standing in the doorway of the house where the French were having their festival and how he told them "they were no longer dancing under the flag of England, but under the flag of Virginia."

The pageant showed the scene on the following day when the French gathered at the village church in great fear of the "Long Knives." The ancient church bell given to Kaskaskia by King Louis of France, called the "Liberty Bell of the Old Northwest," had been brought over from Kaskaskia island for the visitors to see. It rang again during the pageant in the tone with which it called the Kaskaskians together on July 5, 1778, for what they had feared would be another "Arcadia," with their families torn asunder. This

fear was changed to joy when the character portraying Clark told them they were not savages, but allies of the King of France, their former ruler, and that the policy of his government was not to interfere with their religion, but to protect it from insult.

Ross Lockridge of Bloomington, Indiana, one of the most recent biographers of Clark and representative of Governor Edward Jackson of Indiana, and the George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission, described for the benefit of the thousands present, how the 153 Kentucky riflemen made a six days march on four days rations across Southern Illinois and took Kaskaskia by surprise, "without firing a shot or losing a single man." He paid high tribute to the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, who joined Clark's army when some of the men declined to re-enlist. Lockridge emphasized the great importance of the Indian Council at Cahokia and of their march to Vincennes, closing with a detailed description of the capture of Fort Sackville in February, 1799.

"In the Quebec Act, which was one of the causes of the Revolution," declared Theodore C. Pease of the University of Illinois and the Illinois State Historical Society, "Great Britain made her final decision as to the future of that great domain she had secured, and that decision was a most unworthy one—to close the Mississippi Valley forever to men of her own blood. But by George Rogers Clark's conquest it was opened to American settlement."

"There was another danger which was diverted by Clark's capture of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The Spanish were the enemies of Great Britain, but they were not the friends of the United States. Spain was at that time a great colonial power, with an empire stretching from the Mississippi River to Cape Horn. If the Americans had not taken this Illinois settlement, Spain would probably have done so, and the colonists would have been bottled up between the Alleghenies and the Sea."

The Hon. Elbert Waller of Tamaroa told of the trail across Southern Illinois followed by George Rogers Clark.

He declared that the primary cause of the Revolutionary War laid in the desire of the eastern colonies to settle the Illinois country, and that the Quebec Act, one of the first intolerable Acts of King George the Third, was due in a great measure to the existence of the Illinois settlements of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher and Cahokia.

Linn Paine of St. Louis, National Trustee of the Sons of the American Revolution, in a brief manner presented the greetings of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution, and of the State of Missouri.

Major T. L. Fekete, Jr., President of the Northwest Territory Commission, spoke of the importance of the George Rogers Clark conquest to Illinois and of the plan of the Northwest Territory Commission for a national celebration at Cahokia. Paul B. Corr, Executive Secretary of the Northwest Territory Commission and author of the pageant, told of the great good which has been accomplished by the Commission in bringing to the attention of the general public the importance of the historic points in Southern Illinois.

State Senator Harry Wilson of Pinckneyville, voiced the appreciation of Southern Illinois for the presence of the distinguished guests from other states and for the efforts of those who had made possible the sesqui-centennial celebration at Fort Gage. Mayor E. H. Wegener of Chester made the address of welcome and Dr. F. T. Roberts, Chester pastor, introduced the various speakers

One of the features of the sesqui-centennial was the exhibition of relics under the supervision of Thomas J. Howorth. A steady stream of visitors viewed the display throughout the day. Following is a list of those mementoes of a century and a half ago: Old Kaskaskia Bell, brought from France to Kaskaskia in 1773. Cast in France in 1771, and presented to the people of Kaskaskia by King Louis XV of France in recognition of their loyalty. Shawl, brought from Kaskaskia to Chester in 1844 by Mrs. John L. Edwards, at the time of the high water. The shawl is now the property of Miss Josephine Edwards, granddaughter. Sewing table,

used by Mrs. Shadrach Bond, first governor of Illinois. Now the property of Miss Josephine Edwards. Tobacco canteen, silver, brought from England, said to be 300 years old. Property of Mrs. Ada Morrison. Sample of sewing, small dress made by daughter of Governor and Mrs. Shadrach Bond.

Curtain tie back from old Kaskaskia home. Believed to be more than 100 years old. Property of Mrs. Otto Morrison. Cane, made from wood from three State Houses of Illinois. The coffee bean in the handle was given by LaFayette. Property of Mrs. Louis Pratt. Wedding slippers, three pair, of Mrs. Shadrach Bond, and the two daughters of Governor and Mrs. Bond. Property of Mrs J. M. Randolph, a direct descendant of Governor Bond.

Old lamp from Kaskaskia from General Edgar's mansion, used upon the occasion of LaFayette's visit in 1825. Property of W. J. Hartman of Kaskaskia. Hand Woven Spread, made in 1841, with date woven in margin. Property of Mrs. Angie Cline. Horn Spoon used by earliest settlers of Kaskaskia. Handed down by Illinois' first Lieutenant Governor Pierre Menard. Property of Dr. Hoffman. Old Musket, property of Henry Dueker of Red Bud, Ill. Sample of Petrified Tree from Petrified Forest of Arizona. Property of Mrs. Ada Morrison. Cannon ball, found embedded in the river bank fifty years ago. Property of Al. Gendron of Kaskaskia, Ill.

Sword, used by general in Revolutionary War. Property of Dr. LeSaulnier, Red Bud, Ill. Bayonet found in field in Kaskaskia twenty years ago by Victor Colvis of Fort Gage, Ill. Muzzle Loading Pistol, property of Bank of Chester. Old Pistol used in the early part of the Nineteenth century. Property of Henry Dueker, Red Bud, Ill. Governor Bond's dinner bell. Property of Dr. Hoffman.

Bill of Appraisement in Estate of Governor Shadrach Bond, 1832. In files of Circuit Clerk's office, Randolph County, Ill. Will of Governor Bond from records in office of County Clerk, Randolph County, Ill. Marriage Contract in French from records in office of Circuit Clerk. Records of

first County Commissioners' Court of Randolph County, July 4, 1803, to January 5, 1810. First records of County Court of Randolph County, 1802-1806. Old History of Randolph County, published in 1855. Property of Mrs. Louis Pratt. Court Record, Randolph County, 1801-1803.

Guitar, made of wood from Illinois' first capitol building in Old Kaskaskia and wood from other historic structures of Illinois first capital. Compass, used in the original surveys of Kaskaskia and surrounding country, 1776-1830. Property of Dr. Hoffman, Chester, Ill.

Visitors likewise were plentiful at the mansion house built by Pierre Menard. Mr. and Mrs. Louis Junger, who own the mansion at present, took great interest in pointing out to the visitors many interesting things about the home. The public was shown the reception room where LaFayette was entertained during his visit to Kaskaskia in 1825. They saw the old fireplaces, the hand carved mantels which came from France, the large porch, cellar, spacious rooms and attic, the stone floor, the sink of stone built into the wall, the powder house and many old articles of interest in the home. A State appropriation has been made available for the purchase of the Menard home.

The climax of the day's program was an exhibition of fire works, one of the best ever shown in Southern Illinois. Among the historical pieces was the burning of old Fort Kaskaskia in pyrotechnics and a fire works picture of Pontiac. This fire works display was made possible through the courtesy of the Roy F. Potts Co. of Franklin Park, Illinois. Music during the day was furnished by the Mississippi Valley Band of Chester and a Valmeyer orchestra.

Through the kindness of Louis Junger, the use of the site of old Fort Gage and the land surrounding it was made possible for the celebration. Under the direction of Deputy Warden Conrad of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary, prisoners from that institution prepared the grounds for that event. Deputy sheriffs assisted in directing the parking of automobiles. Due to the efforts of I. Orval Smith, Director

of Public Relations of the Northwest Territory Commission, the program was carried forward without interruption.

Randolph County leaders made possible the sesquicentennial of the capture by George Rogers Clark of Kaskaskia and Fort Gage. We regret that space does not permit us to give the names of the personnel of the entire committee.

Credit for the success of the pageant must be given to the committee, Mrs. George W. Knobloch of Belleville, Mrs. Ida B. Wallace and Miss Anna Wierheim of Sparta and Miss Margaret Layne of Chester.

Messages from the Governors of Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota and from Secretary of State Louis L. Emmerson, expressing their regret for not being able to be present and wishing for the success of the celebration, were received.

Many expressions of commendation have been sent to the Northwest Territory Commission for the splendid program presented and the great good that the Fort Gage sesquicentennial has accomplished in re-awakening the interest in great achievements of General George Rogers Clark, Conqueror of the Old Northwest.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK
SESQUI-CENTENNIAL OBSERVANCES — TRAIL FROM
FORT MASSAC TO KASKASKIA

By **PAUL BENJAMIN CORR**, Executive Secretary
Northwest Territory Commission

One hundred and fifty years ago George Rogers Clark made his memorable expedition across what is now Southern Illinois. It was a march that rightly should have a fitting place in history for it marked the beginning of American dominion over the vast land that stretched north and west from the Ohio River.

Although made in the heat of the summer sun, Clark and his band of 153 men were in a strange country filled with Indians incited against Virginians by the British agents, and had it not been for the sterling leadership of what the Indians termed "the big chief of the Long Knives," that famous march would not have been so successful.

It was 150 years after Clark had made this memorable march that a party of historians, educators, journalists and a railroad representative under the leadership of the Northwest Territory Commission followed in a modern manner as closely as possible the trail from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia.

Starting at Fort Massac, Metropolis, the George Rogers Clark Historical Expedition on July 2 started upon the journey that was to take them to historical places in Southern Illinois which have become shrines to the man and woman who have paused to consider who was responsible for the blessings of liberty which we enjoy today.

At Fort Massac and in Metropolis, there had just closed a four-day celebration of the landing of George Rogers Clark and his army of Long Knives in Illinois. The party moved to Ferne Clyffe Scenic Park where the citizens of Johnson

County had assembled to celebrate the sesqui-centennial of the passing of the Old Northwest's conqueror that way.

On the way it had been prevented from seeing "Indian Point" where is located the first marker placed by the Daughters of the American Revolution on the George Rogers Clark trail. It was there that Clark camped on the first night after he had left the Ohio River. Beyond Vienna, county seat of Johnson County, they saw the marker at Moccassin Gap. Near Ferne Clyffe Scenic Park, Goreville, is Buffalo Gap, where another marker has been placed.

Arrangements for the George Rogers Clark sesqui-centennial celebration at Ferne Clyffe Park were made by Miss Emma Rebman, owner of that beautiful spot, and a Johnson County committee. At her invitation Clifford V. Gregory, editor of the *Prairie Farmer*, had flown from Chicago in his airplane to be present at the festivities.

Speakers that afternoon included the Hon. Elbert Waller of Tamaroa, state representative, historian and prominent member of the Illinois State Historical Society; John E. Miller, representative of the Northwest Territory Commission, St. Clair County Superintendent of Schools and former vice-president of the Illinois Teachers Association; Mr. Gregory, editor of the *Prairie Farmer*; C. E. Filson, agricultural agent of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad, and Paul B. Corr, Executive Secretary of the Northwest Territory Commission.

A splendid picnic dinner had been prepared by the ladies of Goreville and vicinity. After the speaking program, a visit to the scenic wonders of the park was paid. These strange formations were caused, it is believed, by the water which poured in great volume down over the hills from the melting glacier that had shaped the great lakes centuries before. We regret that space does not permit describing some of the outstanding points of interest in this park.

"Most assuredly," as one of the party remarked as the George Rogers Clark Historical Expedition was moving

through those great hills, "the Conqueror of the Old Northwest could not have pictured Illinois as 'the prairie state'."

Marion was the host on the night of July 2 to the party. At a dinner given under the auspices of the Marion Merchants Association, Williamson County celebrated the one-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Clark's memorable visit to Williamson County.

Congressman E. E. Denison of Marion was one of the principal speakers, and he told of the existence in his boyhood of traces of that old trail through what is now the southeastern part of the city. State Representative Elbert Waller told how in Williamson County Clark's guide became lost and how the illustrious leader of the Virginians had threatened to shoot the pathfinder unless he got his bearings before sundown.

Other speakers included Mr. Miller of East St. Louis; Mr. Gregory, editor of *The Prairie Farmer*; Attorney George Stone, toastmaster; Mr. Hal Trovillion, editor of the *Herrin News* and member of the Illinois Commerce Commission, and the writer. After the sesqui-centennial banquet the members of the party visited the splendid exhibit of pioneer day mementoes of Williamson County history, placed in the Marion Public Library.

Next day the members of the Expedition were guests of Hal Trovillion in a visit to points of interest in Herrin. Mr. Trovillion expects to place a marker along the supposed route of Clark through Herrin. A side trip was taken to Giant City State Park, where the members of the Historical Expedition were the guests of John Mulcaster, whose article in a recent number of the Illinois State Historical Society's *Journal* describes this latest of state parks so well.

Lack of time prevented a trip to Campbell Hill and Ava along one of the routes supposed to have been taken by Clark.

That night at a banquet given by the Pinckneyville Chamber of Commerce, Perry County took its place as one of the counties which celebrated the famous march through Southern Illinois.

Ross F. Lockridge, one of the most recent biographers of General Clark, and personal representative of Governor Edward Jackson of Indiana, carried his listeners through the trials, heroic incidents and remarkable victories of the Conqueror of the Old Northwest. Hon. Elbert Waller, Senator Harry Wilson, John E. Miller, C. E. Filson and Mr. and Mrs. Corr were among the speakers. Representatives of DuQuoin and other Perry County cities were present.

On July Fourth the members of the Historical Expedition took an active part in the sesqui-centennial commemoration of the capture of Kaskaskia and Fort Gage at Fort Gage, described in another article in this issue.

A visit to old Prairie du Rocher on the 150th anniversary of the capture of that place by Captain John Bowman, took place on the next day. Ruins of Fort de Chartres at Fort Chartres State Park were visited. The distinguished visitor from Indiana and the other members of the pilgrimage were high in praise of the manner in which the ruins are being preserved. The Hon. Charles Kribs, former State Representative, represented the Fort Chartres association as host.

Members of the Historical Expedition were taken past New Design where Captain Lemen built the first Baptist Church in the State. A monument to Lemen located there was dedicated nearly a score of years ago by William Jennings Bryan.

At Waterloo a delegation headed by Bennett James, former State Senator, J. W. Rickert and H. E. Voris welcomed the members of the party. At Columbia a reception committee was headed by Mayor Fred G. Rapp. Old Cahokia was visited, and that evening, July 5, the Northwest Territory Commission tendered the members of the George Rogers Clark Historical Expedition a reception and banquet in Cahokia Room of the Hotel Broadview, East St. Louis.

It was the celebration of the sesqui-centennial of the capture of Cahokia by Captain Bowman. Major T. L. Fekete, Jr., State Representative and President of the Northwest

Territory Commission, presided. Among the speakers were Thomas Williamson of Edwardsville, Charles F. Merker of the East St. Louis Downtown Business Men's Association, Mrs. George W. Knobloch of the Belleville Chamber of Commerce, and Mrs. George McFadden, regent of the Cahokia Mound Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Ross Lockridge, the Indiana historian, paid a great tribute to the work of George Rogers Clark in the Indian council at Cahokia. He cited numerous examples of how Clark's Cahokia Indian treaty had made it possible for him to effect notable victories in the winning of the Old Northwest.

The Hon. Elbert Waller told of Clark's march from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia and of the trail taken from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. He paid a tribute to the Northwest Territory Commission for its effective work in arousing the public to give proper recognition to George Rogers Clark, who not only saved the region from which was carved Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota, but also made possible the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

"Great heroes in the development of the Old Northwest and particularly George Rogers Clark are forceful factors today in shaping the lives of our modern youth," said John E. Miller, who urged the youth of Illinois in the coming year to learn more of this Revolutionary War leader that took the region north and west of the Ohio River from English dominion.

It is hoped that the George Rogers Clark Historical Expedition and the celebrations held in Southern Illinois and particularly those at Fort Gage and Metropolis, have awakened the people of this and other states to join in the sentiment expressed by the Virginia House of Delegates, November 23, 1778, when in a resolution they voted an expression of thanks to George Rogers Clark and his brave warriors, "for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise and the important services thereby rendered the country."

FAMILY HISTORY OF JOHN HALBERT OF ST. CLAIR COUNTY

BY WILLIAM UNDERWOOD HALBERT

John Halbert, the ancestor of the Halberts of St. Clair County, was a son of James Halbert of Essex County, Virginia, who died there on his farm in 1819 leaving a will dated December 4, 1811, and probated May 7, 1819, in which he mentions his wife Sarah, sons John, James, Thomas, Anthony and Lewis and his daughter Mary Goldman and her son William.

On the 8th day of January 1807 during the administration of William L. Cabel, Governor of Virginia, was solemnized the marriage between John Halbert, son of James Halbert and Martha Ross, spinster, in Essex County, Va. In 1810, James Halbert and Sarah, his wife conveyed by deed to John Halbert, son of said James Halbert a tract of land in St. Annes Parish in that county. On May 6, 1830, John Halbert, by deeds recorded in the Clerk's Office of the Essex County Court at Tappahannock conveyed all his real estate, a part of which he had inherited from his father, James Halbert, in St. Annes Parish to William Gray, and he was in position to leave for his new destination in the far West. This farm was originally devised to James Halbert by his father, William Halbert, in his will probated in the Essex County Court on April 20, 1761, by which he leaves the "plantation upon which he resides," to his oldest son James and mentions son James, son William, wife Mary, daughters Hannah Newman, Frances Halbert, Patty Halbert, Ann Halbert and Elizabeth Halbert.

The family tradition is that the ancestors of these Halberts were followers of the Stuarts, kings of England and that the cognomen was derived from the Scotch halbert,—a battle-ax,—and the first to assume the surname of Halbert

was a great warrior and could wield that weapon with force and effect.

James Halbert, the father of John Halbert, was a soldier of the American Revolution and served as a private in the Virginia State Militia in that war in 1781 and in the first census of the United States for Heads of Families in the State of Virginia in 1784 in District No. 5 of Essex County he is listed as the head of a family of four persons and two blacks (slaves). John Halbert was a veteran of the War of 1812 and one of his sons David William Halbert served as a private in Co. D of the Second Regiment of Illinois Foot Volunteers commanded by Col. Wm. H. Bissell in the Mexican War in 1846. A grandson Robert A. Halbert of Belleville served as the captain of Co. H, 117th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry in the War of 1861-65.

The period of the state history when John Halbert, his wife, Martha, and nine children came West from Virginia and settled in St. Clair County lies in the decade between 1830 and 1840. Illinois was still a frontier state. The population then was distributed largely along the navigable rivers, the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Wabash and their tributaries and contingent territory. The rest of the land, hills, prairies and forests were not inhabited by white men but over them roamed the Indian warriors and hunters with their villages mostly scattered in those portions of the state north of Springfield.

Ninian Edwards, lawyer, real estate dealer, merchant, former Governor and United States Senator had just closed his eventful career at Belleville where he died in 1833. Among the political leaders stood foremost John Reynolds, Governor of the State, 1830-1833, Congressman, historian whose book "My Own Times," faithfully depicts the customs and manners of its pioneer people. He had been a judge and publisher and died at Belleville in 1865. During this decade in the administrations of Reynolds, Ewing, Duncan and Carlin, forty-three counties were formed and the state capital moved from Vandalia to Springfield. The census of 1840

gives the population as 476,183 and the state was divided into eighty-seven counties.

The trend of affairs was chiefly marked by increased interest in education and Shurtleff College at Alton, McKendree College at Lebanon and Illinois College at Jacksonville were founded to be maintained and to flourish to the present day. This period also marks the close of organized troubles with the Indians when the Black Hawk War occurred and Black Hawk their leader was taken prisoner and his followers, the Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes were driven out of the state, north into Wisconsin and west into Iowa.

In reference to slavery in the state at this time Perrin's History of Illinois says, "Whilst Illinois was never a slave state in the strict sense in which the states of the south were regarded yet in various forms both negro and Indian slaves existed on the soil of our State from shortly after its discovery until the ultimate settlement of the question in the middle of the nineteenth century." This was done by the case of Jarrot v. Jarrot reported in 2 Gilman 1, of the Illinois Supreme Court Reports by which the Supreme Court held that the descendants of the old French slaves born after the Ordinance of 1787 were free. This case came from St. Clair County by appeal and Lyman Trumbull and Wm. H. Underwood acted as attorneys for Pete Jarrot the appellant in whose favor the decision was giving him his liberty. Edwards' History of Illinois says "since that time the State of Illinois has been freed from the evils of slavery" and Reynolds says in "My Own Times" "this decision liberated all the French slaves in the country."

Such were the conditions in the State at large, when John Halbert, a great grandfather of the writer, emigrated from Virginia to Illinois in 1830. The plantation there inherited from his ancestors was sold and after freeing his slaves, he moved with slow stages into Ohio and finally settled on uncleared land near Huggins Hill close by the banks of the Okaw or Kaskaskia River, three miles east of the present town of New Athens on the Darmstadt road. The journeying had been made across the mountains and valleys of Virginia

and the hills and plains of Illinois with ox-teams. Here John Halbert built his log-cabin, felled the trees and tilled and harvested the farm until his death in 1844.

The southeastern part of the County of St. Clair, east of the Okaw River was already sparsely settled for in the years from 1810-1830 had come the families of Nathaniel and Isaac Hill, John Perkins, Reuben Stubblefield, Isaac Rainey and John and Reuben Lively. The Indians were troublesome so the neighbors had built a block-house on Dosa Creek near Hillstown for protection against their attacks. Later a log church and a school house had been erected. The rich timber country along this river and its tributary streams invited the home-seeking pioneers to this section, where all the material wants of a growing family of plain and simple habits could be supplied. The family of John Halbert made the land entry in this locality on June 8, 1838. With him came his wife, Martha Halbert nee Ross and nine unmarried children, the youngest a babe in arms, five sons, John, David, James, Joseph and Thomas and four daughters, Martha, Catharine, Mary and Sarah. The oldest child Robert S. Halbert had died in youth before the family emigrated.

Both these parent pioneers were of a deeply religious nature and actuated by highest moral purposes, the wife Martha was a devout Baptist and John Halbert of the Episcopalian or Church of England. With them on their long journey and often read by them throughout their lives was brought the Holy Bible presented to their little boy Robert by Mary E. D. Garnett, Superintendent of the Episcopalian Sunday School in Essex. The book was stereotyped for the American Bible Society and printed by D. Fanshaw No. 20 Slote-lane, New York in 1821. It now lies open before the writer and in it are many family records in ink barely legible through lapse of time entered by Joseph Halbert, who for many years lived on the farm after the death of his parents. One is an entry of his father's death, September 19, 1844, and another of the mother's death February 1, 1856.

The remains of this pioneer couple, the husband first then the wife were laid to rest in the family burial lot on the farm.

Peace be to their ashes! For as the beloved poet, Robert Burns, himself so full of fellow-feeling, sings:—

“John Anderson, my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thegither;
And mony a canty day, John,
We’ve had wi’ ane anither;
Now we maun totter down, John,
And hand in hand we’ll go,
And sleep thegither at the foot,
John Anderson, my jo.”

So it is very interesting and instructive to trace the early religious beginnings in Illinois and to recall the deeds of the moral men and women of these first settlers. John Halbert and his wife in 1827 a short time before leaving the ancestral home conveyed as a gift one acre of land in the St. Annes Parish to the Trustees of the Upper Essex Baptist Church, which church stills exists there near Caret in the valley of the Rappahannock River. In their new home during life, the needy and in distress of any race or color found comfort and sustenance under their roof. Especially did John Halbert sympathize with the oppressed black race and gave liberty to his slaves for he felt their bondage to be a wrong, and the fugitive slave on his escape to Canada found a refuge on his farm.

By his will probated, October 7, 1844 he left a life-estate in the farm to his wife Martha Halbert and mentions his children John B. Halbert, Martha A. Halbert, David W. Halbert, James S. Halbert, Joseph A. Halbert, Thomas J. Halbert, Catharine McGuire, Mary Ann Marshall and Sarah James.

Here follow genealogical notes of the John Halbert Family of St. Clair County.

1. John B. Halbert, my grandfather, the oldest of the nine children of John Halbert married first wife Clarissa Carr youngest child of Jacob Carr, Freeburg and they had one child, Robert Alexander Halbert, b. February 9, 1841, in St. Clair County,—d. December 27, 1888 at Belleville,

2 w. Harriet Lawrence and they had three sons, Leonard, Louis and John.

My grandfather John B. Halbert was a singing school teacher, playing the violin as he instructed the scholars about the countryside, when a young man and after his second marriage was a country storekeeper and had a little store near the Randolph County line about seven miles south of New Athens on what was called the Humell Hill. Here he died of the cholera in 1850 and was buried in the neighboring Atlas Moore Cemetery where his second wife Harriet was several years afterwards also interred.

His son Leonard Halbert b. January 11, 1846 in St. Clair County; is now living on a farm near Pinckneyville at the advanced age of 82 years, hale and hearty. He was twice married, 1 w. Susan Morgan and had four children Harry, Ella, William and Oliver, all now deceased, 2 w. Margaret Rodgers and had one child Louis Wesley Halbert, now living near Chester.

His third son Louis Halbert b. July 19, 1849 in St. Clair County, d. November 6, 1915 at Centralia was twice married. 1 w. Nancy Mahala Jones and had three children, William Corey Halbert, Centralia; Josie White, Centralia; and Kate Reaney, O'Fallon. Dorothy DeBois, Pinckneyville is the child of a second marriage at Jonesboro.

His fourth son John died an infant.

2. Martha A. Halbert the oldest daughter of John Halbert died on the old Halbert farm unmarried.

3. The next son David William Halbert, a bachelor, moved to Missouri where he died quite old.

4. His son James S. Halbert married and also moved to Missouri and had two daughters.

5. Joseph A. Halbert b. June 6, 1826, on the farm near Fredericksburg, Va., d. Oct. 22, 1899, at Nashville, lived for many years on the old Halbert farm near New Athens and then moved to a farm near Nashville. He was married three times and had ten children, all now living except Robert Halbert of St. Louis, Mo. 1 w. Mary Irwin, Darmstadt, three children, John Thomas Halbert, Handley, Texas; Robert Hal-

bert, St. Louis, Mo. (dec'd), and Mrs. Catharine Scott, wife of Judson Scott, R. F. D. No. 3, Belleville; 2 w. Mary McFerron, widow of Robert McFerron, Darmstadt; two children, Eugene Halbert, Chicago, and Charles Halbert, Red Rock, Arizona; born in St. Clair County; 3 w. Eliza McFerron, five children, Mrs. Etta Dintleman, Marissa; three sons, Ralph, Joseph and Paul Halbert at Kincaid, and Laura Haupt, wife of Richard Haupt, St. Louis, Mo.

6. Thomas Jefferson Halbert, son of John Halbert, died in young manhood at the farm.

7. Catharine married Joseph McGuire, Freeburg, and had one daughter Lizzie and moved to Macon County farm near Decatur.

8. Mary Ann married Fred Marshall a farmer northwest of Fayetteville and had two children, John Marshall who moved into Washington County then west into state of Nebraska and Louise Marshall, daughter, Decatur.

9. Sarah married William James, Lenzburg, and had one daughter, Mary James, unmarried, R. F. D. No. 3, Belleville.

Robert Alexander Halbert, father of the writer, was a son of John B. Halbert. His grandfather was John Halbert, founder of the Halbert family of St. Clair County and of his life a few facts are noted. R. A. Halbert was born February 9, 1841, in St. Clair County, Illinois. His early life was spent on the farm of his maternal grandfather Jacob Carr and his mother Clarissa Halbert nee Carr dying at his birth he was carefully raised by her mother, Nancy Carr, nee Cox. By working on neighboring farms he earned his way through McKendree College and Illinois College. He taught school for six months at the Turkey Hill School and then studied law in the office of Judge Wm. H. Underwood at Belleville and was admitted to the bar in 1866. He was the captain of Co. H 117th Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War from 1861-1865. In 1868 elected States Attorney for the Judicial District composed of St. Clair, Bond and Madison counties and served four years. His marriage to Emma Louise Underwood occurred at Belleville April

14, 1869, and four children were born to this union, Clara Halbert Needles, widow of Henry Mace Needles, Granite City; William Underwood Halbert and Mary Halbert, Belleville, and Amie, who died in infancy. R. A. Halbert passed away December 27, 1888, at his residence in Belleville leaving surviving him his widow and three children. The interment under the auspices of the Grand Army of the Republic took place at Walnut Hill Cemetery.

NECROLOGY



MRS. PAUL SELBY.

MRS. PAUL SELBY, 1833-1928

An honored and beloved member of the Illinois State Historical Society, Mrs. Paul Selby, passed away at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Arthur E. Prince, Springfield, Illinois, on May 14th, 1928.

Mrs. Selby was the daughter of Porter and Mary Topliff Smith. She was born in Amherst, Massachusetts, November 7, 1833. The family came to Quincy, Illinois, in 1838. Mrs. Selby was educated in the East. She attended Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (now College) and graduated in 1853. She taught afterwards in a school in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Her marriage to Henry S. Hitchcock of Binghamton occurred in New York May 10, 1855. Mr. Hitchcock died in 1866 in Quincy. Mrs. Hitchcock was married to Paul Selby, December 1, 1870. They came to Springfield to reside in 1875. Mr. and Mrs. Selby removed to Chicago in the early nineties and resided there until Mr. Selby's death in March, 1913.

Mrs. Selby was the mother of six children. Two only grew to maturity, General Charles H. Hitchcock of Binghamton, New York, and Charlotte (Mrs. Arthur E. Prince) of Springfield, Illinois. She also had two stepdaughters, Mrs. C. Harmon Johnson of Clinton, Illinois, and Dr. Emily H. Selby of Chicago.

Mrs. Selby was identified with many patriotic and historical societies. She was a member of the Springfield Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution and an honorary member of the Illinois State Historical Society. She contributed to the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Volume 16, Numbers 1-2, April-July, 1923, a very interesting article on "Recollections of a Little Girl in the 'Forties' with Apologies for a Somewhat Lengthy Sequel." This article was very interesting and received many words of commendation from over the State and it was thought very remarkable that

a woman over ninety had such a clear and wonderful memory of her earlier days and events in Illinois.

Services were held for Mrs. Selby at the home of her daughter, conducted by Rev. John T. Thomas of the Presbyterian Church and interment was made in Oak Ridge Cemetery, by the side of her husband.



MRS. MARY TURNER CARRIEL.

MARY TURNER CARRIEL, 1845-1928

By RHODA CAPPS RAMMELKAMP

The Historical Society and the State of Illinois lost a most distinguished member and citizen in the death of Mrs. Mary Turner Carriel on June 10, 1928. Mrs. Carriel was for many years an interested and active member of both the State and the Morgan County Historical Society. This could hardly have been otherwise as she was herself identified with some of the important events in the early history of Illinois. Born October 30, 1845, in Jacksonville, the daughter of Jonathan Baldwin Turner and Rudolphia Kibbe, she grew up with one of the most cultured groups of the early pioneers of Illinois. Her parents were from New England, called to the Prairie Country by their zeal to bring education and religion to the West. Her father, one of the original faculty of Illinois College, was one of the most virile and versatile of that group of college teachers.

Mrs. Carriel was graduated in 1864 from the Jacksonville Female Academy, the first higher school for women in the State and now a part of Illinois College. In 1875 she married a physician, Dr. F. H. Carriel, who served the State for many years with distinguished ability as Superintendent of the State Hospital for the Insane at Jacksonville. All through her married life Dr. and Mrs. Carriel were honored leaders in the life of the community. Children came to them—three sons, Howard, Arthur and Fred Clifford, and one daughter, Mrs. Ella Carriel Roberts, in addition to the step-sons whom she included in her affections. She gave to her family the best that was hers to give, but this devotion did not limit her other interests.

She was elected in 1896 to the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, serving one term—the first woman ever

elected to that Board. Her father, Professor Turner, had originated the movement which led to the establishment of the Federal Land Grant Universities of the United States, and it was natural for Mrs. Carriel, therefore, to take a keen interest in the work of the State University. She rendered especially valuable service on the Board in connection with the College of Agriculture.

One cannot judge by the mere list of her memberships in various organizations of the breadth of her mind and culture. She held for many years of her life a unique leadership in many movements for the welfare of her community. A charter member of State Street Presbyterian Church, president of the Service Star Legion, president of the Alumnae Association of the Jacksonville Female Academy, president of the Art Association, and active member of Sorosis Society, she kept her membership in all of these organizations an active one, asking no favors because of her age but adequate always to the intellectual demands upon her. In 1927, during the celebration of the Centenary of Jacksonville, she was chosen as the "Queen Mother" of the Centennial.

Perhaps the monument of which she herself would be most proud was her "The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner," published in 1911. It was a labor of love, and at the same time a valuable historical document.

Mrs. Carriel possessed not only real strength of character but also charm of personality. She was a woman of great personal beauty and dignity. With her interesting combination of cultural training and democratic instincts, she won the admiration of the whole community.

After a happy winter in which she was able to attend the many meetings of church and clubs, she set off for a visit to California, where two of her sons reside. She was with them for some weeks before her last short illness. The news of her death came in the midst of the Commencement Season at the College which she and her father had loved so long. College and town bowed in sorrow at the loss of one whom both had long held it an honor to call their own.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-34. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1927. (Nos. 6-26 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. clvi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

* Out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections. Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles by Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxviii and 598 pp., 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph. D., LL. D. lxv and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

* Out of print.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 p. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I, No 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXI, No. 2, July, 1928.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to X, inclusive.

* Out of print.

OFFICERS
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May, 1928—May, 1929

President

OTTO L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice-Presidents

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg

L. Y. SHERMAN.....Daytona Beach, Fla.

RICHARD YATESSpringfield

ENSLEY MOOREJacksonville

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City

JOHN MCAULEY PALMER.....Washington, D. C.

JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island

Board of Directors

CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMPJacksonville

GEORGE W. SMITHCarbondale

ANDREW RUSSELJacksonville

J. A. JAMESEvanston

IRA W. ALLEN.....La Grange

LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana

THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.....Urbana

H. J. PATTEN.....Evanston

LOGAN HAYSpringfield

GEORGE DIXONDixon

LINCOLN WELDONBloomington

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

THOMAS REESSpringfield

JOSEPH B. OAKLEAFMoline

CORNELIUS J. DOYLE.....Springfield

Secretary and Treasurer

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice-Presidents

THE PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN ILLINOIS

CONTENTS.

I.	Officers of the Society	vii
II.	Appeal to the Historical Society and the General Public	xi
III.	The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783. By A. P. Nasatir, Department of History, San Diego, Cal.....	291
IV.	Genéts Western Intrigue 1793-1794. By F. R. Hall, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana	359
V.	The Laws in force in Illinois prior to its Statehood. By W. W. Edwards, Dean of the Lincoln College of Law, Springfield, Illinois....	382
VI.	Fundamentalism and Modernism in a Pioneer College. By Charles H. Rammelkamp, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois.....	395
VII.	Galena's Memories of General Ulysses S. Grant. By Florence Gratiot Bale.....	409
VIII.	Elizabeth Moore Morris Casey. By Ella Morris Casey Kretschmar.....	419
IX.	Necrology— Dr. Charles P. Johnson..... Andrew Swanzy	438 440
	Orrin N. Carter.....	442
	George M. Brinkerhoff.....	446
X.	Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society	450

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(MEMBERS PLEASE READ THIS CIRCULAR LETTER.)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography, and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian Tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Co-operative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed Works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; Materials for Illinois History; old Letters, Journals.

2. Manuscripts; Narratives of the Pioneers of Illinois; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great Rebellion, or other wars; Biographies of the Pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every County either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs, a sketch of the settlement of every Township, Village, and the Neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois History.

3. City Ordinances, proceedings of Mayor and Council; Reports of Committees of Council; Pamphlets or Papers of

any kind printed by authority of the City; Reports of Boards of Trade; Maps of cities and Plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in the State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Illinois; Political Addresses; Railroad Reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual or other Reports of School Boards, School Superintendents, and School Committees, Educational Pamphlets, Programs and Papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier Laws; Journals and Reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' Messages and Reports of State Officers; Reports of State Charitable and other State Institutions.

7. Files of Illinois Newspapers and Magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of Counties or Townships, of any date; Views and Engravings of buildings or historical places; Drawings or Photographs of scenery; Paintings; Portraits, etc., connected with Illinois History.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; Coins, Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statuary; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes—their History, Characteristics, Religion, etc.; Sketches of prominent Chiefs, Orators and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities, and Implements; also Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics. It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the

great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.

THE ANGLO-SPANISH FRONTIER IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* 1779-1783

By A. P. NASATIR, PH. D., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, STATE
COLLEGE, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA.

This paper is an attempt to present in one connected story the history of the Upper Mississippi frontier during the American Revolution. It is the intention of the author to set forth that story by tracing the relations between the Indian and White, and by telling the story of the Anglo-Spanish struggle for the control of the trade and territory of the Upper Mississippi Valley during the years in which Spain was a participant in that Revolution.¹

It should be constantly kept in mind that St. Louis was founded as a trading post in 1764. From it the traders, who were under the nominal control of the Spanish crown, spread in all directions. The British had expected to secure the Indian trade, at least in that part of the Mississippi Valley to which England fell heir as a consequence of the Treaty of 1763. But in this they were disappointed, to say the least; though not for very long. The influence of the French over the Indians was very great on both sides of the river, but it redounded in the greatest degree to the advantage of the Spaniards and to the disadvantage of the English. It was only in the regions about the Great Lakes that French in-

* Acknowledgment is due Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton for advice and counsel in the preparation of this paper.

¹ This is but a chapter in the larger story of the "Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Upper Mississippi Valley." To differentiate the "Spanish Illinois" (the territory north of the Arkansas and west of the Mississippi) from the territory of the British, and later American, Illinois Country has been designated as the "American Illinois" or simply as the "Illinois Country."

The Manuscript of this article was completed before the appearance of the second volume of James A. James (ed), *George Rogers Clark Papers* (Springfield, 1927—Illinois Historical Collections, Volume XIX) and Wayne E. Stevens, *The Northwest Fur Trade* (Urbana, 1928).

fluence was made to favor the English, the French-Canadians being in the employ of the British Merchants.²

Early Anglo-Spanish Rivalry for Indian Trade.—Soon after 1763 the British, realizing the necessity for obtaining the control of the Indian trade of the Mississippi Valley and especially of the Illinois Country, took definite steps to gain it. First, through an exchange of notes with the Spanish officials which resulted in decrees forbidding the crossing of the Mississippi by the subjects of Spain, then by an invasion of the British traders into Spanish territory, and finally by a determined effort to secure the allegiance of the Indian tribes under its jurisdiction through equalling and surpassing in amounts the presents given to them by the Spanish and French. Indeed, Great Britain seriously considered an attack upon Louisiana and New Orleans throughout the decade following the peace of 1763.³

But Spain did not remain idle. Although Spain issued decrees forbidding Spaniards to cross the Mississippi, there is reason to suspect that no small part of the Indian trade of the East side of the Mississippi came into Spanish hands. Many Indians, nominally under British jurisdiction, came annually to St. Louis and received gifts from the Spanish government. Furthermore, Spain constructed a fort at the mouth of the Missouri in order to keep the British traders from invading Spanish territory. Indeed, rivalry for the trade of the Sac Indians was keen and the English seem to have planted a post near the mouth of the Rock River in 1767 in order to prosecute their trade not only in the Illinois Country but also across the Mississippi River, in Iowa and adjacent regions.⁴

² Nasatir, A. P., *The Indian Trade and Diplomacy of the Spanish Illinois, 1763-1792*. MS. Ph.D. Thesis, University of California Library, 1-85 passim. Alvord, C. W., *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, (Cleveland, 1917), I, Chapter XI, passim; *Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings*, 1914-15, 59- (West, E. H., *The Indian Policy of Bernardo de Gálvez*).

³ This has been discussed in detail with full citations to the sources in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, Chapter II passim, *Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 81*; (hereafter cited *P. de C.*) Carter, C. E., *Great Britain and the Illinois Country* (Washington, 1910), 142-144.

⁴ Houck, L., *Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909), I, 13, 24, 74, 141-148; *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*, XVIII, 290, 291, 299, 300, 305, 306, 358-368. Copies of some of these documents are in the Bancroft Library. (Hereafter cited as BL.)

In reply, De Leyba remarked that he was in full accord with Clark; and though he thought the goods he sent were for the "Bostonians," when the two should meet they would make the best arrangements possible.²⁵ On the twenty-first De Leyba wrote Gálvez stating that Clark treated all the inhabitants under his jurisdiction with fairness and justness; for which Gálvez rejoiced.²⁶

The Indian Problem and Trade.—Meanwhile, De Leyba was under instructions to secure the friendship of as many of the Indians as he possibly could. By the twenty-first of July the Kickapoo, Sac, Fox, Maxcutero (Mascuten?), Missouri, and the Big and Little Osage Indians had arrived in St. Louis and given their blessing to the *Commandante*. De Leyba complained of having been forced to exceed the amount of food allowed to be given to the Indians in any given year, according to Piernas's decree of January 4, 1771. But that it was a necessity so to do, was undoubted; for the Revolutionary War caused many tribes of Indians to waver, not knowing to which side they should turn, many coming to St. Louis, and it was necessary to maintain them during their stay in the capital of Spanish Illinois. More than that, the Indians brought their wives and children with them; and the representatives of the Missouri Nation stayed fifteen days. Furthermore, other nations, who were accustomed to come to St. Louis to receive annual presents, had not yet arrived.²⁷ De Leyba ran low on supplies, for Laclede's ship had not arrived (with supplies).²⁸ Gálvez did send some medals, those that he had on hand; and also told De Leyba that he had the authority to augment the amount of goods that could be rationed to the Indians. By this he meant the amount budgeted by Piernas on the fourth of January, 1771, for the maintenance of Indians while staying in St. Louis; but he warned

²⁵ De Leyba to Clark (?), St. Louis, 17 July, 1778, *ibid.* Tr. BL.

²⁶ De Leyba to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 21, 1778, and draft of Gálvez's reply dated Sept. 2, 1778, *ibid.* Tr. BL.

²⁷ *Idem*, July 21, 1778, P. de C., 2358. Tr. BL.

²⁸ *Idem*, July 25, 1778, P. de C., 1. Tr. BL. See Nasatir, *op. cit.*, Chapter II. Laclede had died on his way back from New Orleans.

De Leyba that the Indians should not remain in St. Louis longer than three or four days on any one visit.²⁹

In another letter of the same date, De Leyba stated that the traders for the nations of the Missouri would leave St. Louis for their respective destinations in the first days of August. He divided the trade into many small portions in order to remedy many necessities, details of which he would write about later. Such a course had to be followed to satisfy the public—with the exception of those who expected to obtain large portions of that trade. De Leyba distributed the medals which Cruzat had handed to him to chiefs of the Osages and requested that Gálvez send him four or six more; for other Osage chiefs had been promised medals and would return to St. Louis in November to get them.³⁰ Later De Leyba complained that it was impossible to satisfy all who wanted to engage in the trade of the Missouri, and because of this several enemies were created by his actions. He further complained that all the inhabitants wanted to engage in that trade; which was impossible, for if such were the case, little or nothing could be earned in that trade. This fact had made it almost impossible to differentiate the classes of people in St. Louis, resulting in his being unable to distinguish those who were laborers and those who were merchants. He therefore suggested that many be ordered to cultivate the fertile ground and raise wheat, and other things, in order to sustain the place and maintain the eight hundred *hombres de Guarnición*. Gálvez reported this to the Court, and received instructions empowering him to use ways and means to increase the cultivation of wheat, etc., which orders were sent to De Leyba.³¹

Clark and the Spainards.—In the meanwhile Gálvez had been shipping supplies to De Leyba to be transferred to Colonel Clark. They had been ordered by Pollock, along with other goods for the “Bostonians.”³² On the other hand, Clark had been keeping in fairly close touch with De Leyba. He

²⁹ Gálvez to De Leyba, New Orleans, Sept. 2, 1778. P. de C., 1. Tr. BL.

³⁰ Idem, July 21, 1778, Ibid. Tr. BL.

³¹ Idem, Nov. 16, 1778, P. de C., 1. Tr. BL. and draft of reply attached thereto dated Jan. 13, 1779. See also Idem, Dec. 9, 1778, P. de C., 2358. Tr. BL.

³² De Leyba to Gálvez, Aug. 6, 1778, P. de C., 1. Tr. BL.

wrote the latter on October 26, saying that since he had last seen him, he (Clark) had been sick, but that he had dispatched the warrants to Congress to pay for the goods he had received from him. At the same time he gave De Leyba an account of what was transpiring on the Atlantic Coast and promised to keep the latter posted on all events of which he received news.³³

Aiding Clark were Gabriel Cerré and Francisco Vigo, the latter being an associate in business with Lieutenant-Governor De Leyba. Both were merchants. Cerré lived in Kaskaskia; while Vincennes was the center of a part of Vigo's business. Cerré, a French-Canadian by birth, a British subject by virtue of his residence, was Spanish in sympathy. Vigo was an Italian by birth, and a Spaniard by allegiance, having served in the Spanish army. He had engaged in business in the Arkansas valley and later moved to St. Louis, where he became a prosperous merchant. Both rendered signal service to the American Cause. It is, however, unnecessary to trace their careers here. Suffice it to say that they represent but one part of the active cooperation and assistance rendered by the Spaniards of the Illinois to the American Cause.³⁴ Perrault of St. Louis acted similarly for the British.³⁵

St. Louis had been accustomed to receive a considerable amount of provisions from the British Illinois; but during the past year the inhabitants had found themselves in a state of siege, which resulted in the loss of one-half of the wheat.

³³ Clark to De Leyba, Kaskaskia, Oct. 26, 1778, *Ibid.* Tr. BL. See also *Idem*, Nov. 6, 1778. *Ibid.* Further Clark letters to De Leyba are to be found in P. de C., 1. Transcripts of most of these are in BL.

³⁴ For good accounts of the activities of these men consult the following: Thompson, J. J., "Penalties of Patriotism." In *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, IX, 401-449. Pages 404-412 deal with Vigo.

Sketch of Jean Gabriel Cerré. In *Missouri Historical Society Collections* II, Number 2, 58-76.

English, W. H., *Conquest of Northwest* (Indianapolis, 1897). *passim*, esp. I, 267-277.

James, J. A., *George Rogers Clark Papers*, *passim*.

See also letters of Clark to De Leyba, Kaskaskia, Jany. 23, 1779; De Leyba to Gálvez, Feb. 5, 1779. Other letters of *Idem* to *Idem* are: Post Vincennes, March 1, 1779, Cahos (Cahokia), April 21, 1779, Kaskaskia, May 26, 1779, *Idem*, May 29, 1779.

See also De Leyba to Gálvez, April 24, 1779; Cartabona to De Leyba, Ste. Genevieve, May 6, 1779; De Leyba to Gálvez, June 9, 1779; *Idem*, Oct. 18, 1779, 2 letters. All in P. de C., 1.

³⁵ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections* X, 396-397.

This, together with the big garrisons stationed in that region, caused the price of bread and other provisions to rise. As a consequence, consternation reigned in St. Louis; for they had been promised an abundance of supplies, and at cheap prices, for that year.³⁶

The news of the aid given to Clark by the Spaniards at St. Louis reached Governor Patrick Henry by December of 1778. In that month he sent two letters, one to be delivered by Clark and the other by John Todd, expressing his thanks for the aid rendered to the forces of the Commonwealth of Virginia and promising to tender De Leyba "every assistance and friendly exchange of good offices." At the same time he requested a continuance of his aid and good disposition towards the Americans. In reply, De Leyba told Henry that since Clark had arrived in the Illinois and especially since his visit to St. Louis, a fraternal harmony had reigned between the individuals of the United States and the vassals of His Catholic Majesty. At the same time he praised Clark in the highest terms.³⁷

De Leyba watches British movements.—It will be remembered that among other things, De Leyba had been instructed to be on his guard against any British attacks upon, or incursions into, territory under Spanish jurisdiction. This duty was not neglected. The militia of St. Louis was divided and formed into two companies³⁸ and a company of cavalry established.³⁹ The traders who had been sent to trade among the Oto Indians during the past year, acting under orders from Cruzat, had seized the goods of two British traders who were among those Indians and who had collected one thousand four hundred and seventy-three *libras* of deer skin, which together with the traders were conducted to St. Louis. The criminals escaped; and De Leyba, decreeing their goods as contraband, ordered that it be divided into three parts, one

³⁶ De Leyba to Gálvez, Nov. 16, 1778, P. de C., 1.

³⁷ Henry to Spanish Commandant near the Illinois, Williamsburgh, Va., Dec. 12 and 15, 1778. De Leyba to Señor Don Patricio Henry, St. Louis, April 23, 1779, P. de C., 1. Transcripts BL.

³⁸ De Leyba to Gálvez, Nov. 16, 1778, and draft of the reply, *Ibid.* See also *Idem*, Dec. 8, 1778, P. de C., 2358.

³⁹ *Idem*, July 13, Aug. 6, P. de C., 1.

to go to the King, one to defray the “gastos de Justicia,” and the third to be given to those who had apprehended the invaders.⁴⁰

Furthermore, in November of 1778, De Leyba wrote to Gálvez, informing him of the uselessness of Fort Carlos III located at the entrance of the Missouri River, and of the poor site that it occupied. He recommended that a fort be established in the district called “Aguas Frias” and another at the entrance of the Des Moines river, on which there were numerous Indian villages. This post was to be garrisoned with a force of two hundred men. The purpose of this post was to prevent the English from entering this river, where they had been carrying on a large traffic with the Indians and even penetrating this river to its headwaters, from whence they went as far as the Missouri. Gálvez replied that he could not, without specific instructions from the higher authorities, accede to these recommendations, as they necessitated an added expenditure from the royal treasury, and because the garrison of all Louisiana was so small as to preclude the assigning of two hundred men to those settlements. Gálvez said he would lay the plan before His Majesty; but in the meanwhile ordered De Leyba “to endeavor to prevent the English from entering said rivers, and to see to it that they do not entice our Indians, this being a matter that is so strictly charged in the instructions carried by Your Grace.”⁴¹

In 1779 De Leyba was still playing his part aiding Clark and the Americans.⁴² In order to provide for the Indian nations for this year, De Leyba was forced to purchase some goods from the other side of the river—another cause for this action being the fact that Maxent had not delivered the Indian

⁴⁰ *Idem*, Dec. 9, 1778, *Ibid.* This is not the letter of like date cited in a preceding note. De Leyba to Gálvez, Nov. 16, 1778. Original **BL**.

⁴¹ De Leyba to Gálvez, New Orleans, January 13, 1779, **P. de C.**, 1. This is in reply to a letter of De Leyba to Gálvez of Nov. 16, 1778. Five other letters of De Leyba to Gálvez of that date, none dealing with this episode, however, are in **P. de C.** 1. The letter referred to here is in the **BL**. The Gálvez to De Leyba letter is translated in Houck, *op cit.*, I, 166. There is a copy and a transcript of this in **BL**. The original is in **P. de C.**, 2358. The original draft of this reply is found in the margin of the original copy of De Leyba's letter to Gálvez of Nov. 16, 1778, in **BL**.

⁴² See **Clark Papers**, **MS.** Missouri Historical Society, especially De Leyba to Clark, May 30, 1779, etc.

presents to him for this year. The latter was shipped by Madame Maxent, her husband being absent in the expedition against Pensacola at the time.⁴³

We have thus far traced the activities of the Spaniards prior to the declaration of war. Let us now trace the activities of the British along the Spanish border prior to the declaration of war. A part of this story has already been told.⁴⁴

British Activity on Spanish Border (1776-1779).—The British were aware almost from the outset that the Spaniards were aiding the Americans. In October of 1776, Guy Carleton wrote Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, stating that the latter should attempt to intercept and prevent “a correspondence which may prove so detrimental to His Majesty’s affairs as that which you inform me is carrying on between the colonists and the Spanish Governor, but care should be taken that nothing be pursued which may have a tendency to create a breach between the two nations. The Spanish side of the Mississippi must be respected upon all occasions.”⁴⁵ Indeed, they intended to drive the rebels out of Illinois in order to cut off their communication with the French and the Spaniards.⁴⁶ They took alarm when reports reached them of the Spaniards’ wishing to erect forts in the Illinois Country.⁴⁷ They were working to keep the good will of as many of the natives as was possible for them, and to defeat the attempts of the Spaniards to win native support to their side.⁴⁸ On January 13, 1779, Hamilton wrote to Gálvez, requesting him to prohibit the commerce in gun powder with the rebels from New Orleans. He stated that if the report that the rebels “will take refuge in Spanish Territory in the event of a force coming” were true, he would be forced, if the Spanish allowed that, to attack the Spanish posts. Eleven days later he wrote

⁴³ De Leyba to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 13, and Oct. 18, 1778, (2 letters), Oct. 28, and draft of reply dated New Orleans, 19 Feb., 1780, P. de C., 1. Transcripts BL. Kellogg, L. P., *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1917. Wisconsin Historical Collections XXIV), 81-91 passim.

⁴⁴ See ante.

⁴⁵ Report of the Canadian Archives, 1887, 199-200; Mich. P. and H. Soc. Colls., IX, 344.

⁴⁶ Rept. Can. Arch., 1887, 199, 211, 214.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 208. See ante for Spanish side of this affair.

⁴⁸ Even rum was to be officially given to the Indians. Rept. Can. Arch., 1885, 267.

to General Haldimand that he believed that war existed with both France and Spain; but he had received no word to justify him in offensive action.⁴⁹

British traders had, as we have already mentioned, entered Spanish territory and traded with the Indians. Especially did they attempt to capture the trade of the Indians about the Des Moines River. Two British traders were captured by the Spaniards and their goods confiscated; and a Spanish trader, Lucas David by name, was killed upon the Des Moines River.⁵⁰

The British attempted to plant a post at the mouth of the Ohio which might become a future bridle "on the Americans of whatever domination or interest." They also desired to control the mouth of the Missouri, from which place they could, by underselling the Spaniards, subject the Indians to their control and influence.⁵¹ It was hoped that those objects would be accomplished by the expedition under Hamilton⁵² which conquered Vincennes from Clark, only to lose it again later. Hamilton summed up his view of the combatants in the letter above quoted as follows:—"The Spaniards are feeble and hated by the French, the French are fickle and have no man of capacity to advise or lead them, the Rebels are enterprising and brave, but want resources, and the Indians can have their resources but from the English if we act without loss of time in the favorable conjuncture." Such was the British attitude in the year just preceding the declaration of war by Spain upon England. This attitude of the British persisted until war broke out with Spain, when attempts were made to bring it to fruition, to which we will presently turn our attention.

⁴⁹ Rept. Can. Arch., 1887, 217-218. The letter of Hamilton to the Governor of New Orleans dated Vincennes Jan. 13, 1779, is in P. de C., 2370.

⁵⁰ See ante and De Leyba to Gálvez, St. Louis, Dec. 9, 1778, and draft of reply dated March 9, 1779, P. de C., 2358.

⁵¹ Hamilton to Haldimand, Detroit, Sept. 22, 1778, Mich. P. and H. Colls., IX, 477-482.

⁵² For this expedition see *Ibid*, IX, 489-516; James, Clark Papers LXIX et seq.

SPAIN ENTERS THE WAR; THE BRITISH ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS
AND SPANISH-AMERICAN RETALIATION

The Declaration of War between Spain and England.—Meanwhile events were transpiring in Europe as a result of which France and Spain were drawn into war with England. After the defeat of Burgoyne in 1777, France, who had from the start of the American Revolution favored and aided the revolting colonies, drew much closer to the United States. A treaty of alliance with the latter was finally made on February 6, 1778, and France at once entered the war.⁵³ With one of its primary objects being the possession of the entire Mississippi Valley, France and Spain entered into a treaty on the twelfth of April, 1779.⁵⁴ Spain had attempted to mediate between England and France; but unsuccessfully; and on the twenty-first of June she broke off relations with England.⁵⁵ The latter interpreted this as a declaration of war; but not so the Spanish, and it was not until July 8, 1779, that Spain formally declared war on England⁵⁶ and served notice thereof

⁵³ Malloy, W. M. *Treaties between U. S. and Other Powers*, (Washington, 1910), I, 307; Corwin, E. S., *French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778* (Princeton, 1916), *passim*.

⁵⁴ Doniol, H., *Histoire de la Participation de la France a L'Établissement des États-Unis D'Amérique*, (5 vols., Paris, 1886-1892), III, 803-810. See also Chapter XIII.

⁵⁵ *Gaceta de Madrid*, June 25, 1779, 444-448. But in reality this occurred on June 16th for on that day Le Marquis D'Almadoar presented to Lord Viscount Weymouth the letter breaking off relations. *Annual Register*, 1779, 359-360.

⁵⁶ Danvilla y Collado, M., *Reinado de Carlos III* (6 vols. Madrid, 1890-96), V, 76-82 (in Canovas del Castillo, A., *Historia General de Espana*—). See also Doniol, *op. cit.*, III, chapter XIII and the documents, *Ibid*, 811-856; *Collecion de Reales Cédulas*, copy in B.L., IV, 48-84. The declaration of war is in P. de C., 182, 227, 570. Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 121; Fortier, A., *History of Louisiana* (New York, 1904), II, 62 and others, probably following Martin, F. X. A., *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1827-29), II, 42, say the King of Spain published a formal declaration of war against Great Britain on May 8th and on the 8th of July authorized his subjects in America to take their share in the hostilities to be waged against the English and their possessions. It seems preposterous to wait two months after war was declared before notifying the colonies in America, especially when the attitude of the Spanish colonists to attack the British possessions and also the desire so to do on the part of Spain itself was in evidence long before. No issue of the *Gaceta de Madrid* appeared on May 8 and no royal decrees declaring war were in the issues for May 7th and May 11th. The decree breaking off relations with England on June 21st is given in Doniol, *op. cit. loc. cit.*, and in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, June 25th. (*Gaceta de Madrid*, 1779, 444-448.) Other decrees relative to the rupture between England and Spain are to be found in *Ibid*. See esp. the supplement to the issue of July 2. See *Ibid*, 488 for the point of view taken by England.

James (Miss. V. Hist. Assn. Proc., 1908-09, 203) gives June 16 as the date of Spain's declaration of War. Most general books on American History give June as the month in which war was declared. The explanation for the June dates is probably to be found in the text and in *Canadian Archives Report*, 1885, 276.

Bancroft, G. (*History of United States* 6 vols., New York, 1883-1885), III, 338) states a declaration of war was delivered by the Spanish Ambassador to Lord Weymouth on June 16.

Houck, L. (*History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), II, 34) states that on June 16 (17th) King George advised Parliament that Spain had resorted to arms.

Officials of both nations complained of traders of the other nation invading their domains. The greatest invasion by the British of Spanish territory occurred in the Arkansas river valley, an invasion which, except during the Revolutionary War, was never effectively checked prior to 1783.

Traders from the British Illinois had at various times pushed across the river into the Missouri Valley. They had very early exerted their influence over Indians in this region. The Spaniards built Fort Carlos III at the mouth of the Missouri in 1768 and only four days after it had been established a party of Little Osage and Missouri Indians appeared there and demanded entrance into the fort. This was of course contrary to Spanish law and the Indians were first stripped of their arms. One of the Indians had an English flag and planted it on the shore of the river. This insult to the Spaniards caused them to rise up in arms. Piernas, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Spanish Illinois, in reporting this incident, stated that the Indians were “mal intencionados” and knew of the proximity of the English.⁵ The previous June, Piernas had notified Unzaga, the Governor-General of Louisiana, that the English at Fort Chartres and other places had received reinforcements in men, powder, guns and cannon. Piernas warned the Governor-General that in case of war they would attack him, forcing him (Piernas) to move inland towards the Indians of the Missouri river whose friendship could be held only by having good trade relations with them “*y la puntualidad de los regalos*”; but that at that time it was impossible to hold their confidence; for although they were then contented “*y en la mejor disposicion*,” their character was shifty and they could easily be inspired to treachery—especially the little Osage and Missouri Indians who had been the most traitorous, and for the past four or five years had been influenced by the English who had showered presents lavishly upon them, and encouraged them both to pillage the merchandize of the Spanish traders and to steal horses from the inhabitants of Spanish Illinois. There were other nations

⁵ Piernas to Unzaga, Ste. Genevieve, July 15, 1772, P. de C., 81.

upon the Missouri who also would attack the Spaniards in case war should break out between the latter and the British. But happily Piernas announced that, according to the latest news, the British and Spanish Courts had adjusted their differences and the appearance of war had ceased.⁶

In November of the same year, Piernas complained that as he had no Spanish flags, the Indians would flock to the boats carrying the British officials which passed down the river flying the British colors. He therefore asked that some Spanish flags be sent him in order to convince the Indians that the Spanish domination in those parts had been effected.⁷

Other British Incursions into Spanish Illinois.—In 1772 occurred the famous invasion of Spanish Illinois by Ducharme, who was captured and his goods confiscated by Laclede and a Company of Militia who had been dispatched for that purpose. Although Ducharme escaped, the men who had been under his command were taken to St. Louis where they were examined by the Lieutenant-Governor. This was a part of the plan or plans of the British traders to invade the Spanish provinces and reap some of the benefits to be gotten from the Indian trade of those regions. In a letter written by Piernas to the British *Commandante* is stated the fact that Baptista Leduc, a trader from Canada, had passed the previous summer trading among the Big Osage; and that Ducharme was found actually "*paying*," by which Piernas most likely meant the giving, as a present to the Little Osage and Missouri Indians, of two boat-loads of merchandise and munitions of war. Hugh Lord, in answer to Piernas, denied having knowledge of those incidents, and complained of a Spanish trader from Ste. Genevieve trading on the British side of the river.⁸

⁶ *Idem*, St. Louis, June 12, 1771, P. de C., 81. See also Carter, *Illinois Country*, ca. 142-144.

⁷ Piernas to Unzaga, St. Louis, Nov. 6, 1771, P. de C., 81.

⁸ Piernas to Hugh Lord, St. Louis, Feb. 21, 1773, P. de C., 2357, Hugh Lord to Piernas, Ft. Gage, March 21, 1773, P. de C., 2357. The documents concerning Ducharme are in P. de C., 2357 and a "*minuta sin firma ni direccion*," dated 14 August, 1773, in legajo 81. Some other documents bearing upon Ducharme are to be found in Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XVIII. A more extended account of Ducharme's invasion may be found in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, ch. II.

But in spite of the hostility of the above named Indians and of their depredations upon Spanish property, a conference composed of Piernas, St. Ange, Volsey, Laclede and others met in St. Louis and decided to establish peace with the Indians on the latter's promise to behave.⁹

Carver, Peter Pond, and Rivalry for the Iowa Trade.—Still other Englishmen visited and traded in the country to the west of the Mississippi River. As early as 1776, Carver had been in country owned by Spain;¹⁰ and Peter Pond in 1773 entered the Iowa Country. The latter reported having had considerable success in the fur business; though most of it undoubtedly was done within the limits of British jurisdiction.¹¹ There was indeed a very keen competition and rivalry between the British and Spanish traders for the trade of the Upper Mississippi tribes, especially that with the Sac and Fox Indians living at that time mainly within the boundaries of the present State of Iowa, that is to say, within what was then Spanish Jurisdiction; although many of their tribes still remained to the east of the river.

These tribes were listed as among those who were accustomed annually to go to St. Louis to receive presents given them, both by Ríu in 1769,¹² and by Cruzat in 1777. Peter Pond reported in 1773 that the Sac and Fox Indians were well inclined towards the Spaniards and more favorably disposed to the Spanish and French hunters than to those of the British district, notwithstanding the more liberal presents of the English.¹³ The Sioux and Iowa Indians were others so listed. Indeed, in 1775, five Sioux Indian chiefs arrived in St. Louis and solicited Spanish medals,¹⁴ which were granted them. Unfortunately, these chiefs were killed on their return. But in spite of the ill feeling, largely raised against the traders whom they suspected, these Indians asked

⁹ Consejo formado por Pedro Piernas, ——— Sobre Osages, San Luis, 21 de Agosto, 1773, P. de C., 81. This document has many words that are cut, and polilla eaten. A better copy is to be found in legajo, 2357.

¹⁰ Carver, J., *Travels Throughout the Interior Parts of North America* (London, 1778), 49-51, 93.

¹¹ Pond, P., *Journal*, Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XVIII, 314-354.

¹² Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 44-45; Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XVIII, 299-300.

¹³ Houck, *Op cit.*, I, 141-148; Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XVIII, 306, 358-368.

¹⁴ Cruzat to Unzaga, St. Louis, Nov. 26, 1775, P. de C., 81.

for traders from the Spanish *Commandante* at St. Louis, who dispatched a trader with two thousand *libras* merchandise. This trader left St. Louis in the middle of August and returned on the sixth of November, after having performed the regular business of that trade and reported the Indians as being tranquil and friendly to the Spaniards.¹⁵ Indeed, the British attempted to get this trade as well as that of the Sac, Fox, Iowa and other tribes. In 1777 Cruzat complained that "no benefit to (our) trade results therefrom (from the Iowa), for the reason that the fur trade is carried on continually with the traders who are entering that river (Des Moines) from the English district." Similar remarks were made in connection with the Sioux. On the other hand, the British might at that time have uttered like remarks with regard to many tribes of Indians living under British Jurisdiction, for the Spaniards themselves claimed the friendship of many of those tribes.¹⁶

The Sac and Fox Indian Trade.—But as stated above, probably the greatest rivalry occurred over the trade of the Sac and Fox Indians. The Spaniards claimed the friendship of both. The British were doing their utmost to gain the trade of these as well as the other tribes of the Upper Mississippi. But the Sac and Fox Indians were at war with the Little Osage and Missouri. In order to re-establish peace, Cruzat addressed the commandant of the British district, Rocheblave, stating that he was disposed to dispatch a messenger to the Sac and Fox Indians, located in the latter's district, to obtain from them ten Missouri Indians whom they had made prisoners the previous spring. He solicited from Rocheblave a letter to the British traders who might be among those tribes, so that Cruzat's envoy might have access to the chiefs, to whom he was addressing the above request. Cruzat stated that his only purpose was in the interests of peace and that he was following this process in order not to disturb "the concord which my prince desires to exist between these subjects and those of the king of Great Britain." Rocheblave's

¹⁵ *Idem*, Nov. 21, 1776, P. de C. 81.

¹⁶ Houck, *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.; Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

reply embodied a complete adherence to Cruzat's request, for Cruzat's motive was "too praiseworthy not to concur in it." He enclosed in his reply to the Spanish *Commandante* the letter and a passport for which the latter had requested. The Spanish mission was sent; and on the sixteenth of August (1777), returned with several ransomed; those unransomed were held by the Sac and Fox Indians until the Little Osage and Missouri, who desired to come in person to get them, should arrive, for they desired peace.¹⁷

The Kickapoo and Mascuten Trade.—So also the Kickapoo and Mascuten, who, though living on the Illinois river, were friendly to the Spanish. During the winter of 1776-1777, Gabriel Cerré, who became a very important aid to George Rogers Clark, was among the above named tribes. One of the chiefs of the Kickapoos during that time stated that he had been to St. Louis the winter before to drink with the Spaniards and to see his Spanish father, who had promised him a medal, a chief's coat, a hat, etc., which articles were shown to him but not given to him; for the *Commandante* wished first to hear from the Governor and warned the Indian chief not to mix in the troubles of the "Bostonians" with the English.¹⁸

THE REVOLUTION BEFORE SPAIN ENTERED THE WAR

The Outbreak of the American Revolution.—Meanwhile the entire Eastern part of the present United States and Canada became embroiled in the American Revolution. It had been caused by the revolt of thirteen of the Atlantic seaboard colonies of England. Those immediately involved were the British and those of their colonies that did revolt. Thus for our purpose only the eastern part of the Mississippi Valley was involved in the hostilities. Yet the western part of that valley was active, despite the fact that their sovereign had not as yet joined the war. Spain had never forgotten

¹⁷ Cruzat to Rocheblave, St. Louis, June 12, 1777; Rocheblave to Cruzat, Fort Gage, June 18, 1777, *P. de C.*, 2358. The above letters together with Cruzat to Galvez, St. Louis, Nov. 26, 1777, are translated in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 134-137.

¹⁸ Declaration of Gabriel Cerré, Fort Gage, April 29, 1777, *Chicago Hist. Soc. Colls.*, IV, 389-390. See also *ibid.*, 397-398 and *Report of Canadian Archives*, 1887, 207. The American Revolution is here referred to.

the loss of the Floridas, which England received from her as a result of the Seven Years' War. Spain had no love for England, nor for the revolting colonies; though *she* had ambitions. Spain saw the economic opportunities offered *it* in the way of trade; for would not the products of the back country of an independent neighbor be shipped to and via New Orleans? The control of such trade would deprive their "ancient and natural enemy, the English, of all those vast supplies of naval stores and many other articles which have enabled them to become so powerful on the Seas." If Spain regained possession of the Floridas, Spain could enjoy a part of the trade of the "Northern States." Spain, too, prized the possession of the entire valley; and on the fifteenth of August, 1777, the Spanish Government informed Governor Bernardo de Gálvez that in case the American colonist should seize any of the British settlements on the Mississippi and should be disposed to deliver them up to the Spanish Sovereign, he (Gálvez) was empowered to receive them in trust or deposit, taking care not to provoke any violent measures on the part of England.¹⁹

De Leyba's Instructions.—At the same time St. Louis was not idle and neither were the English in the Upper Mississippi Valley. In 1778, Fernando de Leyba was appointed to succeed Cruzat as Lieutenant-Governor of the Illinois. He was instructed to encourage agriculture; to secure the good will and friendship of all the Indians residing within His Catholic Majesty's dominion; to encourage immigration into Spanish Illinois; and to treat all British and American subjects who might come into Spanish territory for protection with fairness and accord to each and everyone all the rights of Spanish subjects. Should he engage in correspondence with the Americans, secrecy was to be observed. As one of his assigned duties, De Leyba was to endeavor to learn of any

¹⁹ Gayarré, C. E. A., *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination* (New Orleans, 1903), 111-112; James, J. A., *Significance of the Attack on St. Louis, Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings*, 1908-09, 199-203. See also Clark to Todd, March, 1780, in James, J. A., *George Rogers Clark Papers* (Springfield, 1912, Collections of the Illinois Historical Society, VIII), 404; *Chicago Hist. Soc. Colls.*, IV, 395.

rumors of War in the British area directed against the Spanish power and colonies.

However, De Leyba's confidential instructions made it incumbent not only to secure the friendship of the Indians residing within the dominions of Spain, but also the good will of the Indians residing within the confines of British dominion. He was ordered to accomplish that object in such a way as not to implicate the Spanish government and by all means to avoid complaint on the part of the British. Moreover, De Leyba was instructed to encourage immigration into Spanish territory of as many Catholic persons living in the British domain as possible. To aid him in this work, De Leyba was authorized to grant attractive offers and privileges to all those who desire to emigrate to Upper Louisiana.

Not only was De Leyba ordered to learn of rumors of War in British territory against the Spaniards, but he was instructed to find out the state of both parties and of their intentions so that he could prevent any surprise attack from befalling the Spanish Illinois. Furthermore, De Leyba was ordered to correspond with the Americans and to report to the Governor-General at New Orleans at frequent intervals on all points mentioned in his instructions.²⁰

De Leyba reached St. Louis on June tenth, and on the sixth day of July, he wrote to Joseph (?) Bowman telling of his acquiescence in the latter's request, and of his happiness in hearing of the safe arrival of George Rogers Clark and himself (Bowman) in the Illinois country.²¹ On the eighth he wrote Clark, stating that if only the affairs of government, which he had but a few days since taken over, would permit, he would go in person to congratulate him upon his fortunate arrival in Kaskaskia. In the meantime he (De Leyba) had been aiding the Americans.²²

Spanish Aid to the Americans.—The revolution had hardly begun when Oliver Pollock, as agent of Virginia, began an attempt to secure aid for the American cause from the

²⁰ Draft of instructions given to De Leyba dated New Orleans, March 9, 1778. P de C. 2358. Transcript in Bancroft Library (hereafter cited Tr. BL.).

²¹ St. Louis, 6 July, 1778, P. de C., 1. Tr. BL.

²² De Leyba to Clark, St. Louis, July 8, 1776, *Ibid*; De Leyba to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 11, 1778, *Ibid*. Tr. BL.

Spanish at New Orleans. He was very successful. In the summer of 1776, he obtained a large quantity of gun powder from Governor Unzaga. The latter's successor, Gálvez, was ever friendly to the American cause and offered to do all he could for the interests of Congress. New Orleans was opened to Americans; British ships on the Mississippi were captured and confiscated by the Spaniards. Munitions and provisions were sent to aid the Americans and Captain Willing was allowed, in 1778, to equip an expedition in New Orleans. Early in 1778 the British flag was excluded from the Mississippi; and the whole commerce of that river belonged to the Spanish.²³

Relations between Clark and De Leyba.—It was on July 13th, 1778, that George Rogers Clark wrote an important letter to De Leyba. This letter is given here in full as it shows how intimate were the relations of these two persons at this time.

“Dear Sir:

I received your letter of the 8th Instant and with pleasure read the contents wherein you expressed the deepest sentiments of your real Friendship to me and the American Cause a Friendship that is valuable to us. We have already experienced it. and hope to Merit a Continuation thereof.

It is with the greatest gratitude that I thank you for your treatment to Captain Bowman and Speeches to the Savages in favour of us. as soon as my business is a little settled I shall do myself the Honor to pay you a visit and personally thank you for your kindness.

You remited me a list of goods Delivered by Mr. Pollock I should be glad to know by the first opportunity whether they were for the State of Virginia or for the Congress. otherways I should not know how to Act as both have made Contracts

I am with the greatest Sincerity Sir

Your Humble Servant

G. R. CLARK²⁴”

²³ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, 113-114, 117-118; *Report of Canadian Archives, 1887*, 205, 208; James, J. A., “Spanish Influence in the West during the American Revolution,” *Miss. V. Hist. Rev.*, IV. 195, et seq.

²⁴ P. de C., 1. Tr. BL.

to the colonies, ordering them to attack the British possessions.

But England interpreted Spain's severance of relations with her as virtually a declaration of war.⁵⁷ On June seventeenth, the Secretary of State, Lord George Germaine, wrote General Haldimand that war had been declared by Spain, a translation of which "declaration" was enclosed; and told him hostilities were to commence at once, and that in consequence of the hostile proceedings of the Spanish Court, orders were given to attack New Orleans and to reduce the Spanish posts in the Illinois. But it was not until the twenty-third of June, that the Board of Admiralty and Ordinance in London issued orders to Haldimand authorizing him to issue letters of marque, etc., against the Spanish ships and authorizing the Courts of Admiralty to adjudicate on prizes taken from Spain.⁵⁸

The English had been active in the Mississippi Valley and more so since the coming of Clark; but outwardly, that is officially, they did not cross the Mississippi and attack the Spanish, even though they might have wanted to do so. Shortly after the news of the declaration of war by Spain reached the Colonies, Major De Peyster wrote General Haldimand that it would be impossible to get the Indians to do much for the British while they were threatened by the Virginians and the Indians allied to them. But Clark at that time was reported to be building a fort at "Cashote" village. At the same time the British were urging the Indians to prevent Clark from building a fort at the Falls of the Ohio. "This," said De Peyster, "will take him off the Illinois Country, and will enable Lt.-Governor Sinclair to surprise Fort Louis at Pincour."⁵⁹

⁵⁷ See *Gaceta de Madrid*, June 29, July 2 (Supplement); *Annual Register*, 1779, 344-390. *Passim*. See also *Ibid*, 162-170. Danvilla y Collado, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; *Rept. Can. Arch.*, 1885, 276. Speech of King to Parliament, June 17th, 1779, *Annual Register*, 1779, 344-345. This explains the text and the preceding note. See also *Ibid*, 345 et seq.

⁵⁸ *Rep. Can. Arch.* 1885, 276-277, 298, 302. But in a letter of Germaine to Haldimand, June 17, 1779, the former stated war had been declared by Spain and the warrant for issuing letters of marque would be sent. *Ibid*, 302. The documents cited in this and the preceding note explain the conflict of dates as to the formal declaration of war.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 1887, 223. This letter is published in *Mich. P. & H. Colls.*, X, 372-373. See also *Ibid*, X, 377.

Preparations for a British Offensive.—On the fifteenth of February, Lieutenant Governor Sinclair wrote Brehm, General Haldimand's Aide-de-Camp, that he had sent a party among the Sioux Indians, "a warlike people undebauched" and friendly to the British to enlist those Indians to go down the Mississippi River to join the troops coming up the river under General Campbell. They were to go as far as Natchez; and if by the time they reached that place they did not hear of any troops ascending the river, they were to attack by surprise the Spanish forts and capture by assault any of their exposed parties, settlements, or villages that they could. Sinclair wondered if preparation at that time for such an undertaking was not premature.⁶⁰

In preparation for this campaign, and in order to meet similar activities on the part of the Spaniards, the British had spies and merchants among the Indians of the Illinois attempting to gain and hold sway over as many tribes of Indians as was possible. They even invaded the Missouri region; and certain it is that at all times there were Englishmen on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, particularly in the Iowa country. Especially active were they among the Sac and Fox Indians. Sinclair stated that he had "prepared nine Belts Geographically descriptive of the strides made in Colonization, of ours and the Spanish situation on the Mississippi," and that he had placed "two Indian figures with joined hands & raised axes in the Country between this & that river—— It serves to please them."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Letters of Sinclair to Brehm, and to Haldimand Michilimackinac, Feb. 15, 1780. *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 144-147. By these letters we know about what time the news of Spain's declaration of war against England was received in America. Haldimand sent the news to De Peyster at Detroit, who on January 22nd sent it on to Sinclair at Michilimackinac. We know that Clark heard the news at least by the latter part of February if not before. On the 18th of February John Montgomery wrote Clark that about ten days before Mr. Chouteau arrived from the Arkansas post where he had received the news of Spain's declaration of war and also of preparations being made for the Galvez expedition against Pensacola and Mobile. *MS. Clark Papers*, *Mo. Hist. Soc.* Chouteau (undoubtedly Pierre, brother of August Chouteau) left the Arkansas post whence he had gone from New Orleans on his return to St. Louis on the 12th of January and arrived in St. Louis the 9th of February. Montgomery's "ten days ago" is therefore probably a day or two more than that number of days. De Leyba to Galvez, St. Louis, March 9, 1780 *P. de C.*, 193. By another letter of same date De Leyba tells Galvez that he has sent word to Clark telling him of Spain's declaration of war on England. *Ibid.*, 2357. Some Sac Indian Chiefs arrived at Fort Clark in April and told McCarty that the English were fortifying Prairie du Chien. R. McCarty to G. R. Clark. Ft. Clark 29 April 1780, *MS. Clark Papers*, *Mo. Hist. Soc.*

⁶¹ *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 97-212, *passim*. The quotation given in the text is on page 149. *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 2, 68.

Plan of Attack Upon St. Louis.—The beginnings of the active preparations for an attack on Spanish Illinois are given in a letter of Sinclair to Haldimand dated Michilimackinac, February 17th, 1780. We quote in full:—"Since my letter of the 15th Inst. the arrival of an Indian chief personally acquainted with me, affords me an opportunity, earlier than I expected, of ordering Mr. Hesse, a Trader and a man of character (formerly in the 60th Regt) to assemble the Minomines, Puants, Sacks & Rhenards, in the neighborhood & to take Post at the Portage of the Ouisconsing's & Foxes Rivers, there to collect all the Canoes and Corn in the Country, for his own and for the use of the nations higher up, who will be ordered to join him at the Confluence of the Rivers Mississippi & Ouisconseing. Mr. Hesse is ordered not to move from his first stand, until I send him instructions by Sergt. (J. F.) Phillips of the 8th Regt, who will set out from this on the 10th of March with a very noted Chief Machiquawish & his band of Indians. For want of a Cypher & to assist the Serjeant, I am unwillingly obliged to send a Private of the Kings Regt, a Highlander, writing in that language to the Brigadier.

"The reduction of Pencour, by surprise, from the easy admission, of Indians at that place, and from assault from those without, having for its defence, as reported, only 20 men & 20 brass Cannon, will be less difficult than holding it afterwards. To gain both these ends the rich fur Trade of the Missouri River, the Injuries done to the Traders who formerly attempted to partake of it, & the large property they may expect in the Place will contribute.⁶²

"The Scious shall go with all dispatch as low down as the Natchez, and as many intermediate attacks, as possible, shall be made. We will endeavor a system and connection in directing their operations to the service in view."⁶³

⁶² "All the traders who will secure the Posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi during the next winter have my promise for the exclusive trade of Missouri during that time—and that their canoes will be forwarded." Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, May 29, 1780. *British Museum, Additional Mss.*, 21757, fol. 362-363 (verso); *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 2, 43-44. Also *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 151-153. Abstracts of these and other letters are in *Rept. Can. Arch.*, 1886, 704-708.

⁶³ *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 147-148. Documents relating to the Attack upon St. Louis in 1780, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 6, 41-42.

Hesse and his followers left Michilimackinac on the tenth of March. They went to Prairie du Chien where they awaited the assembling of the Indians. It was not until May second, that the expedition consisting of seven hundred and fifty men including traders, servants and Indians, set forth to attack the Spanish and Illinois Country. Captain Langlade, with a chosen band of Indians and Canadians, was to join a party assembled at Chicago to make his attack by way of the Illinois River; and another party was sent to watch the Plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi.⁶⁴ Orders were given that Sergeant Phillips, temporarily commissioned a Lieutenant, garrison Prairie du Chien, that Captain Hesse was to remain at St. Louis; and that Wabasha, a Sioux Indian Chief, commissioned by the British and leader of the Indians of the Sioux tribe in the expedition against St. Louis, was to attack Ste. Genevieve and the rebels at Kaskaskia. Supplies were collected from all parts to aid; and vessels were sent to guard some Indians who were returning via the Illinois river with prisoners. To sum up, a general comprehensive attack upon the Spanish in the whole Mississippi Valley was contemplated.⁶⁵ What occurred will presently be stated; but before doing so let us bring up our narrative from the standpoint of the Spanish.

Spanish Plans for Defense.—The news of the outbreak of war between Spain and England reached De Leyba, the *Commandante* at St. Louis, on February 9th, 1780. At once

⁶⁴ Most likely this refers to the expedition sent under Captain Henry Bird to "amuse Clark" at the falls of the Ohio and to divert attention from the Mississippi Expedition. Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, 19-20, 184-187, 192-195. Mich. P. and H. Colls., X, 395-396.

⁶⁵ Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, May 29, 1780, Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XI, 151-153. For the collection of supplies see *Ibid*, 149-150; Mich. P. and H. Colls., X, 390, 393.

On Wabasha see Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XI, *passim* and Mich. P. and H. Colls., X, 391.

preparations were started, both for defence and offence. A census dated December 31, 1779, gave the following figures:—

	Hasta 14 años inclusivos...	Blancos Desde 14 hasta 50 años.....	Desde 50 años a mayor edad.....	Total Gral de blancos de ambos sexos.....	Huiles para el trabaxo.....	Esclavos Hínt. para el trabajo por menos edad..	Total de esclavos de ambos sexos
Pueblo de Sn Luis—							
Barones.....	82	226	10	500	61	38	189
Hembras.....	75	92	10	...	72	18	...
Pueblo de Ste. Genova—							
Barones.....	76	152	26	408	112	58	290
Hembras.....	64	84	6	...	86	34	...

The militia of St. Louis in December of 1780, consisted of two companies, one commanded by Don Juan Bautista de Martínez with Auguste Chouteau, as (who was commissioned a) Lieutenant, and Pedro Montardy “subteniente.” This company had formerly been headed by Benito Vásquez who was replaced by Chouteau under orders of Cruzat; for “in him (Chouteau) are found the qualities of honor, activity, and zeal necessary for the position.” The other company was commanded by Don Eugenio Pourée, with Luis Chancelier as Lieutenant, Carlos Tayon subteniente, and Benito Vásquez as adjutant. All told, the militia numbered two hundred and fourteen, exclusive of those in command and mentioned above. But this does not adequately tell the story, for this roster of the militia was taken in December, which was much later than the time of the British attack upon St. Louis. At the time this roster was taken the Spaniards were ready for their offensive.⁶⁶

St. Louis was in constant fear of an attack by the British. De Leyba had heard of the British preparations for an attack on his post before March ninth, for on that day he notified Gálvez that a large number of Indians, led by a Frenchman,

⁶⁶ De Leyba to Galvez, St. Louis, March 9, 1780, P. de C., 193; Cruzat to Galvez,

dependent upon the British, were about to attack or destroy the post of St. Louis. He asked for more presents for the Indians and also for advice as to what he should do.⁶⁷ Before the attack he did fortify the town as best he could.

Plans for a Spanish-American Offensive.—Before the fifteenth of May, Lieutenant John Rogers and Colonel Montgomery were in St. Louis conferring with De Leyba relative to starting an offensive against the British. Montgomery promised De Leyba that he would lead an expedition, the latter agreeing to supply one hundred well-equipped men with boats, arms, artillery and provisions.⁶⁸ A letter of Montgomery to Clark also refers to this enterprise, in which he stated it would consist of two hundred and fifty men, including the troops from the Spanish side. Moreover Montgomery stated that “if they (the enemy) prove too hard for us we can retreat down stream. But should their numbers not be more than two to one nothing but death shall yield the surrender.”⁶⁹ This was the genesis of the expedition to Rock River.

The British Police the Mississippi.—But the British had been policing the Mississippi in order to capture Spanish boats ascending the river. They ordered the Indians to capture all boats coming up that were not British and to capture men at the lead mines. Both measures produced results. In April, Gratiot's boat was captured near Prairie du Chien. Early in March Charles Gratiot had sent a barge of goods and provisions to Prairie du Chien, ostensibly for the purpose of trade. But in April, when off the mouth of the Turkey River thirty miles below Prairie du Chien, his boat was seized and plundered by a band of Menominee Indians who had been incited by Sinclair. The boat, which Sinclair stated was a “large armed boat, loaded at Pencour (St. Louis), in which were twelve men and a Rebel commisary.” They were sent on to Michilimackinac. Several of the hired help were impris-

Dec. 27, 1780, enclosing rosters of the militia, *Ibid*, 2359. Published in Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 182-189.

⁶⁷ De Leyba to Galvez, March 9, 1780, *P. de C.*, 2359.

⁶⁸ Rogers to Clark, May 15, 1780, *MS. Clark Papers*, Mo. Hist. Soc.

⁶⁹ Montgomery to Clark, *Ibid*. The author is indebted to Miss Stella M. Drumm for calling his attention to these letters in particular.

oned but later escaped, and in 1781 sued Gratiot for the wages; but were unsuccessful.⁷⁰

At the same time, Sinclair reported that the Indians had "brought seventeen Spanish and Rebel Prisoners and stopped fifty tons of lead ore from both they obtained a good supply of provisions. The chiefs Machiquawash and Wabasha have kindled this spirit in the Western Indians." Sinclair also reported that some Menominee, Pottawatami, Sac and Fox Indians were leaving immediately to watch the lead mines. They were under orders to give nothing to anyone who did not possess a British pass.⁷¹

St. Louis on the Eve of the British Attack.—St. Louis was not in any condition to offer effective resistance to an invading force, or to adequately defend itself in March when the news of the projected attack came first to the notice of the *Commandante* Fernando De Leyba. Prevost, in a letter written on the twentieth of February, 1780, had intimated that an attack upon the Illinois was in process of preparation by the British.⁷² And in the latter part of March a trader, "John Conn," went down the Mississippi with the report of an attack against the Illinois by that route.⁷³ De Leyba states that it was on the ninth of May that precise information reached him that an army composed of three hundred British and nine hundred Indians was only eighty leagues distant from the post.⁷⁴ De Leyba had attempted to fortify St. Louis long before this, however. Soon after his arrival in St. Louis he had written Gálvez of the uselessness of Fort Carlos III and

⁷⁰ Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, May 29, 1780, *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 151-153. Same, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 6, 43-44. The documents concerning the trial, Lafleur et al. vs. Chas. Gratiot, are in Billon F., *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1880), I, 209-214.

⁷¹ Sinclair to Haldimand, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁷² *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XVIII, 404-405; James, *Clark Papers*, 394-395.

⁷³ Information of a Wm. Brown, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 6, 44-46. This was probably Joseph Calvé. For a discussion of his implication together with that of his fellow trader, Ducharme, see the following: Haldimand to Sinclair, Quebec, Aug. 10, 1780, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 6, 46-47; *Rept. Can. Arch.*, 1886, 708. Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, July 8, 1780, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 6, 48-50; *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 156-157; *Idem*, Aug. 2, *Rept. Can. Arch.*, 1886, 707. Sinclair to Bolton, Michilimackinac, June 4, 1780, *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 154; *Id.* to De Peyster, July 30, 1780. *Mich. P. and H. Colls.*, IX, 586. Calvé denied the charges of treachery preferred against him by Sinclair. See J. Calvé to Haldimand, Aug. 23 (Michilimackinac), *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XII, 51-52. See also on Calvé *Ibid.*, XI, 108-109, 134-135.

⁷⁴ De Leyba to Gálvez, St. Louis, June 8, 1780, *P. de C.*, 193. This was probably his last letter. He states in this letter that his sickness did not permit him to write. It was written by his Secretary.

the necessity for erecting forts further up the Mississippi. Indeed, in April of 1780, the corporal in charge of Fort Carlos III at the mouth of the Missouri notified him (De Leyba) that the cannon at that post had been abandoned and that the savages, incited by the British, were approaching that fort, and that five pieces of artillery which were in the fort were in danger of being captured. As a result of this information De Leyba sent a detachment to recover the cannon and to bring it to St. Louis, where it could be used in case of need. A few days later De Leyba had been solicited by the "chasseurs des Rivières du Mississippi" who had left their "campaments" in order to render assistance to De Leyba, for an army of Britishers and Indians were approaching St. Louis. De Leyba writes: "Ayant prévu depuis long tems l'embaras ou j'avois me trouver en cas d'attaque des Anglais et Sauvages. J'ay formé le projet de construire quatre tours ou redoutes en pierre aux quatre Cotez de ce Village. Une au Nord, la 2^{me} au sud, la 3^{me} a L'est et la 4^{me} a L'ouest pour la deffense et surete de ce poste en consequence j'ay convoqué les habitants dans une assemblee que s'est tenuchez moi et leur ay fait envisager le danger evidant ou nous alions nous trouver exposé par les atakes des Anglais et Sauvages dans un Village ouvert de tous cotés a l'ennemy et sans defense que le peut de monde que nous etions (avons) n'etoit pas suffisant pour nous preserver de la fureur des Barbares, si nous ni aportions nous memes un promp(t)remede par quelques fortifications je leurs ay proposé mon projet quil ont trouve fort a propos."⁷⁵ For that purpose one thousand piastres was raised among the poor inhabitants of the towns, to which De Leyba contributed four hundred piastres from his own pocket.

Defense of St. Louis.—De Leyba began at once to construct one of the four towers. For this purpose he commenced to build the one at the west corner; since that dominated the greater part of the village. An attempt was also made to construct one on the north side, but lack of means precluded

⁷⁵ De Leyba to Galvez, June 8, 1780, P. de C., 193.

the continuance of the latter. The giving of six hundred of the thousand piastres by the people so impoverished the inhabitants that it became necessary for them to forego certain necessities of life. All this, except the transportation of the artillery from Fort Carlos III, was made without incurring the slightest expense to the royal treasury.

It was the one tower constructed that had to withstand the attack of the Indians. De Leyba maintained that had he been able to build the four forts, St. Louis could have withstood the attack of the British and Indians with the few troops that he then had. “Sans ces fortifications on sera continuellement exposés aux courses et Masacres des Sauvages qui pourcient meme par le nombre entrer dans l’interieur ou village.”⁷⁶

Upon hearing of the approach of the British and Indians on May ninth, De Leyba at once issued orders to Ste. Genevieve, commanding the latter village to dispatch at once a detachment of sixty militia men “avec un Bateau et une Berge,” which composed the garrison of that town. Commanded by Lieutenant Cartabona, they arrived in St. Louis on the thirteenth of May.⁷⁷

De Leyba immediately sent word to the Chasseurs: “Qui etoient rependus dans les rivieres auz environs de 20 lieues d’icy, que sont venus avec diligence et ay empeche ceux de ce poste de Sortir de Sorte qu’en quatre a cinq jours je me suis renforté d’environ 150 hommes, tous Bons tireurs, les quels ont ete nourris et loges aux frais de l’habitant qui S’y sont pretez de bonne volonté jusques au 31 de May.”⁷⁸

Immediately following, De Leyba dispatched the captain of militia with forty men to reconnoitre the enemy. They were to go no further than ten to twelve leagues distance from St. Louis and were sent in three pirogues. At the same time two canoes with six men in each were sent to spy out the enemy at a distance of not more than twenty leagues from St. Louis. The Captain was to remain out five days, and those in the

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ De Leyba had in St. Louis a garrison of about fifty men, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 6, 45.

⁷⁸ De Leyba to Gálvez, June 8, 1780, *P. de C.*, 193.

“canots de Chasseurs” were to wait until the enemy came in sight; whereupon they were to dispatch that news to the *Commandante*. These expeditions were sent at the expense of the royal treasury, they being charged to the order of Benito Vasquez’s, (lieutenant of the militias) account. While these reconnoitering expeditions were out, De Leyba rushed the work upon the construction of the fort and placed the five cannons which had been rescued from Fort Carlos III in it. At the same time two intrenchments were dug at each end of the village, on the north and on the south, from either of which side the enemy could enter. “Celui du Nord pouvant avoit de long douze arpent prenant du Mississippi et cotoyant son flanc du Coté de la Tour, celui de Sud d’environ vingt arpents de long et cotoyant comme le premier et defendu par la Tour.”⁷⁹

The British Attack upon St. Louis.—On the twenty-third of May, the expedition sent by De Leyba reported having seen the enemy at a distance of twenty leagues from St. Louis. The attack occurred on the twenty-sixth.⁸⁰

Let us, however, retrace our steps to the second of May. As we have already seen, Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair entrusted the command of the expedition against the Spanish and the Illinois country to a trader, Emmanuel Hesse. He believed the conquest to be an easy task.⁸¹ After gathering his forces Hesse left Prairie du Chien on the second of May. The number under his command has been variously estimated. Sinclair states seven hundred and fifty,⁸² De Leyba states three hundred British and nine hundred Indians,⁸³ and one account gives one thousand five hundred. Professor James estimates nine hundred and fifty.⁸⁴ St. Louis was defended at the time by twenty-nine veteran soldiers and two hundred

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, February 17, 1780, *op cit.*, also in *Mich. P. and H. Colls.*, IX, 546-547.

⁸² Sinclair to Haldimand, May 29, 1780, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II, No. 6, 42; *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 151.

⁸³ De Leyba to Gálvez, June 8, 1780, *P. de C.*, 193; Navarro to Joseph de Gálvez, New Orleans, August 18, 1780; translated in Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 167-169; also in *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XVIII, 406-409.

⁸⁴ “Significance of the Attack on St. Louis,” *Miss. V. Hist. Assn. Proc.*, 1908-1909, 205-206.

and eighty-one country men.⁸⁵ The attack occurred on May twenty-sixth. We let an official account of the Spaniards tell the tale: "The enemy arrived May twenty-sixth, at one o'clock in the afternoon, and began the attack upon the post from the north side, expecting to meet no opposition; but they found themselves unexpectedly repulsed by the militia which guarded it. A vigorous fire was kept up on both sides, so that by the service done by the cannon on the tower where the aforesaid commander was, the defenders at least succeeded in keeping off a band of villians who, if they had not opportunely been met by this bold opposition on our part, would not have left a trace of our settlements. There were also to be heard the confusion and the lamentable cries of the women and children who had been shut up in the house of the commandant, defended by twenty men under the lieutenant of infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona; the dolorous echoes of which seemed to inspire in the besieged an extraordinary valor and spirit, for they urgently demanded to be permitted to make a sally. The enemy at last, seeing that their force was useless against such resistance, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers, who, with their slaves, were occupied in the labors of the field. If these hungry wolves had contented themselves with destroying the crops, if they had killed all the cattle which they could not take with them, this act would have been looked upon as a consequence of the war, but when the learned world (*mundo filosófico*) shall know that this desperate band slaked their thirst in the blood of innocent victims, and sacrificed to their fury all whom they found, cruelly destroying them and committing the greatest atrocities upon some poor people who had not other arms than those of the good faith in which they lived, the English nation, from now on, may add to its glorious conquests in the present war that of having barbarously inflicted by the hands of the base instruments of cruelty, the most bitter torments which tyranny has invented. The number of dead, wounded, and prisoners is detailed in the report, and information is constantly looked for as to the end

⁸⁵ Navarro to Gálvez, *op. cit.*

of the prisoners, which is believed to be as unfortunate as that of their companions, perhaps more so.

	General Statement					
	Dead	Whites Wounded	Prisoners	Dead	Slaves Wounded	Prisoners
	15	6	11	7	1	13
Mississippi			46			
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	15	6	57	7	1	13. ⁸⁶

Sinclair reported the attack as follows: "Twenty of the Volunteer Canadians sent from this (Michilimackinac,) and a very few of the Traders and Servants made their attack against Pencour & the Cahokias. The two first mentioned Indian Nations would have stormed the Spanish Lines, if the Sacks and Outagamies under their treacherous leader Monsr Calvé, had not fallen back so early, as to give them but too well grounded suspicions that they were between two Fires. A Monsr Ducharme & others who traded in the Country of the Sacks kept pace with Monsr Calvé in his perfidy—— They have long shared the Profits arising from the Lead Mines, and from a Commerce with the Illinois. The Attack unsuccessful as it was, from misconduct & unsupported, I believe by any other against New Orleans, with the Advances made by the Enemy on the Mississippi will still have its good consequences. Many of the Indians are entered & many are riveted in our Interest. The Traders who would not assist in extending their Commerce cannot complain of its being circumscribed to necessary bounds, and the Indians who received a profusion of Presents without Distinction will now be Discriminated.

"At Pencour sixty eight were killed & eighteen Blacks & White People made Prisoners. Amongst whom (were) several good Artificers many hundreds of Cattle were destroyed & forty-three scalps are brought in. There is no

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 46 others were taken prisoners on the Mississippi.

According to a British report 70 were killed, 34 taken prisoners and 43 scalped. Another report by Sinclair states 68 killed at St. Louis and 18 made prisoners. See text, and Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, July 8, 1780, *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, 156; *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, op. cit.; *Mich. P. and H. Colls.* IX, 559; James, George Rogers Clark Papers, CXXXII.

doubt can remain from the concurrent testimony of the Prisoners, that the enemy received Intelligence of the meditated attack against the Illinois, about the time I received a copy of My Lord George Germain's circular letter. A like Disaster cannot happen next year, and I can venture to assure your Excellency that one Thousand Sioux without any mixture from neighboring Tribes, will be in the field in April under Wabasha (if no accident happens to him) His Interpreter Monsieur Rocque is a thorough honest man, & both have conceived the necessity for a profound secrecy, as well as the design and manner of executing it. In order to avoid the bruited reports of couriers, & the curiosity & suspicion they always excite in traversing such an extent of country, everything was settled with Wabasha here, & his wants were supplied principally by the timely arrival of the King's Canoes." ⁸⁷

Another cause must be added to those assigned by Sinclair for the defeat of the expedition. That is the presence, or rather the news of the approach, of George Rogers Clark. It is unnecessary to enter into this detail except to state that upon learning the news of Captain Bird's attack upon Cahokia, Clark hastened to aid Montgomery in warding off the attack. On the way he received news from De Leyba of the projected attack on St. Louis by the British. ⁸⁸ Clarence Walworth Alvord states that Clark could have given assistance to the Spaniards had not the strong winds prevented the signals from being heard. ⁸⁹

The British, who almost simultaneously attacked St. Louis and Cahokia, withdrew after having been unsuccessful in both endeavors. The party that attacked St. Louis retreated up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers; the other party made their way (directly across) to Mackinac. Langlade saved his

⁸⁷ Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, July 8, 1780, *op. cit.* Another account gives the following losses: 18 killed, 6 wounded, 15 captured, not including 46 captured and pillaged along the banks of the Mississippi and 3 killed that belonged to Cahokia. This is not complete as a part of this document is torn. See Document, *P. de C.*, 193, cited in note 91 *post*.

⁸⁸ James, *op. cit.*, CXXXIII, et seq., 410 et seq.

⁸⁹ *Illinois Country*, Springfield, 1920, 349. See also James, *Significance of Attack upon St. Louis*, *op. cit.*, 212.

force from being attacked by leaving Chicago before the arrival of the Illinois cavalry.⁹⁰

The Rock River Campaign.—Almost immediately after the attack upon Cahokia, the Americans aided by some troops from St. Louis, three hundred to three hundred and fifty all told, proceeded to take the offensive. They marched against Rock River and Prairie du Chien; which move resulted in the burning of the Sac village at the former place.⁹¹ A detachment of these troops may have been sent to plunder Prairie du Chien. True it is, that Sinclair sent an expedition to Prairie du Chien to recover the peltry stored there and to protect the retreat.⁹² Scouting expeditions sent out in the evenings following the attacks, resulted in the capture of two canoes full of combatants, as a result of which a detachment of sixty soldiers was ordered to guard the women.⁹³

With this event, we must turn our attention to affairs in St. Louis; for it was not until the beginning of the next year that the Spaniards from St. Louis again took to aggressive offense. The events are so intermingled with the trade with Indians that a partial account of the Indian trade during these war years will also be given.

INDIAN TRADE DURING THE CRITICAL YEARS.

It should constantly be held in mind that St. Louis was the center of the Indian trade; for which reason and in order

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Meese, W. A., *Rock River in the Revolution*. Transactions Illinois Historical Society, 1909, 97-103. The detachment under Col. Montgomery's command went first to St. Louis where they arrived on the 13th of June. It was composed of 130 men to which were joined 80 peorias, metches (?) and Kaskaskia Indians, who had always been attached to the French and who had offered to fight the Indians who were also their enemies. De Leyba added a voluntary force of 100 men to this troop. This makes the total about 340.

The Spaniards were led by Mr. De Belestre, a former officer of the Spanish King. The party left St. Louis on the 14th of the same month. Clark, who had come to Cahokia to aid the Spaniards on the request of De Leyba, proposed to the latter that a company of 400 be formed for the above purpose, two-thirds of whom were to be furnished by the Americans.

The above information is contained in letters to the Governor, St. Louis, June 19 and 23, 1780. Signed: Virtutis, Venitatis que amicus. P. de C., 193. Belestre returned to St. Louis on the 4th of July. A letter of Cartabona to Galvez states that Belestre had under his command 100 Frenchmen and 50 Peoria Indians while Montgomery had 200 "Bostoneses" and 50 Indians. Cartabona to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 11, 1780, P. de C., 113.

⁹² Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XI, 153-155; XVIII, 411; Long, J., *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1906), II, 185-190. See also the document cited in the previous note.

⁹³ See Document cited in note 91.

to control the immense trade with the Indians of the Missouri Valley, the British strove and were continually striving to wrest it from the Spanish. That had been one of the objects of the British attack upon St. Louis. The British had been active among the Indians on both sides of the Mississippi River, using Prairie du Chien, conveniently located at the juncture of the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers, as its base. Its importance can be surmised from the following statement: "Occasionally the Spaniards at St. Louis would send up a gun boat to seize everything of the kind (especially furs and peltries deposited at Prairie du Chien) as so much confiscated property, having been gathered by British traders on Spanish territory and without license."⁹⁴ Many Britishers worked among the Indians on the Spanish side; witness the activities of Calvé and Ducharme, who however, were accused of working against the British interests; and James Aird, who had been working among the Sac and Fox Indians, since 1778; etc. Indeed, the British government offered the exclusive trade of the Missouri to those who would aid in their attack upon St. Louis.⁹⁵

The Spaniards were active both officially and unofficially. During the first year of the war, to be precise during 1779, a considerable trade was transacted with the Indians by the Spaniards. In fact, the volume of trade of that year was considerably increased over that of previous years. The returns of Vigo, Chouteau (August), Bosoleal (Eugene Pouree), Delorie, Eugenio Alvarez, Perrault, Sarpy and Motard, (they being the merchants doing the largest volume of business with the Indians), amounted to 161,227 *libras* of skins, which were dispatched in eight bateaux.⁹⁶ Traders continued their profession; though the war called most of them to the service of their country. For example, Chouteau and Motardy became officers in the army; while others en-

⁹⁴ Brisbois, B. W., "Traditions and Recollections of Prairie du Chien," *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, IX, 289-290.

⁹⁵ Meese, *op. cit.*; *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XI, *passim* (especially the letters of Sinclair of 1780).

⁹⁶ Estado que manifiesta la cantidad y calidad de Pelleterias que en el presente año hand salido de este puesto con destino para la Nueva Orleans, Dec. 31, 1791. Enclosed in De Leyba to Gálvez, March 9, 1780, *P. de C.*, 193.

listed. In fact, in the roster of the militia of St. Louis in December of 1780, are to be found the names of many traders and merchants.⁹⁷

In spite of the attempts of the British to influence the Sac and Fox Indians to join them and despite the fact that they joined the expedition against St. Louis, (although they did not actually take part in the assault upon St. Louis), those tribes remained in reality attached to the Spaniards. In June they came to St. Louis bringing three *habitants* and three slaves who had been captured by the royalists in the attack on St. Louis. Indeed, they had prevented a company of six hundred men, who formed part of the invading expedition, from taking part in the attack. It seems, however, that De Leyba, who was critically ill, would not grant the necessities for subsistence to those tribes, the only requisite necessary for holding their friendship. This caused the *Commandante* to fall into discredit with some of the inhabitants of St. Louis.

Illinois Nearly Abandoned by Spaniards.—On the twenty-third of June, some of the traders, who had been up the Missouri, returned to St. Louis and reported that a party of eight hundred Sioux were joining with some of the Indian Nations living on the Missouri River, for the purpose of attacking St. Louis. The Kansas Indians had killed eight chasseurs on the banks of that river. These incidents caused widespread fear among the inhabitants of St. Louis and many decided to abandon the Illinois entirely. In fact several had already done so but were forced to return, presumably by the *Commandante*. But Illinois would be abandoned “if this country (the Illinois) is not better directed, (and) if a fort is not constructed and at least two hundred *hommes de Troupes* are not sent in order to shelter them (the inhabitants of St. Louis) from the incursions of the savages.” Such were the demands incorporated in a letter to the Governor dated the twenty-third of June, 1780, which further states, “Monsieur de Leyba, Cap^{ne} and Comand^e of this post is dangerously ill. The hate which the people of this country nurse against him

⁹⁷ Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 182-196.

and his own troupe is inconceivable——Never has a sickness lasted so long and death so slow to come, thunderbolts so tardy to wipe out and to annihilate the sinner.”⁹⁸

Death of De Leyba.—As has already been mentioned, De Leyba was critically ill. So precarious was his health that before the twenty-third of June the duties of the *Commandante* were placed in the hands of Cartabona. On the 28th he died; and he was buried on the same day in St. Louis. But in spite of his being in disfavor in the eyes of some of the inhabitants; despite accusations of treachery, and of his reluctance to properly defend the inhabitants, the King congratulated De Leyba for his admirable work of defense; which indeed it was, under the circumstances, and conferred upon him the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, while Cartabona received the rank of Captain.⁹⁹

Cartabona, Lieutenant-Governor ad interim.—On the second of July the principal merchants and inhabitants petitioned Cartabona to ask the governor for means of defense. They stated that St. Louis was then without any means of protection or defence; no powder was left in the King's magazine in that post, nor munitions of war. The city was entirely lacking in goods which they might give and needed to give to the Indians friendly to the Spaniards; the inhabitants were drained of all their resources. They had nothing to give the Sac and Fox Indians who were their only bulwark against the enemy ready to strike the Illinois country. They suffered plentifully; for besides the many expenses which the inhabitants had to bear, eighteen men had been killed in the environs of St. Louis, six wounded; fifty-seven captured and robbed in the vicinity of St. Louis and surrounding de-

⁹⁸ This is the same document as that cited in note 91. P. de C., 193.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

J. de Gálvez to Governor of Louisiana, El Pardo, Feb. 3, 1781. B. de Gálvez to J. de Gálvez, New Orleans, July 19, 1781. The latter two documents are translated in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 169-170.

Gaceta de Madrid, Feb. 16, 1781. An account of the attack on St. Louis is also there given. The contents of the letter of J. de Galvez to Gov. of La. above cited is also here given. On the accusations of treachery lodged against De Leyba, see: Scharf, J. T., *History of St. Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), I, 209-210. Billon, *Annals* I, 194-196. Stevens, W. B., *St. Louis the Fourth City* (2 vols., St. Louis-Chicago, 1911), I, 60-62. Truteau, J. B., *Chanson de L'année du Coup*. (Its history as written by Wilson Primm, and edited by W. C. Breckenridge) is in *Mo. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, IV, 295-302.

pendent places; nine *chasseurs* massacred and burned alive by the Kansas on the Missouri; two killed on the other shore of the river; all during the affair of the twenty-sixth of May; and two inhabitants killed "le jour de la St^e. Pierre" by the Loup Indians, six in the same day, who left the house of Colonel Clark at the entrance of the *Belle Riviere* (Ohio River) together with a *chasseur* detached from a bateau, which had come up from New Orleans. Reports that one thousand five hundred British and Indian troops were leaving Detroit on their way to destroy the Americans at the mouth of the Ohio and then attack Spanish Illinois, had been received in St. Louis. Eight hundred Sioux were uniting with the nations on the Missouri who, according to the reports of the traders, having replaced their Spanish flags with English ones, were coming to attack St. Louis. Reports had also been received that the commandant of Michilimackinac (Sinclair) had assembled two thousand Frenchmen and Indians and was advancing to pounce upon St. Louis and administer a general massacre to its inhabitants. Steps had already been taken to carry this out, boats loaded with provisions having been sent to Chicago. And what was worse, on account of fear the inhabitants could not harvest their crops.

Many Canadians with their families had forsaken their native country in order to escape the horrors of war brought upon them by their new masters (the English), and had migrated and settled in the Spanish Illinois. But the uncertainties attendant upon the attack of the British and Indians and the constant dread of further attack caused them to come to the verge of departing from the latter region, thus threatening to further weaken the colony. On the other hand, the British had been contented with nothing less than taking all the necessary means to subjugate the Illinois. They had ambitions of overrunning the Illinois and attacking Mexico. They had learned from the Indians the general topography of the country; that the Platte and Kansas rivers, tributaries of the Missouri which runs north and northwest, take their rise in Mexico, the former a little above Santa Fé and the

latter near the village of Taos. Struck with this intelligence, which they had learned from the Indians, they were bent on the project of destroying the Illinois and attacking the Mexican provinces of Spain. In order to accomplish this they proposed to erect a fort upon those rivers to guard marauding raids to be sent to pillage this province of Santa Fé, etc. Such was the attitude of the people of St. Louis in the summer of 1780 and such were the reasons why they requested immediate relief and aid from the Governor.¹⁰⁰

Cartabona, who served as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana ad interim, most likely remained in St. Louis until June twenty-fourth, when he left in order to send the boats back to Ste. Genevieve. But on hearing the news of the death of De Leyba he returned to St. Louis, where he arrived on the second of July. There he found deputations of Indians from the tribes of Little Osage, Missouri and Oto who had come to St. Louis in order to "obtener consejo para bolberse (sic) a sus respectivos destinos." Presents for these Indians were lacking in St. Louis; but nevertheless, he undoubtedly satisfied them. On the fifth day of July he held council with the above mentioned Indians. They informed Cartabona of the revenge they had decided upon taking against the Kansas Indians, who had killed five Osage hunters whom they found on the Platte river, and presented to the *Commandante* two scalps of the twenty-five men who had been killed by the Kansas Indians. They asked for munitions with which they might destroy the Kansas nation. This request was impossible for Cartabona to comply with, for they were in constant threat of danger from invaders and their munitions were not sufficient for resistance.

The chief of the Little Osage nation was imprisoned for having robbed the houses of several merchants and inhabitants. He was also identified as having been the same who

¹⁰⁰ Letter to Cartabona, St. Louis, July 2, 1780, signed by about 30 people including B. Martinez, August Chouteau, Benito Vasquez, Papin, Perrot, Motardy, etc. This petition was sent to Gov. Gálvez by Cartabona on the 9th of July, 1780, P. de C., 113. See also Cartabona to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 10, 1780, *Ibid.* The topography of the Missouri, Platte and Kansas rivers as deducted from the intelligence received from the Indians by the English was incorporated in a map printed on April 15, 1777, of the new British possession in America, *Ibid.*

had stolen the horses of several inhabitants of the town. While in prison the Indian chief died.

Navarro replied to Cruzat that the anger of the Little Osages towards the Spaniards could be allayed somewhat by explaining to them that the death of their chief was due more to his own volition than to the Spaniards, and by some small presents. But nevertheless he ordered Cruzat to keep an eye on those Indians in order that no further bad results might eventuate.¹⁰¹ Cartabona asked Gálvez for more munitions and men and dispatched Chouteau, who was requested to descend to New Orleans as quickly as possible. For the present he satisfied himself with placing one hundred and fifty militia men in the fortifications set up for the defense of the town. This was in preparation for the expected approach of a British force of two thousand men. In addition a detachment of thirty men under an officer and a sergeant was sent up the Mississippi in order to acquire any information possible regarding the enemy and their movements and in order to serve, in the meanwhile, as protection to those inhabitants who were trying to harvest their crops. At the same time Cartabona sent the memorial of the inhabitants of St. Louis, above mentioned, to Gálvez, together with De Leyba's will and inventory of the effects left by him (De Leyba).¹⁰²

Not much help could be granted by Gálvez as he was busy with his campaign in West Florida; but nevertheless, some help was sent to St. Louis with Cruzat, who was appointed by Gálvez on July twenty-fifth, 1780, to succeed De Leyba, deceased, as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana.¹⁰³

Cruzat Appointed Lieutenant-Governor: His Instructions.—Cruzat had been Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana from 1775-1778 and was very much liked by the people under his jurisdiction. He was the only person who served two terms as Lieutenant-Governor of this region, Upper

¹⁰¹ Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 201-202.

¹⁰² Cartabona to Gálvez, St. Louis, July 10, 1780, *P. de C.*, 113. De Leyba's will is translated in Billon, *Annals* I, 202-205.

¹⁰³ Gálvez to Cartabona, New Orleans, July 25, 1780. Two letters of same date. These are translated in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 171, 173-174.

Louisiana, under the Spanish regime; and both of his administrations redound to his glory and success.

Cruzat was instructed "to cause the dominion and government of His Majesty to be loved and respected; to administer justice promptly, impartially, and in accordance with law; and to protect and increase trade as much as possible." In addition he was to place "his whole attention to the conservation of said post, applying all the means possible for its defense, in order to strain and repel the raids and designs of the enemy, both of the British Nation and of the others of Indians, who shall attempt to destroy the settlements of his jurisdiction. . . . He shall endeavor to conserve the greatest harmony with the reverend parish priest of the post and his example shall serve as the norm and rule for the others to whom also he shall show the mildness of our government, causing it to be recognized in the equitable manner of dividing the presents among the tribes, and attracting to our devotion those tribes of the English district, making use, for that purpose, of whatever ways and means conducive to its attainment. . . . He shall maintain the most perfect relationship with the Colonel and other American commandants in so far as this shall not wrong the rights, exemptions, and privileges of His Catholic Majesty." ¹⁰⁴

Cruzat left New Orleans some time in July and arrived in St. Louis in the remarkably short time of fifty-nine days; the usual length of time consumed in a voyage from New Orleans to St. Louis at that time being ninety days. ¹⁰⁵

It was on the twenty-fourth of September that Cruzat took over the duties of the government from Cartabona; and he immediately plunged heart and soul into his work. His main problems were those stated in his instructions. To recapitulate, they were to gain and control the friendship of the Indians, to defend the Spanish Illinois and to keep on

¹⁰⁴ Instructions to Cruzat, New Orleans, July 25, 1780, P. de C., 2359. Transl. in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 171-172.

¹⁰⁵ In 1803 Paul Alliot in his "Reflections" stated that the distance from St. Louis to New Orleans was reckoned at 500 leagues. With the river high it took 20 days to descend but three months were generally consumed in taking merchandise up the river to St. Louis. Robertson, J. A. (editor), *Louisiana under Spain, France and the U. S.* (Cleveland, 1911), I, 139-141. See also Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 197.

friendly relations with the Americans. All three are so intermingled as to be inseparable.

De la Balme's Exploits.—Cruzat kept close watch on the movements of the Americans and also of the British and Indians. It was he who reported to Gálvez all the events that transpired in every region north of the mouth of the Ohio. It seems however that he had not too great a love for the Americans. It was on September twenty-ninth that he reported the preparations of the expedition of De la Balme, a Frenchman sent into the West in order to stir up the French and especially the French Canadians to espouse the cause of the Americans. Balme's operations consisted chiefly in the organization and leadership of an expedition against Detroit, which, however, never was reached. The whole project turned into failure; for after his victory at the post at the Miami, he was defeated and himself killed by the Indians, and the entire thing fell through. But one vestige of the activities of De la Balme did have an important effect upon our narrative. He had dispatched a party from Cahokia under the leadership of Hamelin against St. Joseph. This party succeeded in sacking St. Joseph but was later overtaken by a party of British merchants and Indians who defeated them; and all the members of the expedition except three were either killed or captured. This aroused the ire of the Cahokians; and shortly after they, together with the Spaniards of St. Louis, made the greatest offensive attempted by the Spaniards in the Upper Mississippi Valley throughout the Revolutionary War. To this narrative we will turn our attention shortly. Cruzat reported these events rather carefully, and one might say, minutely, in his letters to Gálvez of November twelfth and twenty-first. In the latter dispatch he states, "After having dispatched the letter carrier there arrived today the fatal and mournful notice from all these establishments of the destruction of Mr. De la Balme's troop. The event is so sorrowful that its consequences will be felt in all Illinois, since the inhuman enemies wish to locate and oblige us to excite the Indians with this example of prosperity, promising

them greater increase in his service. . . . The same Mr. De la Balme died in this misfortune, and this unfortunate attack replenished all these establishments and Post Vincennes with a general conflict. . . . These are the notices that I have received, and they have obliged me to send back to Malbo in order that you know it at once and see by the situation in which I find myself the apparent strength which will be uncomfortable next year, because of our tenacious and barbaric enemies.”¹⁰⁶

THE NEW BRITISH OFFENSIVE.

News of British Activities in the North.—News from Canada reached Cruzat in the fall of 1780. One of his sources of information was a Canadian merchant, Jacobs Porie by name, who arrived at the post of Los Mis on the third of September with abundant merchandise. He had left Montreal on June twenty-seventh. But the most important source was St. Michel, a Canadian deserter who on the twenty-fourth of September had escaped from Michilimackinac and arrived in St. Louis on the twenty-fifth of October. He told Cruzat that misunderstanding was wide-spread among the commanders in those regions, and had been caused by the procedure followed during the attack on St. Louis. But he warned the Spanish *Commandante* that there were still two hundred Canadians at Michilimackinac who were disposed and ready to make a new attack upon the settlements in the Spanish Illinois; which project was being planned for next spring. He informed the *Commandante* of the military situation around Michilimackinac and of some events that occurred in other parts of Canada.

In addition to transmitting the above news to the Governor, Cruzat stated that “There are notices that one of our

¹⁰⁶ The letters of Cruzat to Gálvez of Nov. 12, and 21, 1780, are in BL. Navarro's summary and reply is in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 200. McCarty to Clark, Kaskaskia, Dec. 12, 1780, MS. Clark Papers Mo. Hist. Soc. For the De la Balme failure, see the following: Burton, C. M., Augustine Mottin de la Balme, *Trans. Ill. St. Hist. Soc.*, 1909, 104-134; Alvord, C. W. (*Cahokia Records*, Springfield, 1907, Ill. Hist. Coll. H.) LXXXIX-CXIV; Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat*, 29-30, 200-1, 319 345, 347, 375; Alvord, C. W., *Kaskaskia Records*, (Springfield, 1908, Ill. Hist. Colls. V), 161-70, 181-196, 199-201, 237-238, 246-247; James, *Clark Papers*, 490, 492; Alvord, C. W., *Spanish Conquest of St. Joseph*, *Missouri Historical Review*, II, 202-209. See also *Rept. Can. Arch.*, 1887, 202-203, 225, 229. Houck suggests that Cruzat encouraged the De la Balme project in order to divert the British attack from St. Louis. *Hist. of Mo.*, I, 309.

greatest enemies, which (who) last winter moved the nations of Indians of the Mississippi to unite to murder us with the cruelty with which they did, has introduced itself (themselves) with an abundance of merchandise into the upper part of that river in an attempt to (in order to) raise the Indians of the north and excite them to commit with excessive furor their barbarous hostilities against these establishments in the ensuing year.

“I have assurances that a merchant from Montreal, named Duguet arrived with much merchandise at the post of St. Joseph, located ‘dentro de la ribers de los Ylinueses de la dependencia del Estrecho’ with the sole end of raising up and moving the Pu (Pottawatomie) Nation and all the other (nations) which surround them, against these establishments. All that I communicate to you is according to what I have been informed.”¹⁰⁷

But reliance could be placed upon the activities of the Sac and Fox Indians who befriended the Spaniards. These Indians had been one of the reasons for the failure of the British attack on St. Louis in the spring of 1780, even though Sinclair and others placed the blame for the activities of those nations to the treachery of two Britishers who had long profited from their trade, Calvé and Ducharme. Although the Sac Indians were the only tribe to suffer as a consequence of the British attack upon St. Louis, they nevertheless remained more hostile to the British than to the Spaniards. Indeed, shortly after the Spanish-American-Indian attack on their village at Rock River occurred, they, together with the Fox Indians, befriended the Spaniards. The reasons for the change of allegiance of these and most of the Indian nations of the Missouri Valley from British to Spanish allegiance is not clear, but we may infer that the work of several of the influential Spanish Indian traders probably had something to do with this abrupt change. Indeed, the Sac Indians early in the summer surrendered medals received from the British to August Chouteau and two other Spaniards.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Cruzat to Gálvez, No. 6, St. Louis, Nov. 13, 1780, BL.

¹⁰⁸ Cruzat to Gálvez, Dec. 2, 1780. Transl. in Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 175.

In the fall of 1780 a band of Fox Indians arrived in St. Louis and solicited protection under the Spanish flag and asked to become the allies of the Spaniards. Cruzat reported that although some of that tribe had been persuaded to join the British the preceding spring, the body of that nation had maintained themselves neutral and had always been of the intention of not separating themselves from the friendship of the Spaniards. Cruzat was pleased to hear that news and this offered him an opportunity. He dispatched Antaya who had accompanied the band of Fox Indians to St. Louis, to the residence of those Indians, a distance of about two hundred and fifty leagues up the Mississippi from St. Louis, with an ultimatum to that nation of Indians stating that they must either join the Spanish side or the British—resulting in Cruzat's writing "I have the satisfaction (to know) that they (the Fox Indians) have preferred our alliance, and according to what they tell me, (they) have closed their ears to the persuasions of our enemies, who always excite them with the same vigor while they inspire them against us."

Antaya also brought news of the activities of the British who were "continually attempting to carry provisions and munitions of war to a place called La Baía, two hundred and fifty leagues from Michilimackinac and from the Prairie of the dog (Prairie du Chien) on the Mississippi, with the intention of making an expedition against these establishments (Spanish Illinois) next spring." Continuing Cruzat complained that: "The continuous visits that I have of the Indian nations usually does not even allow me enough time to sleep and the other indispensable and intricate business of a government which were left so badly arranged at the time of Don Fernando de Leyba's death, do not permit me to give to you information on many subjects which I will communicate to you by the boats which are preparing to descend in a few days."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Cruzat to Gálvez, Nov. 14, 1780, **BL**. The boats probably did not leave until late in December when Chouteau and Cerré were dispatched. See Houck, *op. cit.*, 175, 177.

Monbreun and Malliet.—In his zeal to gain the friendship of as many of the tribes as was possible, Cruzat sent out parties of men to watch the movements of the enemy and to gain the friendship of the Indians across the river and especially those of the Illinois river. In gaining the aid and friendship of the Sac Indians “who have so generously lent (aid) to our district in circumstances of so little advantage to them,” the Spaniards had the help of a retired officer Don Esteban Boucher de Monbreun. Cruzat had entrusted to him a detachment of forty militiamen who, together with the Sac Indians, were stationed at a distance of about forty leagues up the river from St. Louis; while another detachment of twelve men under Malliet was sent up the Illinois river. These two parties were, as above stated, to watch the movements of the enemy and gain the friendship of the Indians who were still undecided in their allegiance, by assuring them that the allies of Spain were in a condition to agree, and that it was necessary for the conservation of the Spanish Illinois.¹¹⁰

But in spite of the British who had been active in stirring up the Indians; despite their having corrupted to their allegiance several tribes of Indians who lived on the banks of the Missouri; and notwithstanding appearances, Cruzat reported on November fourteenth that “we have not been molested this winter by the enemies.” Indeed, he had been enabled to reduce the number of persons on daily duty (employed to guard the town) to one hundred men. This enabled him to send out the parties which have already been mentioned.

British Plans for Another Attack.—On the same day, the *Commandante* imparted to the Governor news which the Fox Indians, who were then in St. Louis, had given him. This was to the effect that a number of Indians from the different nations and even those who had taken part in the attack on Spanish Illinois in the previous spring, were planning on

¹¹⁰ Cruzat to Gálvez, Nov. 14, 1780, **BL**. Navarro states that 32 men were given Monbreun, **P. de C.**, 2359. Transl. in Houck, *Span Regime* I, 198 and also in *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XVIII, 419. Further on in this letter he gives the same figures as those sent him by Cruzat. See Houck *op. cit.*, 201, and *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.* XVIII, 422. See also Houck, *Hist. of Mo.*, I, 309.

coming to St. Louis with the object of soliciting clemency from, and alliance with, the Spanish. For this purpose Cruzat needed provisions, so as to enable him to provide for those Indians and to give them presents. He asked Gálvez to send the presents to him; for if he was to purchase them in St. Louis it would be a greater drain upon the Royal Treasury than if he were to buy them in New Orleans and ship them to St. Louis. For his immediate use Cruzat purchased some necessities in St. Louis.¹¹¹

Cruzat and the Americans.—One of Cruzat's duties as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana was to work in harmony with the Americans. At first it seems that Cruzat was not so friendly, largely due to dissensions and lack of harmony between the French and American elements in the region just across the river from St. Louis. In probably what was one of his first letters to Gálvez since his accession to office in 1780, Cruzat wrote as follows: "Although I am surrounded by a thousand occupations, which treat of the inner details of the government which demand all my attention, I cannot, for that reason, cease to keep my eye open in regard to the movements and penetration of the ideas of my neighbors, the Americans. And since I have observed in them coolness and untimely inaction which show that their ideas are not very just and, on the contrary, somewhat suspicious, as can be seen by the actions of the collars which they have kept without our knowing for what ends, as I have notified Your Lordship, I have taken in hand the most efficacious means for penetrating and discovering the motives of the indifference with which they dissemble and work in the cause which interests them in this country as much as us. After having spied to the best of my ability, I have learned that one Venteley (i. e., Bentley), a merchant of Oca, an Englishman by nation, who has always been under suspicion, and in whose house lives the American agent, Doctge,¹¹² as Monsieur Serré will be able to inform Your Lordship (I have commissioned the latter, as he has experience, in order that, passing through the village of Oca, he

¹¹¹ Cruzat to Gálvez, Nov. 14, 1780, BL.

¹¹² John Dodge.

might endeavor to acquire some information in regard to this matter) is the person who moves the said agent and the commandant, Roger, and makes them do whatever he wishes, although, it might perhaps be that not all the Americans have the ideas of these men. The fact that they have almost abandoned Ylinneses, since there only remains in Oca a very small detachment of Americans; the fact that Colonel Clark did not come to succor the country as he has promised; and the little attention which they pay to the defense of it: all give me a motive for many conjectures and reflections, and more so, knowing the inconstancy of the English who, in this case, are the same as the Americans.

“I must inform Your Lordship that this conduct of the Americans with the settlements of their district, which they have abandoned without relief or hope of having it, after having impoverished it, keeps them all in a general conflict so that they do not know what to do, what side to take, or how to defend themselves without powder, balls, or any other thing that is most indispensable. On that account there is a rumor, although it is not confirmed, that said habitants are or were projecting sending a courier to the Strait (i. e., Detroit), declaring themselves to be English vassals and begging protection from the Sovereign of the English—a piece of news and reasons which make me think and keep me always moderately distrustful, without ever either one or the other, being able to penetrate it, since I consider and it is evident that, if the English come to take possession of the other part of the river they would not limit their conquests to that part, nor would they cease to trouble us by passing farther and taking possession of the batteaux which went up from that city (i. e., Nueva Orleans), a thing which they could do by the fact of having taken the country with the Indians, their allies. On that account, I have resolved, if Your Lordship deigns to send me a post overland from Los Arcos, with news of the coming of the convoy, to send a pirogue to meet it in order to inform it of anything new which might have happened in this country and be enabled to avoid, by such useful knowledge, the fatal

destruction of the batteaux. By so sad an event would come the height of the calamity and misery in which all Ylinueses is at present, as well as the unhappy habitants of Post Vincene,¹¹³ whom the Americans, after having ruined them refused to protect and defend, without other reasons than those which one desires to assert without any foundation. I report all this to Your Lordship, in order that you may be informed of it and take the necessary action.’’¹¹⁴

But Cruzat gave every appearance of good faith towards the Americans. He arrested several Englishmen sent to attempt to win over the French of the Illinois country and gave notice of their activities to the Americans. He convinced Linctot, a Virginia Indian agent, at that time in St. Louis, and also Gratiot, of his loyalty to the Americans. But an incident which occurred earlier between Dodge, an agent of Virginia, and Cruzat did not tend to bring the two nations to a “too friendly spirit.” This was caused by Dodge’s seizure of several necklaces sent by the Kickapoo and Ouyatanono Indians to the *Commandante*. They were seized from Antoine Le Fevre who had been sent to present them to Cruzat and also to deliver to Cruzat the petition of the inhabitants of Vincennes imploring the Spanish *Commandante* to help them in their defence against the British and Indians by sending them some supplies and munitions of war. But with the relations concerning this trouble we can not here deal.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Vincennes.

¹¹⁴ Cruzat to Gálvez. This letter is dated Sept. 22, 1780, in Houck *Spanish Regime*, I, 179-181, where it is to be found translated. This is most likely an error for Cruzat did not assume office until the 24th and Navarro speaks of Cruzat’s 1st letter to Gálvez as bearing the date of Sept. 26th. See Navarro to Cruzat, Feb. 15, 1781, *P de C.*, 2359. Transl. in Houck, *op. cit.* I, 197, 198. In the *Bancroft Library* are six original letters of Cruzat to Gálvez, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7,—No. 1 is dated Nov. 14, 1780. In No. 2, Cruzat speaks of a letter he wrote to Gálvez on Sept. 29th in which he speaks of the departure of the De la Balme expedition. The numbered letters in the *BL.* are not as one might think. No. 1 is dated Nov. 14, No. 2, Nov. 12; No. 3, Nov. 21; No. 4, Nov. 14; No. 6, Nov. 13; No. 7, Nov. 14, 1780.

¹¹⁵ See Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, *passim* and *Kaskaskia Records*; James, *George R. Clark Papers*. For the events alluded to concerning Le Fevre and Dodge, the information is to be found in the following documents in the *BL.* supplemented by the works of Alvord, *op. cit.*

Affidavit of Antoine Le Fevre, Dec. 14, 1780.

Inhabitants of the Post of Vincennes to Cruzat, and reply of Cruzat thereto dated Dec. 15, 1780.

Cruzat to Dodge, Dec. 15, 1780.

Cruzat to Rogers, Dec. 15, 1780.

Dodge to Cruzat, Dec. 25, 1780.

Cruzat to Gálvez, Dec. 18, 1780.

That Cruzat must have been suspicious of American designs upon Spanish

Cruzat Watches British Movements.—This brings us to another of Cruzat's instructed duties; to watch the movements of the British. Englishmen had never been lacking from the west shores of the Mississippi. They, like the Spaniards on the opposite bank of the river, were continuously trying to gain the allegiance of the tribes of Indians in order to destroy the Spaniards with whom they were at war; though the most important object of their presence was to capture the lucrative trade with the Indians in those regions.

It was on the second of December that Cruzat wrote in the following language concerning the machinations of the English among the Indians in the Spanish Illinois: "Such are the movements which the English show in this barbarous and inhuman war, in order that they might succeed in their attempts, that even in the Misury they had introduced two of their banners, which I have had surrendered to me by telling the tribes, who had received them, that in order to be our allies they ought not to have in their villages other ensigns

Illinois can be seen in the following letter which he wrote to Gálvez on the 22nd of December, 1780.

"Dear Sir: I have just had news that an American habitant who is in Oca (Kaskaskia) has received a letter from New England, in which they tell him that the American colonies had made peace with the English and had made a close alliance for defense and offense, and that Colonel Clark was about to come to these settlements with six hundred men for no licit purposes, according to what is declared in the said American district.

"If these news are really a fact, as I fear they must be, it would likely be that the Americans declared as our enemies would attempt, as is easy for them, to descend La Vella Riviere (i. e., the Ohio) to protect themselves in order to get food from these settlements, and then with the food provided in them they would continue their voyage by the Misisipy, taking until arriving at the ports of Nueva Orleans, all the forts and settlements which we have on both banks of the above-named river.

"It is morally certain that, if the Americans should separate from our alliance they will work against us and that then, united with the English of Canada, they can form an expedition in these districts for the conquest of Ylinneses and all the rest of the colony, and I believe that if the colony were once in possession of the English and Americans it would cost a great deal, because of its location, to take it by force of arms.

"In whatever manner that I should be attacked be the number and quality of my enemy, great or small, Indians, English, or Americans, Your Lordship may rest secure that I shall defend the country with all the few forces which I have to the last extremity and that, so long as I live, I shall take the most efficacious means to conserve it.

"These are the public news which are current in these settlements and of which I inform Your Lordship for your knowledge, and so that you may supply the remedy." Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 178. See also *Ibid.*, I, 178-179 and especially the letter of Navarro to Cruzat, Feb. 15, 1781, *P. de C.*, 2359. Transl. in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 197-206. But on the previous July 25th, the Spanish Commandant sent Gabriel Cerré to Cahokia to request the court of that village to furnish 25 men to join a like number from St. Louis on a reconnoitering expedition to the northward. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 59, 61. See also Alvord, *Conquest of St. Joseph*, *op. cit.* In this article Alvord erroneously states a letter of Navarro to Cruzat dated Feb. 15, 1781, as being that of Gálvez to Cruzat of same date. It is in *P. de C.*, 2359. It is Transl. in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 196ff.

than the Spanish. I send them to Your Lordship by Don Agustin Chouteau, together with two others and thirteen medals which the Sac tribe had surrendered to him, as I have informed Your Lordship under date of September twenty-ninth, and also another banner and medal which a chief of the Pu¹¹⁶ tribe just surrendered to me.

“All these chiefs, who have surrendered these medals, desire that they be replaced by Spanish medals, but I have not been able to do that because enough of them were not brought up for all of them. Consequently, I shall desire that, if there is an opportunity, some of them be sent me, so that I may content said chiefs, as well as some copies of the printed permits, since, of those which I brought up with me, only two remain, and those who have received them have been caused great joy. With these we can succeed in contenting them”¹¹⁷ And on the nineteenth he wrote as follows:

“Each day the news that I have communicated to Your Lordship regarding the continual transporting by the English of all kinds of effects and ammunition, to the bay and to many other points in order that they might come next spring to attack us earlier than they did last spring in order to achieve this end, are being confirmed more and more in these settlements. One cannot imagine the expenses which the English are incurring and the exorbitant amounts of merchandise which are continually consumed among the Indian tribes, in order to attract them to their side, inducing them by deceitful and threatening words, to turn against us. There is a rumor that the comandant of Micheli Mekinak¹¹⁸ is about to come himself at the head of said Indian tribes and other white people in order to direct the action better than that which they performed here in the month of May last. I have news also that the great chief of the Sios¹¹⁹ tribe, one of the most important tribes of these districts, and established on the upper

¹¹⁶ Pottawatomi.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 175. In reply to this, 16 medals, 10 flags, and 16 letters-patent were dispatched to be distributed among the Sac Indians. Navarro to Cruzat, New Orleans, Feb. 15, 1781, *P. de C.*, 2359. Transl. in Houck, *Span. Regime*, I, 199. See this entire letter, *Ibid.*, I, 197-206.

¹¹⁸ Michillimackinac.

¹¹⁹ Sioux.

part of the Misisipy, is returning to his tribe from Michely Makinak, where he had gone, with a great quantity of merchandise of all sorts, not only to arouse his tribe but also those who are near him. Since this chief called, La Oja (i. e., The Leaf), exercises a limitless domination over the spirit of his tribe and that of the surrounding tribes, it is believed that he will obtain from all of them whatever he proposes to them.

“Nevertheless, in order to destroy his intentions, I have determined to take some measures, of which I shall inform Your Lordship after they have been executed.

“I have just learned that a band of the Aioas, (i. e. Iowas) doubtless excited by the enemy, has corrupted the Hotos (i. e. Otoes) tribe which is located on the upper Misury and has promised them to join the other tribes opposed to us in order to show as great hostility as possible toward us. I do not doubt the truth of this, for I know the Indians, and I know by experience that the appearance of gain does not excite them to take action, but the reality of the presents does. Since the English make so many of these to all the tribes of whom they wish to make use, they always obtain from them whatever they desire, unless, by the same methods, we destroy their hopes by deceiving the barbarians, as they are doing, and, as I have already said, with exorbitant gifts. Of these news, although they deserve some confirmation, and of others, which I am receiving daily, and which are current in these countries, but which I omit, as they are related to one another, Your Lordship can infer the situation of these settlements and that of the tribes allied to us. I am contriving to satisfy them more by astuteness than by presents, for, although I work by means of presents as much as is possible to me, they never reach the hundredth part of those which our enemies are distributing among them as is well known and as Your Lordship can inform yourself—a reason which makes it possible for them to find as many Indian auxiliaries as they wish. Consequently, it is necessary for me to petition Your Lordship to deign to quickly despatch Messrs. Chouteau and Serré in or-

der that I may be able to know the news and provisions of Your Lordship which the citizens of all these settlements desire so ardently, and which I consider very favorable for obtaining the ends which I desire.’¹²⁰

Plans for Improving the Defense of St. Louis.—Owing to these constant reports of the activities of the British among the Indians and of their preparations for another attack upon the Spanish Illinois, and due to the barbarity and fierceness with which the Indians brought havoc upon those whom they attacked, Cruzat almost immediately upon his arrival proceeded to place St. Louis in an improved state of defence. His plan is stated in a letter to the Governor General—We quote:

“All of these motives and others which I have omitted and the limited forces with which I find myself and the continuous news which I have from all sides of the preparations, which since the beginning of summer the English have been making, getting the good will of the friendly Indians with continuous gifts of merchandise and other means which they employ in order to succeed in the enterprise which they propose to attack us next spring with much more force than they did this year, oblige me (considering the difficulty which can be made for me if I do not apply myself with all the ability and power which is possible to conserve the territory which has been put in my trust) to fortify the town with a stockade around about it of eighteen feet in height and six inches in thickness, leaving open the part of the river which is naturally fortified. This Royal work I have already begun and hope to finish before the arrival of our enemies.

“By the plan which I remit to you, made by Dn. Agustin Chouteau subject to my approval, for the building of the above mentioned fortification you will see that it is finished, and with a sufficient supply of munitions, which are needed for the fire of the cannon which I have, small guns, although the number of my troop and militia is small. When I do not succeed in holding the country I shall have at least the satisfaction of defending it to the last drop of my blood, since I

¹²⁰ Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 175-177.

confide the valor and happiness of those who accompany me and follow my example and sacrifice their lives even to losing them in defense, honor and Glory to the arms of our Catholic Sovereign. Those who expect protection of the God of armies and the justice of our cause hold me in confidence and believe that they merit the protection of your Grace. The means which I have just taken and told you is to sustain us, if it is possible. The disturbing plans of our enemies are making them lose hope.'¹²¹ Cruzat, McCarty reported to Clark, was fortifying St. Louis to the utmost, indeed he was expending \$2000.00 a month there.¹²²

At this time the militia of St. Louis included two companies, each having a total of one hundred and seven men, led by a Captain, a lieutenant and a *subteniente*.¹²³ A system of signals was devised by Cruzat, at the sound of any of which, all were to be at their appointed stations. And a strict censure was placed upon all news; while all were prohibited from dispensing liquor in any form to any savage. Other strict laws were also put into effect, all of which were intended to contribute to the more efficient and effective defence of the town.¹²⁴

Meanwhile, the activities of the Spaniards increased in aggressiveness and after a very short time blossomed forth in an attack upon the British post of St. Joseph. But in their offensive stride the Spaniards were working among the Indians, especially on the eastern shore of the Mississippi. To this end Monbreun, with forty soldiers was stationed among the Sac Indians; and Malliet with twelve militiamen, was stationed in the Illinois River district, as has already been stated. Early in 1781 Dorion was sent among the Sioux Indians.

Cruzat, in summing up the events that had transpired in Upper Louisiana from the time of his arrival to August of 1781, stated that the continual incursions into Spanish territory of the barbarous Indians (who) inspired by the British,

¹²¹ Cruzat to Gálvez, Dec. 18, 1780, BL.

¹²² McCarty to Clark, Kaskaskia, Dec. 12, 1780, MS. Clark Coll., Mo. Hist. Soc.

¹²³ Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 182-196.

¹²⁴ Ordinances decreed by Cruzat, transl. in *Ibid*, I, 240ff.

had resulted in the making of "these establishments" into "un nuevo teatro de lastimosas y horrorisimas tragedias y mas especialmente de este Pueblo de San Luis," against which he (Cruzat) had directed all his efforts in order to protect and defend the territory under his jurisdiction. As a result he fortified the town of St. Louis with "una estacada de diez pies de alto al rededor del Pueblo, dejandolo sin ella la parte del Rio." This he thought was a sufficient barrier, notwithstanding the fact that they had experienced a most rigorous and cruel winter which had lasted from the first of November of 1780 until the fourteenth of April, 1781.

SPANISH ATTACK ON ST. JOSEPH (1781).

The Spanish Offensive.—The continual reports of Canadian merchants having introduced themselves among the Indians with abundance of merchandise, in order to gain the Indians to their side and to cause them to join with the British in an attack on Spanish Illinois early in 1781 to be lead by the *Commandante* of Michilimakinac, and the knowledge also of the presence in St. Joseph of Buguet and other traders; the defeat of a party of Americans by a party of Indians and Canadians under Quindre, from which only three escaped who gave Cruzat the report of that affair; the fact that traders had been bringing supplies in large amounts to St. Joseph in preparation for another Spanish campaign; the request of chiefs "el Eturno" and "Naquigén" to send a detachment against St. Joseph in order to stop the activities of the traders there and to check their growing influence with the Indians of those regions;—all of these facts, Cruzat says, "caused me to send with the above mentioned chiefs, Captain of the Militia, Don Eugenio Pourée with a detachment" of Spaniards and Indians, notwithstanding the rigorous winter, to attack St. Joseph.¹²⁵

The Attack Upon St. Joseph.—St. Joseph, according to a census of the post taken in June, 1780, was a village of fifteen

¹²⁵ Cruzat to Gálvez, St. Louis, Aug. 18, 1781, P. de C., 2359. See also ante; letters of Cruzat to Gálvez, Nov. 12, 1780, to Jan. 18, 1781, in BL. and those Transl. in Houck, op. cit., I, 175-177. Same Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XVIII, 412-415.

houses occupied by a population of forty-eight, mostly French or half-breeds. In August, Haldimand approved Sinclair's proposal to send captains of militia to St. Joseph and other places; and De Peyster, in that year, appointed Dagneau de Quindre lieutenant and Indian agent in the vicinity of St. Joseph.¹²⁶ We will let the official account of the Spanish attack on St. Joseph tell its own story.¹²⁷ "On the second of January of the present year the captain of the second company of militia, Don Eugenio Pure (Pourée), the second lieutenant of the same company, Don Carlos Tayon, and Don Luis Chabaliér, (Chevalier), a person acquainted with the languages of the Indians and chosen by myself as interpreter of the expedition, left this town of St. Louis de Ilinueses on the way to St. Joseph,¹²⁸ accompanied by the great chiefs Heturno¹²⁹ and Naguiquén, with a detachment of sixty-five militia soldiers and about sixty Indians¹³⁰ of the Otoguay,¹³¹ Sotu, and Putuatamy^{131a} nations as I wrote the governor on the

¹²⁶ Alvord, *Conquest of St. Joseph*, Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 199-200, 205, and letters there referred to in Mich. P. and H. Colls.

¹²⁷ Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Aug. 6, 1781, BL., P. de C., 1393. Other Spanish accounts are in *Gaceta de Madrid*, March 12, 1782, Transl. in Sparks J., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston 1830, ed.) VIII, 76-78. Same is in Wharton, F., *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence, of the United States*, (6 Vols., Washington, 1889), V, 363-364. English accounts are in Mich. P. and H. Colls., X, 453-455, 480-481; XIX, 600, 638. See also *Ibid*, X, 486-87. Ans. and also Rept. Can. Arch, 1886, 711, 712; 1887, 230. American Accounts: *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 465. (This was not available to the author.) For a discussion of this episode and citations to all the sources, criticisms, etc., thereof. See Alvord, C. W., "Conquest of St. Joseph," Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 195-210, and Teggart, F. J., "Capture of St. Joseph," *Ibid*, V, 214-228.

¹²⁸ Situated upon St. Joseph River, which flows into the Southeastern extremity of Lake Michigan, near the present site of Niles, Michigan. Thwaites, R. G., *France in America*, 290 and also his editorial notes to George Croghan's *Journal* in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, I, 117. Teggart states the distance travelled was about 400 miles and suggests that there was no British establishment nearer to St. Louis. He also gives the other estimates of distance. Mo. Hist. Rev., V, 214. Cruzat gives the distance at 210 leagues and *Gaceta de Madrid*, March 12, 1782, as 220 leagues. Transl. in Sparks, *op. cit.*

¹²⁹ El Heturno is the Spanish rendering of the French "Le Tourneau". For other details concerning him see Teggart, "Capture of St. Joseph." Mo. Hist. Rev., V, 215.

¹³⁰ Pourée and his officers say 120 men all told probably excluding the five who signed the document. Pourée's Proclamation, St. Joseph, February 12, 1781, BL. The Indians state that there were 100 white people and 80 Indians. Mich. P. and H. Colls., X, 453. See in connection with this the report of De Peyster of the Indian Council held at Detroit, March 11, 1781, *Ibid*. McCarty states 30 Spaniards, 20 Cahokians and 200 Indians. He stated only 50 militiamen went from St. Louis. Malliet with a detachment of 12 militiamen had previously been established on the Illinois River. See above. This latter detachment was incorporated into the expedition—Malliet's station being on the direct line of march of the expedition. Cruzat had, as we have before stated, sent Boucher du Monbreun and a force of 40 men to reside among the Sac Nation on the Mississippi. They being not on the line of march and the haste of the Spaniards probably accounts for their not being incorporated into the expedition. McCarty to Slaughter, Jan. 27, 1781. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I, 465. Cited in Mo. Hist. Rev., V, 215. Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781, BL. See the text and Cruzat to Galvez, No. 7,

tenth of the same month and year, who joined said captain on the bank of the Ilinuezes. He followed the route in pirogues along this bank and arrived the twentieth of the same month with all his expedition in spite of the cold, ice, snow and many other obstacles at a place called Los Pes, eighty leagues distant from the above-mentioned town of St. Louis. He found it impossible to continue on his way by water since the river was not navigable, for it was completely frozen and he was forced to leave the river and, together with his outfit, continue their march to St. Joseph¹³² by land, facing the impossibility of each one's carrying on his back a sufficient quantity of food for a march of a hundred and thirty leagues and the probability of many other difficulties presenting themselves which would keep them in so rough a spot. The eagerness, activity, courage and enthusiasm of the commander and all the group resolved to accomplish their aim at all costs. Thus the said Don Eugenio Pure distributed to each individual of his detachment the food and amunition he could carry, concealed the pirogues and the rest of the food that was left over for their return and started the twenty-first of that same month of January with all his party and five horses laden with the amunition they might need and the merchandise that was necessary to pacify and make friendly the nations opposed to us if it were possible, for they surely would meet them on the way, and to satisfy the neutrals that they found. After having suffered all the cold, danger, and hunger that can be imagined for a period of twenty days our

Nov. 14, 1780, *BL.* and Navarro to Cruzat, Feb. 15, 1781, Transl. Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 201 and *Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XVIII, 422. There were 30 Cahokians in the expedition. "Con este motivo me parece muy bien la resolucion que Vm. tomo de admitir la oferta de los habitantes de Cahos hecha por el conducto de su comandte Mr. Trautir enviando los treinta hombres incorporados con el Destacam to de Mr. Pourcee" Draft to Cruzat, April 3, 1781, *P. de C.*, 114.

¹³¹ Ottawa.

^{131a} Pottawatami.

¹³² The route followed was up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers to the vicinity of Peoria. Malliet joined the expedition on January 9th. (Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781, *BL.*) They followed the Illinois to a distance of 80 leagues from St. Louis, to "Los Pes". From there they struck out by land. See text. Consult the following references on Malliet: *American State Papers, Public Land*, III, 476-486; *Chicago Hist. Soc. Colls.*, IV, 397-398; Smith, W. H., *St. Clair Papers*, (Cincinnati, 1882), II, 176; Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 230; *Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XVIII, 422; *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, II, 216; *Mich. P. and H. Colls.*, X, 424; XIX, 578. De Peyster had sent an expedition from St. Joseph against Malliet's settlement at "Los Pes" in 1780 but the people had left before its arrival.

detachment arrived at last two leagues from St. Joseph where it encamped at nightfall. The commander immediately sent a young Putuatamy Indian, named Lajes, very intelligent and trustworthy, to St. Joseph to ask from the Indians of his nation who were in that place in the way of the English (of whom they were very fond) to guard the traders, to keep all neutrals and peaceful Indians in their huts since they did not want to do them any harm although they were our enemies and not three months ago had helped our enemies destroy a detachment of Ilinueses¹³³ and took ten French prisoners from the town of Cao (Cahokia), as I wrote the governor. The assurance that our envoy gave the said savages of the humanity, gentleness, and good treatment with which the Spaniards always acted and the half of the booty that he promised he would give them from what was taken contributed more than anything else to make them agree to what he demanded of them, for interest is the first motive. This Indian returned the same night to give a report of his negotiations to the commander. He immediately took precautions to resist the two hundred Indians there were in St. Joseph in case they failed to keep their promise and wished to prove traitors. On the next day, the twelfth of February, at seven in the morning all the detachment crossed in as short a time and with as much spirit as possible on the ice on the bank of the St. Joseph on whose opposite shore is situated the port of the same name and entered it before the enemy had time to take up arms, he had made prisoner the one called Duquier¹³⁴ and his seven drafted men who were with him and taken an English flag that they had, which he gave me on his arrival. Don Eugenio Puré put the eight prisoners just mentioned under a strong guard and prevented our Indians not without considerable effort and the aid of Don Carlos Tayon and Don Luis Chabaliér from taking the life of the conquered as they were barbarously accustomed to do. Having taken the most prudent precautions for the security of his camp, he distributed to the

¹³³ On this point see Mich. P. and H. Colls., XIX, 638 and X, 453-455, 482.

¹³⁴ See in connection with Duquier Cruzat to Gálvez, No. 6, Nov. 13, 1780, BL. Malliet to Cruzat, op. cit., Mich. P. and H. Colls., X, 400, 435-436, XIX, 500.

Indians of his party and those that lived in St. Joseph all the goods that he found in order to fulfill the promise he had made them. The amount was fairly large although he could not examine the quantity. The captain did not permit any of his soldiers to share the least thing and after having scattered, destroyed, and wasted three hundred sacks of corn, a quantity of tallow and other food supplies that the enemy had there in storage, without doubt for some expedition that they had planned against us according to the news received, which I have communicated to the governor, all the detachment left St. Joseph twenty-four hours after its arrival at that spot, during the whole of which time the Spanish flag was flying¹³⁵ and returned to this place with the above-mentioned prisoners on the sixth of March last past, where they are under guard as I have already informed the senior lieutenant colonel Don Pedro Piernas. They have not been sent to the Capital because there has been no opportunity to do so.

“There were none of our party killed or wounded and only two of the enemy who tried to escape were captured and killed by our Indians.

“Not only are we pleased at the happy outcome of this expedition, the destruction of the store of food and goods that the enemy had in St. Joseph but also in intimidating the nations hostile to us in those districts, since this affair forced them to remain neutral as was appointed out and promised by the captain Don Eugenio Puré, a person whom I recommend very particularly to you, since during the time he has held his commission he has proved his ability, wisdom, courage, and all the qualities that can be desired in a good officer, and according to public opinion the fortunate retreat which was made without the loss of a person in the midst of a countless multitude of hostile Indians should be attributed to his military skill and the energy of his marches.

“According to the speech of all and the report of the commander himself who praises the courage of his men in all the risks to which they were exposed, the second lieutenant,

¹³⁵ See Proclamation of Pourée, St. Joseph, Feb. 12, 1781, **BL**.

Don Carlos Tayon, and the interpreter of the expedition, Don Luis Chabaliar, conducted themselves with such distinguished enthusiasm, courage, and integrity that they assisted the commander in all things by their aid for the success of our expedition. For this especial merit I recommend them to you that you may present the matter to the governor and inform him of what they did.

“The great chiefs Heturnó and Naguiquén and all the Indians of their nations that went on the expedition conducted themselves so well that they proved the friendship they have for the Spaniards and the confidence they desire placed in their affection and sincerity. For this reason I have always treated them and received them as they deserved and as the exigencies of the time demanded.

“I have made the Indian Lajes of the Putuatamy nation, who worked so excellently in his negotiation with the savages of St. Joseph and during the whole march of the detachment, great chief not only to reward his desert but to encourage the other Indians by his example to be faithful and helpful when we employ them.

“I am enclosing for you a document that the commander Don Eugenio Purre gave me on his arrival at this post, which he drew up at St. Joseph to authenticate the legality of taking possession of that place and its dependencies as well as the bank of the Ilinueses by right of conquest. I send this to you for your information.”¹³⁶

The Significance of the Spanish Attack upon St. Joseph.—The capture of St. Joseph was but an incident in the Spanish offensive in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Its purpose was none other than the defense of St. Louis, for which Cruzat had been working. By warding off the expected British attack, Cruzat hoped to accomplish two things; first, to keep St. Louis from being attacked and exposed to danger, second-

¹³⁶ Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Aug. 6, 1781, BL., P. de C., 1393. The English version of the attack on St. Joseph was given by the Pottawatami chief Assimut who spoke for his nation at the Assembly of Chippewa and Pottawatami nations. He said that the Spaniards came at a time when all the Indians were yet “at their hunt, excepting a few young men who were not sufficient to oppose 100 white people and 80 Indians led by Sequinack and Nakewine, who deceived them by telling them that it was the sentiment of the Indians in general to assist the French and Spaniards”—Mich. P. and H. Colls., X, 453-454.

ly, to bolster up Spanish morale; (and) especially would success in this undertaking be valuable in spreading Spanish influence among the Indians and loosening the British hold upon them. These objects were incorporated in Cruzat's instructions and the attack on St. Joseph was a means, an effective means, with which he carried out those instructions. According to all the information the author has been able to collect, no orders were given to Cruzat by his superiors for undertaking such an expedition; and indeed Cruzat, it seems, thought it only as an event of local interest. He mentioned the fact of Pourée's departure in his letter to Gálvez on the tenth of January,¹³⁷ and on the sixteenth sent him a copy of Malliet's letter to Cruzat of the ninth of January, in which Malliet mentions his departure with Pourée;¹³⁸ but it was not until the sixth of August,¹³⁹ possibly on a request from the Governor, that Cruzat sent an official account of the expedition to Miro; and again, in a letter to Gálvez¹⁴⁰ of the eighteenth of that month, he mentions the expedition and refers the governor to his letter of the sixth of August to Miro for details. However, one bit of evidence points to the fact that the governor had knowledge of this expedition before August sixth. In a draft of the reply to several of Cruzat's letters, Gálvez states that "I approve, all in one, all the good arrangements and means that you have taken in order to get possession of Fort St. Joseph and destroy as many of the enemy as are found there in order to finally truncate their hopes and making it impossible for them to execute their several plans against those forts (Spanish Illinois)." He had received the news of the activities of Pourée through Vougère, an inhabitant of the Post of Vincennes who together with his family had just arrived in New Orleans. He reported that Captain Pourée had succeeded in burning the Fort with its supplies. He expressed gratitude for the accomplishing of those things. This, too, is the only Spanish account that expresses the fact

¹³⁷ Cruzat to Miro, Aug. 6, 1781, *BL.* Quoted above.

¹³⁸ Cruzat to Gálvez, St. Louis, January 16, 1781, enclosing Malliet to Cruzat, dated "Aux Mauvais Terre sur la riviere des Illinois", Jan. 9, 1781. Both originals are in *BL.*

¹³⁹ Cruzat to Miro, Aug. 6, 1781, *BL.*, Quoted in text.

¹⁴⁰ Cruzat to Gálvez, Aug. 18, 1781, *P. de C.*, 2359.

that thirty men from Cahokia led by the *Commandante* Mr. Tranter (sic) of that place had joined in the enterprise. The acceptance of the offer of aid on the part of the Cahokians by Cruzat was approved.¹⁴¹ The conduct of Cruzat in these activities was also approved by the King.¹⁴²

Against Spanish Illinois, no other organized official expeditions were sent throughout the war. But unofficially, through traders loyal to Great Britain, British influence among the Indians was not lost; in fact it increased in certain parts; but in like manner so did that of the Spaniards.

The prestige of the Spaniards was undoubtedly increased by this offensive act; even though the English reports state that it was nothing more than an outrage committed by a band of marauders and of little consequence.¹⁴³

Two problems remained for Cruzat's action, they being nothing more than the continuance of the problems stated in his instructions. First, he must keep the Indians quiet as regards the Spaniards and to win over from English influence as many Indians as possible and place them under Spanish influence; secondly, to defend the Spanish possessions.

The Problem of the Defense of Spanish Illinois.—The latter problem, with which we shall first deal, did not raise such serious difficulties as did the former: Cruzat, who during the previous year had constantly complained to the Governor of a lack of men and provisions, was now continually asking Gálvez for more men. Gálvez's situation and his campaigns in the Southeast had precluded him from dispatching any material aid to St. Louis during De Leyba's regime, and it now prevented him from giving important aid to Cruzat. Nevertheless, in February, Gálvez or his deputy dispatched Captain Jacob Dubreuil, Teniente Don Josef de la Pena and Subteniente Don Pedro Oliver with eighty soldiers

¹⁴¹ Draft (Gálvez?) to Cruzat, New Orleans, April 3, 1781, P. de C., 114. Some of the letters to which this is a draft of the reply and mentioned in it are in B.L. We will not enter here into the discussion of this event in diplomatic circles. This has already been discussed in the articles by Alvord and Teggart on the capture of St. Joseph, op. cit. See ante.

¹⁴² J. de Gálvez to B. de Gálvez, El Pardo, Jan. 15, 1782. Trans. in Houck, op. cit., I, 207, and in Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XVIII., 430-432.

¹⁴³ Alvord, "Conquest of St. Joseph," op. cit., II, 209. Sinclair to Powell, Michilimackinac, June 5, 1781, Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XI, 163.

and the gifts to the Indians for that year. They were sent in one of the King's barges and one belonging to Chouteau. The journey to St. Louis occupied several months, due to the fact that at the Arkansas post they aided in an attack upon the British possessions, an account of which Dubreuil gives in his letter to Miro. In the course of the expedition, Chouteau contributed a great deal in the way of provisions; and he also took part in the reconnoitering expedition sent out from the Arkansas post into the British territory across the river. The exact date of their arrival in St. Louis is unknown, but it was probably in the latter part of July or the first days of August.¹⁴⁴ No other official organized attacks having been made across the Mississippi from either side, north of St. Louis, we shall not continue further the discussion of this problem.

BRITISH ASCENDANCY AMONG NORTHERN INDIANS.

Cruzat and the Problem of Indian Presents.—At the same time that Cruzat complained of a lack of soldiers and provisions, he bitterly complained of a lack of the supplies necessary to give the Indians presents and to keep their friendship. Maxent had contracted with the Governor to supply the annual amounts of Indian presents; but the yearly supply for which he had contracted was not sufficient for the purposes, and circumstances under which Cruzat had to work. Repeatedly Cruzat told his superiors to send more goods from New Orleans; for goods purchased in St. Louis cost him one hundred per cent higher. But in spite of his pleadings and the shipments of supplies sent him from New Orleans, Cruzat, undoubtedly forced by nature of the conditions, purchased supplies from the merchants of St. Louis. For example, in order to supply the Indians who came to St. Louis from the twenty-fourth of September, 1780 (when Cruzat took office) until May 14, 1781, Cruzat was forced to buy from the merchants of St. Louis supplies to the amount of 24,392 pesos, six reales. This was in addition to the supplies found in St.

¹⁴⁴ Draft to Cruzat, New Orleans, Feb. 15, 1781, P. de C., 113. Dubreuil to Miro, No. 1, St. Louis, 1781, (day and month not here) P. de C., 9. Same in P. de C., 2359, (enclosed in Piernas to Gálvez, No. 27, Sept., 1781) Idem. Aug. 17, 1781, and Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Aug. 7, 1781, P. de C. 9.

Louis belonging to the government, and which Cartabona turned over to him, and in addition to those which Chouteau had brought up to St. Louis from New Orleans at the time of Cruzat's arrival. Not one third of the total amounts of goods at his disposal remained undistributed to the Indians.¹⁴⁵ Cruzat's actions were approved; although the ubiquitous warning "en cuya consecuencia y en la de la escasez en que nos hallamos sirvase V^m. arbitrar lo mejor y mas conveniente para contentar esos Yndios, y economizar los inmensos dispendios que sufre el Real Erario" was omnipresent.¹⁴⁶ Cruzat did his best to keep the Indians quiet and at the same time to keep the expenses of the crown at a minimum. But he feared that without supplies he could not keep the Indians in such a state of quietude; for they (the Indians) received only that which he gave them, as the traders were not making good trades and they did not care to sell to the government; while the Americans, themselves having barely enough, could not give anything to the Indians. Only gifts could keep the Indians in good faith. Were Cruzat not to give presents they would all turn to the English who were distributing presents lavishly among the savages. The solution to this problem, Cruzat stated, was the greatest necessity for the defense of the territory under his jurisdiction.¹⁴⁷

Cruzat's Attempt to Gain New Indian Allies: Dorion's Activities.—Another method used by Cruzat to gain the friendship of the Indians, especially those under English jurisdiction or wavering from one side to the other, was that of dispatching men to go among the Indians in order to change their allegiance; which these men attempted to do by any possible means. This was the usual case where and when British agents were active. For example, Malliet wrote Cruzat in January, 1781, stating that many persons, including Grignon and Hesse, were employed in the Upper Lakes regions, which territory belonged to England, in order to incite

¹⁴⁵ Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Aug. 8, 1781, and enclosed lists, P. de C. 9. See also *Idem.*, Aug. 7, 1781, *Ibid.* Draft to Cruzat, Feb. 15, 1781, P. de C. 113.

¹⁴⁶ Draft to Cruzat, April 3, 1781, P. de C., 114. Similar expressions can be found in most every letter of the governor to the Commandante of St. Louis.

¹⁴⁷ Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Aug. 8, 1781, P. de C., 9.

the savages. Indeed, Malliet's brother-in-law, "Augustine Rok," was sent by the British to go with a "Monsieur Roth," and a large stock of goods among the Sioux, with orders to incite the savages to attack the Illinois the ensuing spring. Many others were also sent with a like purpose in view among the Indians in the territory which later became known as the "Old Northwest." To combat these influences Cruzat sent the expedition against St. Joseph; while to combat the "evil influence" among the Sioux, he sent Dorion with a large quantity of goods in order to win over that hostile tribe to the Spanish side. Dorion left St. Louis on the twenty-sixth of January¹⁴⁸ or soon thereafter. His immediate objective was to counter the activities of Rok. Dorion did not meet Rok when he arrived among the Sioux; for Rok had in the meanwhile been forced to return to Michilimackinac to procure more goods. Dorion succeeded in bringing the Sioux Indians, with the exception of Chief Oja, into the Spanish fold. He returned to St. Louis on the twenty-second of July, accompanied by one of the Big Chiefs, six "considerados" and several Indians of that nation who had come to assure Cruzat that their nation, with the exception above given, had given up their friendship for the English and wished to be taken into alliance with, and under the protection of, the Spaniards. For fear of losing their faith, Cruzat acceded to the desire of the Indians who requested that Dorion be again sent to their nation with merchandise. In return the Indians promised that if Rok or any other British trader returned to their nation, they would refuse to trade with them and would tell them "que tienen el corazon Español, y no Yngles."¹⁴⁹ This action of Cruzat was approved by the government.¹⁵⁰

British Traders in Spanish Territory.—In a letter to Miro in October, Cruzat makes known the great number of British traders who were found among the Indian nations

¹⁴⁸ Or possibly earlier. See Cruzat to Gálvez, Jan. 16, 1781, BL.

¹⁴⁹ Malliet to Cruzat, Aux Mauvais Terre sur la Rivière des Illinois, Jan. 9, 1781, BL. Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Aug. 6, 1781, P. de C., 9. Idem, Oct. 21, 1781, P. de C., 114. Cruzat to Gálvez, St. Louis, Aug. 18, 1781, P. de C., 2359.

¹⁵⁰ Draft to Cruzat, April 3, 1781, P. de C., 114.

living as far west as the Missouri River. Due to mishandling, "pollilla," etc. this document is almost illegible. For example, it speaks of Dorion's activities, and it was he who gave Cruzat the information which is contained in that letter; but it is well nigh impossible to extract the information necessary to give a succinct account of his activities.¹⁵¹ Cruzat stated that "Mr. Rue" who had been second in command in the expedition against St. Louis, and "el nombrado Calbe" (Calvé),¹⁵² one of Spain's greatest enemies, were expected to arrive about this time among the Sac Indians, where many merchants were now to be found. Rok was among the Sioux, Hesse who had commanded the expedition against St. Louis was among the nations in the east of the Mississippi (?), while many others were among the other Indian nations. Indeed, Cruzat stated, British traders with large quantities of goods had arrived among all the nations of the Mississippi.¹⁵³ One hundred canoes had been licensed by the British to trade in the Mississippi river region, during the previous year in an endeavor to encourage the North West trade.¹⁵⁴

British Attempts to Gain More Indian Allies.—The British were bidding at the same time for the control of the Indians. Sinclair at Michilimackinac had often times exceeded his allowance for supplies. The Indians were wavering and the British took advantage. In the same manner as we have seen that the Spaniards reported having gained the friendship of the Indians, just so did the English; often times gaining the friendship of the same tribes, but more often of different branches of those tribes, if such were the case. For example, the British claimed the friendship of the Sioux, Ot-

¹⁵¹ A statement of Dorion's expenditures (on these accounts) are enclosed in Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Dec. 15, 1782, P. de C., 9. The total amount was 1240 pesos, 6 reales.

¹⁵² For Calvé's activity, see *ante*. He had been among the Sac and Fox Indians for a long time—with Ducharme for a while.

¹⁵³ Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Oct. 21, 1781, P. de C., 114. For evidence of activities of British officials see Mich. P. and H. Colls., X, *passim*, XIX, *passim*, esp. pp. 481-482. Many other British traders are known by name. Many are listed in the Haldimand Papers published in the Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls. and Mich. P. and H. Colls., e. g., James Aird had been located at Prairie du Chien since 1778 and he together with other British and French traders came semi-annually to trade with the Sac and Fox Indians. They traded at Credit Island, located in the Mississippi about 1 mile above the mouth of (Illinois or Rock) River, Ill. State Hist. Soc. Trans., 1909, 100.

¹⁵⁴ Haldimand to Sinclair, 1781. Rept. Can. Arch., 1886, 713.

tawa, Sac, Fox, etc., tribes which had aided the Spaniards at times and had come to St. Louis seeking alliance with them. For example, we quote from a letter of Sinclair to General H. Watson Powell, "The Sacs and Rhenards (Fox) from the Banks of the Mississippi with the Menominé Indians, are arrived and more expected daily from their tribes bordering on the Illinois country, who have sent to inform me, they do not mean any longer to listen to the tales imposed on them by the Enemy." Many similar examples can be given, but in the main, expressions of friendship such as the one above given came from tribes within British territory.¹⁵⁵ But it is not our purpose here to deal with this phase, as we are to confine our interests to the West of the Mississippi in so far, as it is possible.

British Gain Ascendancy in the North.—The situation as concerns the provisioning of the Indians became quite serious in the latter part of 1781. Parent, who had been trading near Prairie du Chien for quite some time under a Spanish license obtained from De Leyba, was captured by the British on the Upper Mississippi a few days before their attack on St. Louis. He had always treated the travellers from Montreal who passed by, in the kindest manner, and for that reason was released in 1781; and on the twenty-eighth of November he arrived in St. Louis. He was accompanied by the Big Chiefs of the Wisconsin and Mitasa tribes (who were Sac and Fox Indians according to Cruzat) who had come to ask Cruzat permission to be allowed to trade with the British traders who were in the Upper Mississippi Valley region, as he (Cruzat) had no goods with which to provide them. Cruzat, knowing the promises of the Indians and evidently having faith in them, agreed to allow them to trade with the British merchants; which actually occurred. Nothing which would upset the peace in those regions had as yet come to Cruzat's attention "si solo que procuren acarrear con todo el comercio de las naciones de indios tanto del Misisipy, como del Misury,

¹⁵⁵ Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XI, 163; Mich. P. and H. Colls., XIX, 639, see also *ibid*, *passim* and Wisc. Hist. Soc. Colls., XI, *passim*. These tribes were at all times wavering in their allegiance.

la que no es muy favorable al comercio de estos establecimientos, y que por ningun modo puedo en el dia remediar, no obstante pondre siempre todos los medios que me dicte la prudencia, y me proporcione las circunstancias del tiempo para frustrar a nuestros contrarios quanto intenten.”¹⁵⁶ In a sense, this may be taken as a beginning of the end of effective Spanish control of the Upper Missouri-Mississippi Valley region. For the British traders were now allowed to trade with the Indians, as the Spaniards had no goods.¹⁵⁷ Through trade their (British) influence was carried far and wide. British influence increased, especially in the regions up to the Missouri. To answer this increased influence the Spaniards were forced to ascend the Missouri; which movement, however, did not come until the last decade of the century.

But even with this handicap of a scarcity of supplies, “while the enemy scatters presents by handfuls among these barbarous tribes,” Cruzat was performing his function of preserving peace with the Indians in a masterful fashion. Although we are confining ourselves to the regions north of St. Louis, other territory belonged under the jurisdiction of the *Commandante* of Upper Louisiana. Thus by March of 1782, one hundred and thirty tribes living in the territory bounded by the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, had come to St. Louis for the purpose of making peace with the Spaniards and asking their protection. No wonder Miro commended the “unweary zeal” of Cruzat to José de Gálvez. The tribes above mentioned undoubtedly must have included some living on the banks of the Mississippi north of St. Louis; and the account we have already given conclusively bears out this fact. As a result of this activity permission was evidently granted to obtain goods through Colonel Maxent, who had

¹⁵⁶ Cruzat to Piernas, St. Louis, Dec. 22, 1781, *P. de C.*, 114. Joseph Bte. Parent to General Frederick Haldimand, Montreal, April 28, 1781, *Mich. P. and H. Colls.*, XIX, 630-631. Draft to Cruzat, Jan. 17, 1782 (?), *P. de C.* 114.

¹⁵⁷ Cruzat to Miro, Sept. 26, 1781, *P. de C.*, 114. The goods were too expensive to warrant Spanish traders going among the Indians, *Ibid.* Practically no Spanish traders went out to trade during 1781. One cause for this was the precariousness of navigating the Mississippi on account of robbers, Indians, British, etc. See post; also Cruzat to Miro, Aug. 8, 1782, *BL.*

hitherto sent large supplies of goods to be given as presents to the Indians.¹⁵⁸

During 1782, Cruzat stated that there were more British merchants than ever in the Mississippi region who had an abundance of merchandise for the Indians. This, says Cruzat "me obliga estar como ciempre (sic) a la mira de los mobinientos (sic) de estas Jentes (sic)." In all his efforts to economize, Cruzat refused to release from service the detachments which earlier in the year he had sent to the Illinois river region under Monbreun and Malliet, in order to watch the movements of the British.¹⁵⁹

But in spite of the scarcity of merchandise and the exorbitant prices at which goods were sold, Cruzat purchased in St. Louis supplies to give to the Indians to the extent of 70,452 pesos, 4 reales. This was in addition to that which was left over from the preceding year; while the amount of goods, if any, which came up from New Orleans, sent by the governor, is not exactly known.¹⁶⁰ While during this same year 31,956 pesos, 2 reales were spent in putting the provinces in a better state of defense against the Indians.¹⁶¹

During the year 1782, trouble with the British and Indians in the lower Mississippi, especially those about Natchez, was persistent and keen. Navigation of the Mississippi became perilous due to the activities of the British and their confederates. Cruzat begged the Governor for permission to have his wife and family sent up to St. Louis from New Orleans. On the way she was captured, as were also some merchants. These activities however involved the posts of Arkansas and Natchitoches and with these we shall not here deal.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Miro to Gálvez, New Orleans, May 14, 1782, enclosing Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, March 19, 1782. José de Gálvez to Miro, Sn. Lorenzo, Oct. 29, 1782, all translated in Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 208-210.

¹⁵⁹ Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Nov. 5, 1782, *P. de C.*, 9.

¹⁶⁰ *Idem*, Dec. 15, 1782, and accounts enclosed therewith, *P. de C.*, 131.

¹⁶¹ *Idem*, same date, and accounts enclosed therewith, *P. de C.*, 9. See also *Idem*, Dec. 19, 1782, *ibid.* In July there was a meeting called to consider the defense of upper Louisiana at which several military officers gave their opinions. It was found that St. Louis was the only one which could be said to be in a state of defense. The details of this meeting and the opinions of the men are in two documents of date July 9, 1782, the originals of which are in the BL. See also Cruzat to Miro, July, 1782, BL.

¹⁶² Cruzat to Miro, Nov. 18, 1782, *P. de C.*, 9. Several documents relating to robberies on the Mississippi and the capture of Madame Cruzat are to be found in translation in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 211-234. See also Cruzat to Miro, St. Louis, Aug. 5, 1782, and enclosure. Cruzat to Court of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, St. Louis,

Close of the War; The British Monopolize the Trade of the Upper Missouri-Mississippi Valley.—Thus the war of the American Revolution came to an end. It had made little difference to the Missouri Valley, for in so far as warlike activity is concerned, little had been done during the past years in that valley. The British traders, due to a scarcity of goods on the part of the Spaniards, had nearly a complete monopoly of the trade with the Indians. The peace negotiations affected but little this region, nor for that matter, for some time to come. In April, orders were given by the British that cessation of armed warfare, with all the powers with whom they were at war, be proclaimed; and orders were given to smoke the pipe of peace with all Indians.¹⁶³

Aug. 4, 1782, **BL.**, Cruzát to Miro, Aug. 8, 1782, **BL.** Diego Blanco to Miro, St. Louis, Aug. 13, 1782, **BL.** An investigation concerning these affairs is contained in two original documents in the **BL.** under date of July 8, 1782. These are questionnaires of Labbadie.

¹⁶³ Robertson to McBeath, Michilimackinac, April 25, 1783; Haldimand to McClean, Headquarters, Quebec, April 26, 1783, **Mich. P** and **H. Colls.**, XIX, 360-362.

GENET'S WESTERN INTRIGUE.

1793-1794

By F. R. HALL, PURDUE UNIVERSITY, LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

This topic may be divided rather conveniently into the following general sections:

- I. Introduction
- II. The Undertaking
- III. The Plan
 - Motives
 - Preliminary Measures
 - Methods
 - Expenses
 - Success
 - Reflections and Observations
- IV. Instructions to Genet
- V. Clark's Proposal
 - The Enterprise in General
- VI. Bibliography

I. THE INTRODUCTION

Inasmuch as the treatment of a subject of this kind should be a process of boiling down, rather than scattering out, I shall confine myself strictly to source material, and to the George Rogers Clark aspect of the enterprise.

A large amount of this source material is in the French, and in the particularly significant parts I have chosen to render it in the original, rather than to risk any of its meaning in translation.

Other limitations that I have drawn about myself are, that I have not considered Genet's general mission at all, and I have restricted myself to the Louisiana project, disregarding entirely Vermont, West Florida and other such "side issues."

II. THE UNDERTAKING

Frederick J. Turner, writing of the western sequel of Genet's mission, has this to say in a general way, "In the year 1793, soon after his arrival in the United States, Genet, the minister of France, set on foot an expedition against Louisiana, to consist of frontiersmen led by the former conqueror of the Illinois Country, George Rogers Clark of Kentucky. Genet's agents and Clark, in Kentucky, actively undertook the procuring of supplies and boats, and attempted to interest the discontented Kentuckians in the scheme of securing the freedom of navigation of the Mississippi, by replacing Spain at the mouth of the river by the French Republic. The design of Genet included also an expedition, under Elijah Clark of Georgia, against the Floridas, both of the expeditions to be supported by the French fleet. But the United States prepared to prevent it, Genet failed to support the enterprise by efficient organization and financial resources, and it collapsed upon his recall by the French government. Some two hundred men only had been under arms, but many others awaited the call to active hostilities. *It was a project which involved momentous issues*, for it was nothing less than a part of the struggle to determine the possession of the Mississippi basin. In one of its aspects the movement is a continuation of the efforts of the men of the Western waters to expel the Spanish power from the Gulf of Mexico—efforts which found later expression in the Mexican War and in the attempts upon Cuba. In another of its aspects it was a phase of the repeated designs of France to recover her control of the province of Louisiana, for it is a mistake to think that this design dates from the effort of Talleyrand and Napoleon in the years 1799 and 1800....

"Considering the weakness of Spanish rule in Louisiana, the attitude of leading Westerners, the excited feeling in the West against Spain and the Federal authorities, the expectation of statesmen like Jefferson that a war with Spain was inevitable, and the widespread sympathy for France in the United States, such a proposal was not without hope of

success. The details of its inception and progress reveal the inchoate condition of national feeling in the West, and the many hazards which beset our early control of the Mississippi Valley.

“The papers in the French archives,¹ and other evidence, show that various plans for the conquest of Louisiana were presented to the French authorities when the relations between France and Spain became strained after the outbreak of the French Revolution; but the plan of the expedition here described seems to have been proposed by George Rogers Clark, who had at that time fallen into intemperance, and was embittered because of Virginia's neglect of his claims for services in the Revolution. In 1788 he had offered his services to Spain, in return for a land grant, and he was even more ready to expatriate himself for France. An expedition against Louisiana was contemplated by France as early as November, 1792; but the earliest document on the subject in the Draper collection is Clark's proposal, apparently to the French minister to the United States, dated February 5, 1793. In his later correspondence with Genet, however, Clark mentions a letter of February 2, 1793, to Genet, of which there is an abstract in the French archives....

“Genet's successor, Fauchet, terminated the expedition, March 6, 1794 The French archives, . . . allow us to perceive the desire of France to apply the revolutionary system to Louisiana, Florida, and Canada; the dissatisfaction with Genet's *maladroit* course, and the persistence of French designs on Louisiana after his recall. . . .

“George Rogers Clark's project failed, partly because of the active opposition of the Federal authorities, partly because of M. Genet's rashness and the failure of the French government to support the plan with adequate system and financial means, and partly, no doubt, because of Clark's infirmities, and the conservative forces in the West itself. Nevertheless, if the plan had been more efficiently managed, it was not so chimerical as it now appears. The French

¹ Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Etats Unis; vols. Louisiane, Florides et L'Espagne.

designs on Louisiana by no means ceased with the failure of this expedition. Collot's² investigations into the military conditions and sentiments of the Mississippi Valley, undertaken in 1796, at the desire of Adet, the French minister to the United States, constitute a link between the project of Clark and the retrocession of Louisiana to Napoleon, and the French archives show a continuity of interest in the plan of regaining Louisiana territory from 1789 to 1800."³

Such then, was the project, and something of its significance.

III. THE PLAN

Plan Propose Pour Faire Une Revolution Dans La Louisiane,¹ "La Louisiane promet des succes plus immediats, plus certains, et peu dispendieux. Ces succes ne sont pas infaillibles; mais tres probables."

A—Motifs De L'Enterprise²

1, "d'allarmer l'Espagne."

2, To take advantage of "la disposition des habitans, presque tous Francois ou Anglo-Americans, ennemis jures d'une poignee d'Espagnols Le resentment qu'ils ont conserve de las maniere barbare dont l'Espagne a signale sa prise de possession."

3, La Faiblesse des garnisons, qui a la nouvelle Orleans, a Natches, et dans les autre forts se montent tout au plus a 1500 hommes, commandes en partie par de Francois Creoles."

4, The very nature of the peoples, "le caractere des habitans qui ressemble beaucoup a celui des Anglo-Americans, ils sont robustes, entreprenans, bons chasseurs et amis de la liberte, d'ailleurs tous armes."

5, The expedition is to go via the interior rather than by way of the gulf for "rein de plus facile que la defense de la Louisiane par mer Par terre les Louisianois n'ont rien a craindre et la revolution faite il seroit impossible de la defaire."

² Collot, *Journey in North America*, Paris, 1826.

³ F. J. Turner, ed., "Correspondence of Clark and Genet," *Annual Report, American Historical Association*, I, pp. 930-935. (1896.)

¹ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, l'Espagne; vol. 634, folio 201, 1792.

² Ibid.

6, And lastly, "l'utilite de cette revolution seroit tres grande par le nombre de Corsaires qui sortant des bouches du Mississippi infesteroient toutes les cotes du Golphe."

B—Mesures Preliminaries a Prendre³

1, "Envoyer a Philadelphie sons le plus grand secret 3 ou 4 hommes bien instruits, Francois, militaires parlant Anglois et connoissant le pays...."

2, Send from Philadelphia to New Orleans an emissary, "intelligent et intimement lie avec les habitans, pour se concerter avec ceux qui lui paroîtront les plus propres a seconder nos vues."

3, To give to Minister Genet the necessary powers involved in employing these commissioners, "le charger de toute la comptabilite de l'expedition et du choix des personnes qui doivent etre doivent etre adjointes a cette mission."

4, The people along the way, Kentucky, Marietta, Scioto and Cumberland, should be inspired with the necessary enthusiasm by promises of unlimited navigation on the Mississippi river, "qu'ils desirent avec impatience." Caution is given that, "les habitants de ces pays sont aventuriers par principe et par habitude." It is advised to cultivate the friendship of General Wilkinson, "tres puissant dans le Kentucky, et surtout l'homme qu'il faut s'attacher. Il seroit peut etre l'homme le plus propre pour commander en Chef."

5, "Garder a Philadelphie le plus profund secret sur toutes operations."

C—Moyens a Employer.⁴

The Commissioners are to go first to Philadelphia, armed with letters of recommendation, and letters of credit. They are to comport themselves in a manner worthy of their mission. Arrangements should be made to assemble at different points along the Ohio 500 men. Leading Americans must be interested in the programme, advantage should be taken of the Indian wars, and a corps of volunteers must be raised, "destines en apparence contre les sauvages avec lesquels les Americains sont en guerre."

³ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, l'Espagne, vol. 634, folio 201, 1792.

⁴ Ibid.

Eight or ten bateaux are to be sent down, “sons pretext d’envoyer des farines et tabacs a la nouvelle Orleans.” Further advantage is to be taken of the existing Indian warfare “de donner aux matelots des armes et munitions.” The expedition is to be pushed with all possible speed. The Commander must be an American, “seroit muni de pleins pouvoirs de la Republique Francois.” He is to descend the Ohio with necessary precaution, and first establish himself in the first fort on the Mississippi. Thence to Natches, where he is to issue “au nom de la Republique une manifesto en langue Francois et Anglaise. Par ce manifeste il inviteroit les habitants a se former sans delai en assemblees primaires a declarer leur independance et a choisir des Magistrats.... On se gardera bien de parler de reunion aux Louisianois on leur offrira la liberte et la protection de la France.” In order to effect this the commander-in-chief is to be given necessary power to conclude, in the name of the Republic, a treaty of alliance with the Louisianians. Help is promised whenever needed.

D—Depense.⁵

It is estimated that the total expense of the enterprise should not exceed 400,000#, “qui en cas de succes pourroient etre preleves sur la caisse royale a la nouvelle Orleans.”

Traitment des chefs de l’expedition environ	30,000 #
8 a 10 gros bateaux de l’Ohio dont chacun conte sur les lieux environ 6,000# ci	60,000
L’engagement et l’armement de 500 hommes, par aperçu	150,000
Approvisionnement	20,000
Depenses divers et imprevis	140,000
	<hr/> 400,000 #

E—Manque De Success.⁶

“Dans le cas on des revers imprevis empecheroient la flotille de gagner la nouvelle Orleans, et de produire sur le champ une revolution, cette expedition n’en seroit pas moins

⁵ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, l’Espagne, vol. 634, folio 201, 1792.

⁶ Ibid.

utile en faisant une diversion. Nos 500 hommes pourroient s'établir sur la rive droite du Mississippi, s'y fortifier, repandre leurs principes et donner les plus grandes inquietudes a l'Espagne qui n'auroit pas le tems de prendre des mesures vigoureuses pour les chasser; en moins de 3 mois la Colonie seroit soulevee par l'activite de nos Missionnaires."

F—Quelle doit Etre Notre Conduite a l'egard Des Etats Unis?⁷

1, Just how much do we know about American politics?

2, To what extent can we take "les chefs de cette Republique" into our confidence?

3, Do the Louisianians wish to join us or the United States?

4, Is it in the interest of the United States to receive these Louisianians, or to facilitate their independence?

5, Can we navigate the Ohio river without compromising the neutrality of the United States?

It would seem that the idea of independence in Louisiana would be in harmony with the ideas of liberty in the United States.

The men most desiring an independent Louisiana are not those who desire free navigation of the Mississippi river.

"Il me paroît d'après cela que le Ministre Genet ne peut mettre trop de reserve et de circonspection a l'exécution de cette entreprise." Genet is to contribute to the "inquietude" of the French emigrants on the Scioto. He is to engage the United States government in disfavor with the enterprise in London and Madrid. The whole plan is to be carefully guarded against the Spanish and English ministers in Philadelphia.

The above reflections lead to the following observations:⁸ 1, Que l'expédition proposee est d'une execution facile et peu dispendieuse.

2, "Qu'elle doit etre entierelement ignoree des Etats Unis.

3, "Que pour ne donner aucun soupçon les cooperateurs

⁷ Archives des Affaires Etrangères, l'Espagne, vol. 634, folio 201, 1792.

⁸ Ibid.

doivent etre trouves au Kentucky et dans les autres etablissemens de l'Ohio. Il y en a d'excellens et j'en donnerai les nous. Au Kentucky le Gen. Wilkinson, Tardiveau Brakenridge. Love, au Cumberland.

4, "Qu'on doit se borner a envoyer d'ici 3 ou 4 françois sur connaissant le local et ayant tout le courage, et toute la prudence necessaire pour conduire cette operation.

5, "Que l'un d'eux passera a la nouvelle Orleans comme Agent secret, pour y preparer les esprits.

6, "Que le chef de l'expedition sera autorise a publier un Manifesto au nom de la nation Francois et a distributer des brevets d'offices de differens grades.

7, "Qu'il recevra les instructions necessaires de ne commencer son operation que lorsque tous les moyens indiques ci dessus seront bien prepares et meme d'y renoncer lorsque les obstacles lui paroîtront invincibles. Car la bonne politique autant que l'humanite nous engagent a ne pas rendre les Louisianois victimes d'une insurrection manquee.

8, "Que d'apres cette precaution particulierement recommandee au Chef la depense seroit ou infiniment bornee ou proportionnee au grand resultat que nous devons attendre de cette expedition.

9, "Que la question de la reunion aux Etats Unis doit dependre entierement des evenemens futures du voeu de Louisianois, et de notre situation respective apres la paix.

10, "Que pour faire reussir cette expedition important il faut s'en occuper sans le moindre delais."

With this scheme in mind, let us now turn to Genet's actual orders.

IV. THE INSTRUCTIONS¹

The Executive Council, desiring to take advantage of the break between the United States, Spain and England sent Genet to this country to germinate the principles of the

¹ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Etats Unis; vol. 36, folio 483, 1792.

French Revolution in Louisiana, Kentucky, and other western provinces, armed with “un certain nombre de lettre de marque en blanc pour les delivrer aux Armateurs francais ou Americaines, et un nombre de brevets d'officers en blanc jus-qu'au grade de Capitaine pour les donner aux chefs des Indiens qu'il determinerait a prendre les armes contre les Ennemis de la france.”

INSTRUCTIONS CONTINUED²

Because of “le civisme avec lequel le Citoyen Genet a rempli diferentes missions qui lui ont ete confiees, et son devouement connu pour la cause de la liberte et de l'egalite, ont determine le Conseil executif a le nommer Ministre Plenipotenciaire de la Republique francaise pres le Congres des Etats Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale.”

A resume of the principles of the French Revolution is given, and then “le conseil Executif le charge, en attendant que le Gouvernement American se soit determine a faire cause commune avec nous, de prendre toutes les meures que sa position comportera pour faire germer dans la Louisiane et dans les autres provinces de l'Amerique voisins des Etats Unis, les principes de la liberte et de l'independance. Les Kentukois qui brulent depuis longtems du desir legitime de jouir de la libre navigation du Mississippi, qui leur appartient de droit naturel et de droit positif, seconderont probablement ses efforts sans compromettre le Congres. Le Conseil executif autorise en consequence le Citoyen Genet a entretenir des Agens dans le Kentucky, a en envoyer egalemeut dans la Louisiane, et a faire les depenser qu'il jugera convenables pour faciliter l'execution de ce projet, le conseil executif s'en rapportant sur cet object a sa prudence et a sa loyante.

“Le Citoyen Genet pretera le secours de ses bons offices a tous les Citoyens Francois qui auront recours a lui et dont la conduite sera irreprochable. Mais, le Conseil Executif entend que cette protection ne contrarie dans aucuns cas les loix du pays et qu'elle ne s'etende pas sur des emigres, sur

² Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Etats Unis; vol. 36, folio 184, 1792.

des gens sans aven, ou bannis de leur partie, ou sur des citoyens qui tien droient une conduite reprehensible.”

Instructions. Supplement.³

A new treaty is desired, more liberal than that of 1778, especially regarding commerce and navigation. The Supplement maintains that the United States government is still too much under British influence, especially in regard to the Antilles. All of this, “pour servir la cause de la liberte,” sounds like using the Louisiana Country as a pawn in the old feud between France, England and Spain.

V. CLARK'S PROPOSAL; THE ENTERPRISE IN GENERAL.⁴

It seems that just the man Genet was looking for was awaiting him here, in the person of George Rogers Clark, hero of the Revolution and of the conquest of Illinois, 1778-1779.

Clark wrote to Genet under date of February 5, 1793, and after extolling the French Revolution he says, “the free citizens of America, whose liberty, equality and empire have been secured to them in a great measure, thru the faithful and vigorous co-operation of the French nation with their own efforts, ought, from every principle of gratitude, (not to talk of other motives) to exhibit in a more especial manner those ingenuous symptoms of a heart-felt predilection and partiality for the cause of their brothers and first allies, the present citizens of the French Republic, which may designate a wish and inclination at least to assist them in their arduous struggle—should any occurring circumstance render such grateful aid both practicable and justifiable. This wish, this inclination, Sir, are actually as strong and vivid in my bosom, as they ever were for the cause of this my own native country, during the most critical periods of the last American war; and the means of powerfully assisting your country's cause, in the actual crisis of contest between it and Spain, are (I verily believe above any one private person on earth) actually in my power; if you and the free nation you represent will but concur in the project—by sanctioning my proceedings,

³ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Etats Unis; vol. 36, folio 496, 1792.

⁴ Draper Collection, 55 Clark MSS, No. 1.

duely commissioning me to that end, supplying me with some small resources by letters of credit or cash, and suffering me to raise my own men in this Country, and to appoint them such officers as, I am sure, will execute the business with promptitude, secrecy and decision.

“I say secrecy; for until the blow is struck, the design of the expedition, or the expedition itself ought, by no means, to transpire. I can raise abundance of men in this western country—men as well American as French who have repeatedly fought, obtained Laurels, and never yet were met with a repulse under my command, men thru whose courage, fidelity to their country and confidence in my arrangements which never yet failed them of success, took the Illinois and Post St. Vincennes from the Britons, saved St. Louis and the rest of the Louisiana for the Spaniards, from that nation, humbled the whole Northern and Southern tribes of Indians (those in particular who are now so hostile and triumphant) to the very dust, preserved Kentucky, Cumberland, and the whole territory northwest of the Ohio to the United States, and protected the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania from British and Indian depredations. These are not exaggerations. All America will concur with this my unexaggerated testimony in their favor, and these are the men, who, with me, will instantly expatriate ourselves (as the Law directs), and are ready to become citizens of the French Republic—if my proposals shall have been approved of.

“Out of Kentucky, Cumberland, the settlement on Holston, the Wabash and the Illinois I can (by my name alone) raise 1500 brave men, or thereabouts—and the French at St. Louis and thruout the rest of Louisiana, together with the American Spanish Subjects at the Natchez would, I am sure of it, (for they all know me), flock to my Standard. These last would amount to, at least as many more. With the first 1500 alone I can take the whole of Louisiana for France. I would begin with St. Louis, a rich, large and populous town—and by placing only two or three Frigates within the Mississippi's mouth (to guard against Spanish succours) I would

engage to subdue New Orleans, and the rest of Louisiana. If farther aided, I would capture Pensacola; and if Santa Fe and the rest of New Mexico were Objects—I know their strength and every avenue leading to them, for conquest. My intelligence is good, respecting all these places. I have been, ever since and during the last war, incessantly employed, with my Spies in procuring this intelligence. When any opportunity offered, I had it uniformly in view, to give a vital blow to the Spaniards in this quarter.

“All the routes, as well as the defenceless situation of those places, are perfectly made known to me and I possess draughts of all their defences, and estimates of the greatest force which could oppose me. If France will be hearty and Secret in this business—my success borders on certainty. It will be humbling Spain in her vital parts, and by conquering New Mexico and Louisiana, that of all Spanish America, with its mines, may, soon after, be easily achieved. The possession of New Orleans will secure to France the whole Fur, Tobacco and Flour trade of this western world, and a great consumption of her manufactures. The route from St. Louis to Santa Fe is easy, and the places not very distant. Some of the first and best men in this western country will certainly accompany me. All we immediately want is money to procure provisions and ammunition for the conquest of St. Louis, or Upper Louisiana. For our pay and gratifications in Land, (as we abandon our own here) we shall confide in the Justice and generosity of the great nation we shall serve, after our labors, are over. To save Congress from a rupture with Spain, on our accounts, we must first expatriate ourselves, and become French citizens. This is our intention.

“My country has proved notoriously ungrateful, for my Services, and so forgetful of those successful and almost unexampled enterprises which gave it the whole of its territory on this side of the great mountains, as in this my very prime of life, to have neglected me. And yet although I feel, I never shall resent. Since I relinquished my command over the western country, Congress had not one successful campaign

in it. The Indian tribes from New Mexico to the Allagheny mountains, are my friends and could be brought to march under my banners—and why? because I was just and dealt uprightly and manfully with them, while by frequent defeats, I made them trouble. On receiving a reply of approbation from you, I shall instantly have myself expatriated; and as soon as Commissions for myself and my officers shall have been received and due provision made for the expedition against St. Louis, I shall raise my men and proceed to action. I thirst for the opportunity, as being in possession of every means of intelligence * * * * ”

Clark to Genet.⁵

(The following sections are from a letter written by Clark to Genet three days prior to the one quoted above. An abstract of this letter, referred to above, is in the French archives.)

After telling just who is this man Clark, Genet says, “Le general Clark a des amis dans differentes villes de la nouvelle espagne, qui l'instruisent de tout ce qui s'y passe et qui lui seront de la plus grande utilite pour un semblable project.

“Le general Clark, connait parfaitement, les dispositions, les Forces et les moyens de rendre un grand nombre de nations indiennes favorables a ses projects: Il pense qu'avec 400 hommes Il pourra facilement chasser les agens de l'espagne de la haute Louisiane et avec 800 executer la meme operation sur la nouvelle Orleans.

“Il ne demande pour forces navales que deux ou trois fregattes qui le soutiendraient du cote le la mer. Le general Clark a sous la main des hommes tres disposes, de bons soldats animes de bonnes intentions et remplis d'ardeur; il croit qu'avec une somme de 3,000 livres sterlings, il pourra executer son projet.” (Genet)

Clark Mss. 55, number 2,⁶ is an elaboration of the above idea. It is unsigned, unaddressed, and not in the handwriting of either Clark or O'Fallon. Dr. Draper dates it February 2, 1793. The writer of this letter, apparently Clark, describes

⁵ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Etat Unis; vol. 37, folio 99.

⁶ Draper Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

the nature of the western people, and explains that their greatest need is money. "Had that necessary, that first support of War, been supplied in time by the Minister of France, long ago would Louisiana have been either a Free Republic within herself, or annexed to yours as one of your Department."

He then repeats the idea that the attack must be made overland rather than by way of the Gulf. He takes up each of the Spanish holdings, described its strength, and just what would be required to reduce it. He begins with St. Louis, thence to *Lance a la graisse*, Nogals, Natchez, and finally New Orleans.

He concludes, "It is not to conquer, to subdue into Servitude, but rather to make a Whole Nation free, and Shake them by the hand as freemen, that I would wish to attract your attention. Here everything seems to insure success; the primary affection of the French and Dutch the longing thirst after liberty of the Americans, the Destitution felt by every individual of their present government, and present Governor (Carondelet), all must give you hopes that they will receive you, either as Brethren in freedom, or as their Liberators from bondage.

"To execute this, the western people of America, who are deeply concerned in the event, wait for no more, desire no more from you, than an advance of money, adequate to the support of three or four thousand men for at least Six months; and an assurance of their pay and Bounty as they must inevitably renounce to their former prospects of present happiness, if they once are encouraged by you in this undertaking."

There seems to be considerable harmony between the ideas of Genet and Clark. There is a tone of lofty idealism, however sincere or insincere, in Clark's plan, accompanied by an air of bland confidence.

Does Sig. Carondelet know what is going on in the Ohio valley? He certainly does, and is quite properly alarmed

about it.⁷ He writes to Alcudia,⁸ April 23, 1793; "Your Excellency has been informed, by the secret communications which during the last year I have directed to the Ministry of State under your charge, of the motives which have impelled me to fortify this capital (New Orleans), formerly exposed to the depredations and attacks of the Americans, Indians and Negroes, from the upper part of the river, and of any enemy whatever from la Valiza. I may say, without flattering myself, that to this measure are due in great part the peace and security enjoyed by the province, both as regards the Americans who were threatening it with an army assembled on the Ohio, and as regards the ill-disposed and fanatical citizens in the Capital, whose intercourse with France fills it incessantly with restless and turbulent men infatuated with Liberty and Equality, and who are increased and renewed with every vessel that comes from the ports of France. I have, nevertheless, always sought to veil the measures taken for the security of this capital, by adducing the apprehension inspired by the Americans, whose preparation on the Ohio was publicly known in this city, while those measures that were taken in Ilinoia (St. Louis), New Madrid, Nogales, Natchez, Movila (Mobile) and Tombecbe, were of the same nature as those undertaken in this city. Only a malevolent and ill-disposed spirit can therefore interpret their object as being unfavorable to these citizens."

Carondelet's letter not only reveals his own precarious position, but likewise the general restless, shifty, separatist feeling in the Mississippi Valley, which Burr tried to take advantage of some fifteen years later.

On the 12 of June, 1793, De Pauw⁹ wrote to Genet, saying, "comme e suis habitant du quintoq (Kentucky) et que j'ay fait le voiage cinq foir du fort putt (Pitt) jusqu'a la nouvelle Orleans et de la a philadelphi par mer, ces pourquoi je vous donne une description de ce vaste pais et de ce voiage en abrege peur de vous enuier. Pour prendre ce pais espag-

⁷ Spanish Plan of Defense, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1897, p. 494.

⁸ Clark Mss. 40, *Spanish Papers*, p. 51, Draper Collection.

⁹ Clark Mss. 11, *DePauw Papers*, p. 221 Draper Collection.

nole il faudroit ce prendre de la maniere suivante:”—and he then proceeds at considerable length, the details of which agree essentially with Clark’s above plan.

It seems thus far that the project could hardly hope to fail! At this time, June, 1793, M. Michaux makes his appearance. He was a distinguished French botanist, interested in exploring the West in behalf of the American Philosophical Society.

On June 24, 1793, J. Brown, Representative to Congress from Kentucky, wrote a letter of introduction for Michaux to General Clark.¹⁰ On the same date, from the same place (Philadelphia), he wrote a similar introductory letter to Governor Isaac Shelby,¹¹ of Kentucky. And four days later Jefferson wrote a similar letter to Shelby.¹² So M. Michaux enters this episode well recommended.

Genet called on Jefferson,¹³ relative to Michaux’s trip to Kentucky. Jefferson relates, “Mr. Genet called on me, and read to me very rapidly instns. he had prepared for Michaux who was going to Kentucky, an address to the inhab. of Louisiana, and another to those of Canada. in these papers it appears that besides encouraging these inhabitants to insurrection, he speaks of two generals at Kentucky who have proposed to him to go and take New Orleans if he will furnish the exp. about £3,000 sterl. he declines advancing it, but promises that sum ultimately for their expenses, proposes that officers shall be commissioned by himself in Kentucky and Louisiana, that they shall rendezvous out of the territories of the United States suppose in Louisiana, and there making up a battalion to be called the.....of inhabitants of Louisiana and Kentucky and getting what Indians they could, to undertake the expedition against New Orleans, and then Louisiana to be established into an independent state connected in commerce with France and the United States that two frigates shall go into the river Mississippi and co-operate against New Orleans—the address to Canada,

¹⁰ Clark Mss. 55, Number 3, Draper Collection.

¹¹ Clark Mss. 11, p. 200, Draper Collection.

¹² Jefferson Papers, first series, vol. 5, No. 163, Dept. of State.

¹³ Jefferson Papers, fourth series, vol. 3, No. 84.

was to encourage them to shake off English yoke, to call Indians to their assistance, and to assure them of the friendly dispositions of their neighbors of the United States he said he communicated these things to me, not as Secretary of State, but as Mr. Jeff * * ”

Jefferson's reaction was unfavorable as to enticing Americans to war with Spain. He was indifferent regarding the proposed insurrections within the Louisiana territory.¹⁴

On July 12, 1793, Genet writes his letter of introduction of Michaux to Clark.¹⁵ Herein we find that Clark is definitely recognized as commander of the filibuster, and that Michaux has become an official agent of Genet. More of the same high idealism, which screens the whole venture, is revealed here in regard to the French scientist. We read: “Un homme qui a donne des preuves de son amour pour la Liberte et de sa haine pour le despotisme ne devait pas s'adresser en vain au minister de la Republique francaise. General il est tems que les Americains libres de l'Ouest soient debarasses d'un ennemie aussi injuste que meprisable.

“Il est tems que nos concitoyens de la Louisiane les descendans des Francais jouissent du bienfait de la liberte, que vont leur presenter leurs freres et leurs amis. C'est a vous, general, que la direction de cette honorable mission est confiee vous pouvez vous couvrir de gloire et meriter la reconnaissance d'un grand nombre d'hommes que vous aurez delivres de la tyrannie. J'ai adopte toutes les propositions renfermees dans la lettre¹⁶ que vous m'avez ecrite le 2, fevrier, et le citoyen Michaux qui vous remettra cette lettra sera charge comme agent de la Republique Francaise, de la partie administrative de cette affaire. C'est un homme prudent, sur, actif et intelligent ami de la Liberte et de l'Egalite. Vous vous concerterez avec lui et il vous donnera des instructions et des plans genereux qui lui ont ete confies. Le Citoyen Michaux vous remettra aussi votre commission de Command-

¹⁴ Jefferson Papers, fourth series, Vol. 3, No. 84.

¹⁵ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Etats Unis, Vol. 38, folio 35

¹⁶ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Etats Unis; Vol. 37, folio 99.

ant en Chef de l'armee independante et revolutionaire de Mississippi."

Among other western leaders whom Genet tries to interest in the plan was General Moultrie, who does not seem to be unfriendly. We read,¹⁷ "J'ai communique au brave general Moultrie, Gouverneur de la Caroline, le plan qui m'etait trace. Il m'a ete facile de faire sentir a cet ami sincere de l'humanite l'avantage d'une pareille enterprise pour les Etats unis. Il a reconnu que si la Louisiane etait libre les Americaines seraient debarasses des guerres continuelles que leur font les indiens excites par l'Espagne."

The instructions of Genet to Michaux may be summed up as follows,¹⁸ " * * * * Ce plan est hardi: il honore le zele du General Clarke mais avant de nous mettre en mesure de l'executer et de lui fournir les moyens pecuniares et militaires qu'il demande il convient.

1, de s'assurer des dispositions des habitans du Kentucky.

2, de constater l'efficacite des moyens personnels du General Clarke.

3, d'etre bien assure de l'epoque a laquelle l'operation pourrait commencer.

4, de determiner les bases d'apres lesquelles nous entreprendons de briser les fers des habitans de la nouvelle Orleans.

"Tous ces points ne peuvent etre eclaircis que par vous sur les lieux et le dernier particulierement doit etre le resultat de conferences que vous aurez avec le General Clarke et avec les principaux Citoyens Kentuckois, qui soutiendront l'enterprise projette."

Michaux's official commission is found in Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Etats Unis; vol. 39, folio 89, endorsed November, 1793. Clark's commission is in the same volume, folio 90, and reads, "Autorisons le Major General Clarke a prendre commandement en chef de la Legion Independante et Revolutionaire du Mississippi de nommer a tous les emplois

¹⁷ Etats Unis; vol. 38, folio 80. Genet to Minister of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁸ Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Etats Unis; vol. 39, folio 82. October, 1793.

de ce corps, de l'armer, l'organiser, et le diriger ainsi qu'il le jugera convenable pour les interets de la Republique francaise, et le plus grand Success de la cause de la Liberte et de l'indpendence des Peuples."

For further contemporary evidence of the alarm of the Spanish authorities at New Orleans, in the face of the impending French expedition, see Draper Collection, 40 Clark Mss., p. 114, p. 201, Spanish Papers; also 41 Clark Mss., p. 203, p. 206, p. 211, Spanish Papers.

After some months of correspondence, recruiting, boat-building, mustering of supplies, all seems to be in readiness, for Clark writes to DePauw,¹⁹ January 5, 1794, " * * * * I of course think it my duty to inform you that on or before the 20th of February it might be to your advantage to have your stores at the Falls (Louisville), as in all probability we shall descend the River by that time. * * * "

We are now at the climax of the Genet intrigue.²⁰ The whole business consisted of about 90% preparation and 10% failure. Among the adverse forces we read this in a letter²¹ written to the Spanish agents by Jefferson, from Philadelphia, August 29, 1793, in which he says, "Gentlemen: I have given an account to the President of the United States of your letter of the 27th inst., and of the printed matter²² enclosed, and am authorized to assure you that the President will employ all in his power to restrain the citizens of the United States from an enterprise of the sort proposed in the paper mentioned, by preventing in general their sharing in any hostility by land or sea against the subjects of Spain or its dominions.

"In conformity wherewith he has sent the printed matter to the Governor of Kentucky (Shelby) with instructions to watch with the strictest caution over any attempts that may be made there to incite the citizens of that state to take part

¹⁹ Clark Mss. 11, number 240, De Pauw Papers. Draper Collection.

²⁰ Clark Mss. 41, p. 203, Spanish Papers. Draper Collection.

²¹ Clark Mss. 11, number 202, Orderly Book. Draper Collection.

²² Clark Mss. 41, p. 206, Spanish Papers; also, American State Papers, Foreign Relations, I, 455, for Spanish Protest.

in that enterprise or any other, making use of whatever means are in his power to prevent this."

That Governor Shelby intends to enforce the above regulation may be gleaned from his letter²³ from Frankfort, November 28, 1793, to DePauw, in which he says. " * * * to this charge I must pay that attention which my present situation obliges me."

Apparently Jefferson sent similar instructions to Governor St. Clair, of the North West Territory, for Breckenridge says in a letter²⁴ to Shelby, from Beargrass, January 10, 1794, "A proclamation of St. Clair's appeared at the Falls the other day forbidding the citizens of the United States, North West of the Ohio, from engaging with certain French men in that expedition, or committing any other act which might involve the United States in a war with the Spaniards, and to observe a strict neutrality towards all the belligerent powers."

Another check on the conspiracy is imminent in the attitude of Portell, commander of New Madrid, expressed in his letter²⁵ to Governor Robertson, in which he says, "It is to be hoped that the majority of the American people will not tamely suffer a foreign Minister to exercise within their territory the powers of sovereignty, by issuing commissions and levying armies to be sent against a nation at peace with them. But should a few deluded people fall into the snares laid to entrap them, they must expect to find us not unprepared to receive them."

Still another counteracting element is to be found in Blount's letter²⁶ to Robertson, dated at Knoxville, January 18, 1794, wherein we read, "It is Sir, the duty of yourself, and every officer of the Government, to discountenance, and prevent by all legal ways, and means, the execution of a Plan, so replete with bad consequences to every part of our common Country and Interest, particularly to your Infant District

²³ Clark Mss. 11, number 199, DePauw Papers. Draper Collection.

²⁴ Clark Mss. 11, number 245. Draper Collection.

²⁵ Robertson Mss., vol 1, letter number 95.

²⁶ Robertson Mss., vol. 1, letter number 94.

* * *. These Schemes must proceed from the Machenations no doubt of that Jacobin Incendiary Genet, which is reason sufficient to make every honest mind revolt at the very Idea."

And, of course, the Spanish are all the while carrying on much correspondence, and whatever military preparation they are capable of, suspicious alike of the French, English, Americans and "Five Nations."

So if the expedition had actually become a reality, there would evidently have been plenty of physical resistance to overcome. But it was not physical resistance that finally killed the enterprise. Internal weakness ultimately caused it to collapse. American diplomats have revealed, via the famous "X. Y. Z." Papers, that the Revolutionary Committees of France were not sincere, but were mere bribe-seekers. The Genet intrigue became, in time, a victim of this corruption. Sam Fulton and General Clark began to realize this, and repeatedly filed claims for expenses upon the National Convention, thru M. Fauchet. But all to no avail! In spite of all the frontiersmen could do, the money simply was not forthcoming. Fulton even went to Paris to press their claims. There was a busy season of "passing the buck" among the French officials, as no one was able to certify the expense accounts. The result of the whole process was that Fulton was rendered much more ridiculous than successful.

This, then, is the rather ignoble end of Genet's western intrigue. It simply flickers out, risibly enough, like an elaborate lamp without oil.

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For brief sketches of Genet's mission in general:

1. Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History, IV.
2. The New International Encyclopedia, IX.
3. The Encyclopedia Americana, XII.
4. The American Encyclopedia, VII.

Secondary Works:

5. Ogg, F. A., *Opening the Mississippi*, New York, 1904.

6. Aulard, F. A., *Recueil des Actes du Comite de Salut Public*, vol. I, Paris, 1910.
 7. Clariborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, Jackson, 1880.
 8. Stevens, W. B., *Georgia*, vol. II, New York, 1859.
 9. Sherwood, Adiel, *Georgia Gazetteer*, Washington, 1837.
 10. Ramsay, David. *South Carolina*, vol. I, Charleston, 1809.
 11. Haywood, John, *Tennessee*, Knoxville, 1823.
 12. Butler, Mann, *Kentucky*, Cincinnati, 1836.
 13. Marshall, Humphrey, *Kentucky*, Frankfort, 1824.
 14. Roosevelt, Theodore, *Winning of the West*, vol. IV, New York, 1896.
 15. McMaster, J. B., *History of the People of the United States*, vol. II, N. Y., 1924.
 16. Winsor, Justin, *Narrative & Critical History of America*, vol. VII, N. Y., 1884.
- Source Material:
17. *Archives des Affaires Etrangeres*, vols. Louisiane, Florides, Espagne, and Etats-Unis.
 18. *Report of Canadian Archives, 1890-1894. Vermont Episode.*
 19. *Mangourit Correspondence*, Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1897.
 20. *American Historical Association Reports, 1896 and 1903.*
 21. *American Historical Review*, vols. II, III, and X.
 22. *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I.
 23. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I.
 24. *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I.
 25. Michaux, Andre, *Journal, Proceedings of American Phil. Soc.*, 1889.
 26. Dewitt, M. Thomas Jefferson, *Etude Historique sur la Democratie Americains*, Paris, 1861.

27. Richardson, J. D., Messages & Papers of the Presidents, Washington, 1899.

28. Pickering Papers, VII. Massachusetts Historical Society.

29. Draper Collections, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Clark, DePauw, J. Clark, Spanish, Hammond and Kings Mountain papers.

30. Genet, Ed. Chas. Ed., Communications on the Next Election for President, New York, 1795.

31. Genet, Ed. Chas. Ed., Correspondence With Officers of the Federal Government, and Instructions, Philadelphia, 1793.

32. Genet, Louis F. F., Edmond Charles Genet, First Minister Plenipotentiary from France to the United States. *Journal of American History*, vol. VI, no. 2, 1912.

33. Genet, George C., Washington, Jefferson and "Citizen" Genet, New York, 1899.

**AN ADDRESS GIVEN BEFORE THE ALUMNI AND
STUDENTS OF LINCOLN COLLEGE OF LAW AT
THEIR ANNUAL REUNION AT SPRING-
FIELD, ILLINOIS, JUNE 14, 1928.**

“The Laws in Force in Illinois Prior to its Statehood.”

By W. W. EDWARDS, DEAN.

Mr. President, Alumni and Students:

The foundations of the laws of Illinois were established long before the organization of the state and its admission as one of the United States. It is not my purpose, however, to explore the remote past to discover the origin of the legal principles upon which those foundations rest, but he who would understand our present laws must have a knowledge of certain events in the earlier history of our own country which were connected with the establishment of our national and state governments and left their impress upon them as they exist today. The events to which we shall refer to ascertain what laws were in force in the territory now within the State of Illinois prior to its statehood occurred within a period of some fifty-five or sixty years immediately preceding its admission to the Union and when we remember that so brief a period reaches back to colonial times we are surprised at the rapid development of government and law in America at that time.

The French and Indian war was the American phase of the Seven Years War in which European nations were involved, and here France and England contended for the possession of North America. Among the specific claims of France was the right to the region lying west of the Allegheny mountains, as part of the basins of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers, by virtue of their explorations of those great waterways. Both nations had founded settlements within

this territory, the inhabitants of which looked to their respective sovereigns for protection in person and property. "By the treaty of peace concluded at Paris in 1763 between France, Spain and Great Britain, the Province of Canada was ceded to Great Britain by France and that of Florida to the same power by Spain and the boundary between the French and British possessions in North America was ascertained by a line drawn through the middle of the Mississippi river from its source to the Iberville and from thence through the latter river and the lakes of Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea." (Wheaton, *International Law* (3 Eng. Ed.) p. 200), quoted in *Keokuk & Hamilton Bridge Co. vs. The People*, 145 Ill., 596, 602, where the court says: "The boundary line thus established * * was the middle line of the Mississippi river and it is clear that a line thus established between two governments would be the middle line of the main channel, or channel of commerce, so that each government might have a free and unobstructed navigation of the river. After peace had been established between the United States and England (at the close of the Revolution) the territory lying east of the Mississippi river passed into the hands of the United States and that on the west remained in the hands of France, the boundary line remaining the same as before." By the treaty of Paris, therefore, England retained the undisputed possession of that vast region located west of Pennsylvania, south of the Great Lakes, east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio river. But there arose conflicting claims among the colonies respecting their rights to portions of this territory, under their charters and grants, some of which purported to extend the colonial limits from coast to coast, and when in 1776 they became independent states though engaged in a mutual effort to maintain and establish that independence by force of arms, each state was exceedingly jealous of its own sovereignty, powers and possessions. At the time of the Revolution the region above described including the present State of Illinois, was within the territorial limits of Virginia and in 1778 was organized as the county of Illinois—(Penny

vs. Little, 4 Ill., 301, 308.) Three other states—New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, laid claim to it, or portions of it, by virtue of their charters or grants. The states had found that their success in the war for independence would be hastened, and their mutual interests promoted by forming a closer union and delegating to congress greater powers exercisable by that body in the capacity of a federal (or at least a federated) government; and further, that having gained independence, some form of national government would be necessary, for the well being of the states. Therefore, on July 9, 1778, the delegates of the states in congress assembled, adopted the “Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States.” The purpose and spirit of this action which have characterized all subsequent constitutions adopted, state as well as federal, are indicated by the first three articles.

Art. 1. The style of this confederacy shall be “The United States of America.”

Art. 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence; and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in congress assembled.

Art. 3. The said states hereby enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.” Much might be said of the noble and patriotic motives revealed in these three articles; but this is foreign to our present purpose. What claims our attention now is that perpetual union and friendship among the states and the people of the different states was the ideal to be attained, and all provisions of this wonderful instrument were framed with this in view. It is evident that conflicting claims of different states to any portion of the territory within the union must tend to defeat the purpose of the confederation,

endanger its perpetuity and prevent the cultivation of friendship among the people, and therefore the congress, though it had no power to compel any action by the states for the settlement of the controversy, by an act of Sept. 6, 1780, "recommended to the several states having claims to waste and unoccupied (unappropriated) lands in the western country, a liberal cession to the United States of a portion of their claims for the common benefit of the union." (The articles of confederation provided that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States. (Art. IX). This recommendation was not received with equal favor by the four states concerned, but was finally acceded to by all of them. New York was the first to comply by a cession of all its claims in 1781. The legislature of Virginia also by an Act of January 2, 1781, "did yield to the Congress of the United States for the benefit of said states, all right, title and claim * * * to the territory northwest of the Ohio river" subject to certain conditions annexed to such act of cession. These conditions need not be stated in this connection because they were not fully approved by the congress, and the cession was not then effected. September 13, 1782, another Act was passed by Congress which stipulated the terms upon which the cession would be accepted should the legislature approve thereof. The fine spirit of the leaders and representatives of the people of Virginia was manifested in an Act passed by the legislature, December 20, 1783, which recited the above facts and declared that "while the terms prescribed do not come fully up to the propositions of this commonwealth, they are considered on the whole to approach so nearly to them as to induce this state to accept thereof in full confidence that congress will, in justice to this state for the cession she hath made, earnestly press upon the other states claiming large tracts of waste and uncultivated territory the propriety of making cessions equally liberal for the common benefit and support of the union." The Act authorized and empowered the delegates of the State of Virginia in the Congress of the United States, for and in behalf of the state by proper deeds under

their hands and seals, to convey * * unto the United States *** all right, title and claim as well of soil as of jurisdiction, which this commonwealth has to the territory or tract of country within the bounds of the Virginia charter situate * * to the northwest of the river Ohio. Two important stipulations contained in the Act of Congress and accepted in Act of the Legislature are these:

1. The territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into states embracing suitable extent of territory not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square or as near thereto as circumstances will admit.

2. The states so formed shall be distinct republican states and members of the federal union having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states. These provisions afford further evidence of the intention that the union of the states should be perpetual and that the sovereignty and independence of each should be preserved.

In pursuance of the Act of December 20, 1783, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, the delegates representing Virginia in congress, on March 1, 1784, by a deed duly executed, conveyed to the United States all title and claim of said state to the territory mentioned. "From that time except as to reservations expressed in the deed Virginia had no more claim to, or jurisdiction over said territory than any other state of the union." (McCool vs. Smith, 66 U. S., (1 Black) 459.) The reservations referred to were certain lands known as the Virginia Military District lying within the limits of the present State of Ohio. Massachusetts in 1785 and Connecticut in 1786 made like cessions of their claims the latter reserving what was known as the Western Reserve also lying within the present State of Ohio. By these cessions that vast though sparsely settled region, destined within a century to be transformed, to have millions of inhabitants, with its fertile soil and its abundant mineral deposits yielding products of untold value; its populous cities great commercial and industrial centers; its schools, colleges and universities providing the youth with every opportunity

for intellectual training; its churches, whose spires point heavenward in every city, village and hamlet and at whose altars are drunk deep draughts of spiritual truth, inspiring the worshipers to purity of life and noble deeds for the moral uplift of humanity—this incomparable region destined to become the seat of the highest type of civilization, was transferred from the jurisdiction of the government and laws of the state of which it constituted a part, to that of the United States in congress assembled. It became the duty of congress therefore, to provide at once some form of local government and laws for this territory and in discharge of its duty on July 13, 1787, that legislative body enacted “An Ordinance for the Government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio.” This is known as the “Ordinance of 1787” and the territory created and governed by it as the “Northwest Territory.” This was the first attempt to establish a territorial government and was specifically declared to be a temporary provision. It was the beginning of a system of government based upon a new and distinct idea differing from colonial governments in this, that colonies are considered as dependencies and are expected to remain such, while a territory is contemplated as an inchoate state which, in due time, is to be admitted into the union upon an equality with other states. It must be remembered that when this ordinance was enacted the Constitutional Convention which had been authorized by congress, was in session and had under consideration the modification of the Articles of Confederation and the provisions of the ordinance were in some measure affected thereby. The terms upon which the cession of this territory had been accepted also made it necessary to provide for the ultimate admission to the union of states so formed, hence the territorial government must be of a temporary character. This memorable instrument which was the supreme law in the territory now within the limits of the State of Illinois, presented three distinct features: (1) Legislative, (2) Constitutional, (3) Provisions in the nature of a compact.

1. Legislative—It established a rule of descent and distribution of estates of both resident and non-resident proprietors dying intestate, the substance of which is embodied in the present statutes of this State. It provided for the disposition of property by will; for the conveyance of real estate by lease and release or by bargain and sale, and for the transfer of personal property by delivery. It saved “to the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias and St. Vincents and the neighboring villages who professed themselves citizens of Virginia, the laws and customs in force among them relative to the descent and conveyance of property.” This saving clause was necessary to give effect to one of the conditions in the deed of transfer by Virginia to the United States, the acceptance of which imposed upon the latter the duty to have the possession and titles of the citizens named confirmed to them and to protect them in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties. (*Moore vs. Hill*, 1 Ill., 236, 238). The ordinance did not compel these citizens to devise and convey their property in accordance with their laws and customs. It simply gave them the privilege of doing so. Wills and deeds of conveyance conforming to the requirements of the Act of 1787 and the common law were unquestionably valid. (*Lavelle vs. Strobel*, 89 Ill., 370, 380). The provision was permissive but not mandatory. This section (Sec. 2) of the ordinance also expressly saved to the widow of an intestate a third part of his real estate for her life and a third part of his personal estate and provided that this law of descent and dower should remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district.

In *McMurphy vs. Boyles*, 49 Ill., 110, 113, the court says: “From the time of the Ordinance of 1787 to the year 1845 a widow was entitled to one-third of the personal property absolutely after the payment of debts, even though the husband left children surviving. This having been always the law of this territory and state was universally known to our

people and the share of the widow was popularly denominated 'the widow's third.' "

2. Constitutional—The provisions of the Ordinance to which we here apply the term "constitutional" are those which establish the departments of the territorial government, designate the persons (or officers) who shall exercise the powers conferred and prescribe the manner of their selection and the qualifications essential to their eligibility. With these we are not now concerned. It may be interesting, however, to observe that the chief officers were a Governor, Territorial Secretary, a court consisting of three judges, all of whom were appointed by the congress; that the governor and the judges in addition to their respective judicial and executive powers, were directed and authorized to adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district and to report them to congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved by congress, but afterwards the legislature shall have power to alter them as they shall see fit. It was also provided that so soon as there should be five thousand free male inhabitants of full age in the district * * * they should receive authority to elect representatives to the General Assembly (or Legislature). This body was to consist of the Governor, the Legislative Council and House of Representatives. The Legislative Council was to consist of five members selected by congress from ten nominated by the House of Representatives from its own membership. The number of Representatives was one for every five hundred free male inhabitants, and increasing proportionately with the population until the number should reach twenty-five. The General Assembly thus constituted was given authority to make laws in all cases for the good government of the district not repugnant to the principles and articles in the Ordinance established.

3. Compact—The Ordinance then declared that for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty as the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are created; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws and constitutions which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide also for the establishment of states and permanent government therein and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original states at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interests it is ordained that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent. The articles referred to are six in number, some of which are clearly relevant to our present discussion as indicating that this Ordinance embodied fundamental principles which are of the very substance of our present laws and so deeply imbedded in American jurisprudence that the two are inseparable.

Art. 1. No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in the said territory.

Art. 2. The inhabitants of said territory shall always be entitled to the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury, of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the common law. All persons shall be bailable unless for capital offenses where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great; fines shall be moderate; no man shall be deprived of liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; compensation shall be made for property taken or services demanded for common preservation, &c.

Art. 3. Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged * * * .

Art. 5. Provided for the future division of the territory into not less than three nor more than five states and described the boundaries that should be fixed for the three states and become established as soon as Virginia should alter her act of cession and consent to the same. (Virginia complied with this by an act of the legislature of Dec. 30, 1788). The boundaries of the western state which included the present State of Illinois were fixed as follows: "The Western State shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents (now Vincennes, Indiana,) due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and the Mississippi."

Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his labor or service as aforesaid.

Though the different parts of the Ordinance may, as respects each other, be distinguished as legislative, constitutional and in the nature of a compact, the entire Act considered in respect to the territorial legislature had the same controlling influence as a constitution has over the legislature of a state and its provisions ceased to be binding only when abrogated by the common consent of the United States and the people of the states formed in said territory. Whenever they agreed that the whole or any part of such Ordinance should be repealed it became a dead letter. When, therefore, the people of Illinois adopted a constitution and the state was admitted to the Union by Congress this common consent was manifested and so much of the Ordinance as conflicted with the State Constitution was thereby abrogated. (*Phoebe vs. Jay*, 1 Ill., 207, 210; *Sarah vs. Borders*, 5 Ill. (4 Scammon),

341; *People vs. United States*, 93 Ill., 30, 34; *Permosti vs. First Municipality*, 3 How. (U. S.), 589.)

The adoption of the Constitution of the United States vesting in the President the executive and appointive powers previously exercised by Congress under the Articles of Confederation made it necessary to modify the Ordinance of 1787 in respect to the selection of territorial officers but as to all other matters it remained unchanged. By successive Acts of Congress the Northwest Territory was divided, each Act setting apart a certain portion as a separate territory with its local territorial government of a temporary character to be supplanted later by a state government and by the admission of the new state into the Union. Each of these Acts preserved to the inhabitants of such territory "all the rights, privileges and advantages secured to the people by the Ordinance of 1787." Upon the passage of such an Act the portion of the original territory not included therein, proceeded by authority of Congress to form a state government and secure admission to the federal Union. The first Act dividing the territory was enacted May 7, 1800, by which on July 4 of that year the Territory of Indiana was established. This included all of the Northwest Territory except the eastern part, which was organized as the State of Ohio and was admitted to the Union February 19, 1803. In the same manner the Indiana Territory was divided February 3, 1809, and "for the purposes of a temporary government" * * * a separate territory called Illinois was established, and the residue of Indiana Territory was admitted as a state December 11, 1816. This process of division and the organization of states was continued until in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance five states were formed out of the Northwest Territory, the others being Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. The method of procedure then adopted established a precedent which has been followed ever since and is as follows: Congress passes an Enabling Act authorizing the people of a territory to form a constitution and state government; fixing the boundaries of the proposed state and prescribing the condi-

tions upon which admission to the Union may be secured. On compliance with such conditions in a manner approved by Congress the state is admitted. It is to be observed that whenever a division of the territory was made and a new state formed and admitted to the Union and the residue of the territory organized under a territorial government such organization conformed to the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 and the local laws selected or enacted remained in force until altered or repealed by the territorial officers or legislature. It was the province of that body when formed to enact such laws not repugnant to the Ordinance or to the Constitution of the United States as were deemed necessary for the government of the people within the territory. The legislature of Illinois Territory, December 13, 1812, passed an Act declaring that all laws passed by the legislature of Indiana Territory, which were in force on March 1, 1809, and were of a general nature and not local to Indiana Territory and which were not repealed by the Governor and Judges of Illinois Territory were in full force and effect in said territory. (Hays vs. Borders, 6 Ill., 46, 54.)

By this quite incomplete review of the events which affected the development of local government and laws in the territory embraced in the present State of Illinois as they affected the development of local government and laws, we have endeavored to show what laws (using the term in a broad and comprehensive sense) were in force successively prior to the organization of the State government and the admission of the State as one of the United States.

In concluding this recital of the events affecting the development of government and laws within the territory now embraced in the State of Illinois prior to its admission as a State of the United States, it would seem proper to present a summary of our discussion to show as nearly as possible in the order of time, the laws in force during that period.

1. Prior to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation June 9, 1778, and subsequent thereto until the cession of

March 1, 1784, this territory was subject to the laws in force in Virginia, of which colony and state it was a part.

2. After March 1, 1784, it was subject to such laws as Congress might, under the Articles of Confederation, establish for local government.

3. The Ordinance of 1787 was enacted by Congress under the Articles of Confederation, and was a fundamental law for the territory.

4. The Constitution of the United States upon its adoption became the supreme law within the territory but did not abrogate the Ordinance of 1787. The latter, modified so as to adapt it to the United States Constitution, remained in force until a state government was established.

5. Laws enacted by the territorial government in accordance with (1) The Ordinance of 1787, (2) The United States Constitution.

FUNDAMENTALISM AND MODERNISM IN A PIONEER COLLEGE.

BY CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP,* PRESIDENT OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE

The recent controversy between "Fundamentalists" and "Modernists" in this country not only brings home to all thinking men the fact that the fight for intellectual freedom has not yet been won, but it calls to mind some of the battles which our educational and religious forefathers fought for larger freedom of opinion and speech. The greater episodes in that age-long struggle, like the persecution of Galileo and the fight for religious freedom in colonial Massachusetts are, of course, well known but they are only a small part of the whole story. Here and there, often in obscure places, in ages remote and near, skirmishes and real battles have been fought. Our colleges and universities, as well as our theological seminaries, have often been the storm centers of this conflict. The approaching centenary of Illinois College in the Middle West turns attention not only to the contributions which that institution has made to the educational development of its section of the country but also to its share in the struggle for "academic freedom." While largely devoted, like all early colleges, to the training of men for the Christian ministry, the school stood resolutely for a reasonable liberty of thought in both religion and politics.

For the purpose of this paper it is not necessary to recount the history of the founding of Illinois College, tempting though it may be to tell again the story of that band of devoted young missionaries who, led by John M. Ellis and Thomas Lippincott among those already on the ground, and by Mason Grosvenor, Theron Baldwin and Julian M. Sturtevant

* The Yale University Press will publish, in November, *Illinois College: A Centennial History*, by Charles H. Rammelkamp, President of the College, a prospectus of which, members of the Society will soon receive. This volume will be a valuable contribution to the educational history of Illinois.—Editor.

from Yale, laid enduring foundations of culture and religion on the Illinois frontier. It must suffice to recall that it was in 1829 that the "Yale Band," with the official endorsement of President Jeremiah Day and the promise of support from the American Home Missionary Society, set forth on their historic journey to the new country. Sturtevant and Baldwin led the way, to be followed in a few years by the others who had pledged their lives to the cause. It was a much more constructive venture than had been undertaken by any previous home missionaries, combining, as it did, both religious and educational objects. Missionaries often accomplished little on the frontier, because their efforts were so isolated and spasmodic. But this new band from Yale were going out to plant and harvest, as a *group*. They pledged themselves to establish an institution of learning; all were to co-operate for the welfare of the proposed college, some as teachers in the school, and others as missionaries, working in their respective communities, preaching the gospel, establishing churches and Sabbath schools, and sending promising young men to the College. As they labored, their work expanded and their vision widened until the whole public school system of the new state felt their influence. They not only founded Illinois College, but through various individuals of the group, they gave timely aid to such well known western colleges as Grinnell, Wabash, Knox, Monticello Seminary, Oberlin and Beloit in their years of struggling infancy. But naturally it was in Illinois College, their own school as it were, that their greatest work was done, and it was from this institution that their most potent influence radiated. Needless to say, their work was not accomplished without struggle and conflict. In common with all other early colleges, the institution had its financial difficulties which certainly would have dashed it to pieces if stout hearts had not been at the helm. But probably still more harassing were the bitter controversies over religious and sectarian questions and the great issue of slavery. Although the phrase "academic freedom" was not used in those days, that was in fact the real issue presented to this

early faculty and board of trustees as they endeavored to build up a real institution of higher learning. It is this phase of the institution's history which brings it into relation with a larger conflict which has continued from that day to this.

A surprisingly able faculty of young men, led by President Edward Beecher, brother of Henry Ward Beecher, undertook the work of instruction. They became not only leaders of educational enterprises in the new country but real pioneers of truth among the people whom they served. The frontier, in spite of its occasional radicalism in politics, was usually very conservative in religion, so far as it had any religion. Ignorance and prejudice had to be dispelled before the early settlers could be led to entertain or countenance enlightened views on the subject of religion. They looked with strong suspicion upon these "wise men from the East" who would lead them into new paths of religious thought. The earliest backwoods preachers, although often men of power, were not usually conspicuous for their learning and they looked with jealous as well as suspicious eyes on the younger and better educated men who began to come across the mountains with the swelling tide of settlement. Peter Cartwright, that picturesque personality whose powerful sermons often drove men into the "Kingdom" in spite of themselves, remarked to a congregation, which included young Sturtevant of the Illinois College faculty, that he was glad that he had not wasted four years of his life rubbing his back against the walls of a college¹. On another occasion he said of one of the new Presbyterian missionaries sent to the town of Springfield: "He was a very well-educated man and had regularly studied theology in some of the eastern states where they manufacture young preachers like they do lettuce in hot houses." He urged the young man to "quit reading his old manuscript sermons and learn to speak extemporaneously," suggesting further "that if he did not adopt this manner of preaching the Methodists would set the whole western world on fire before he would light his match."²

¹ Sturtevant, J. M., *Autobiography*, 162.

² Cartwright, Peter, *Autobiography*, 307, 308.

Robert W. Patterson, an early alumnus of Illinois College, in his very interesting description of "Early Society in Southern Illinois" refers to a pioneer minister who had great difficulty in reading the Bible and for whom he himself often read the text. Nor will Governor Ford's interesting picture of the backwoods preacher be forgotten. "As many of these preachers were nearly destitute of learning and knowledge," he remarks, "they made up in loud hallooing and violent action what they lacked in information. And it was a matter of astonishment to what length they could spin out a sermon embracing only a few ideas. The merit of a sermon was measured somewhat by the length of it, by the flowery language of the speaker and by his vociferation and violent gestures."³ The picture may be somewhat overdrawn, but one must recall these conditions of intellectual darkness in order to appreciate the discouraging problem which the new missionaries and founders of schools and colleges faced when they came to the prairies of Illinois in the late twenties and early thirties. Narrow sectarian rivalries added to the difficulties of the situation. It might seem that under the conditions then existing on the frontier, educated Christian people would have united and worked harmoniously for the advancement of the Kingdom of God, but, on the contrary, strife and faction often rent the forces of righteousness. Young Sturtevant, the first instructor in Illinois College, coming fresh from his studies at New Haven, was greatly distressed by the discord which divided Christian people on the frontier. "In Illinois," he writes, "I met for the first time a divided Christian community, and was plunged without warning or preparation into a sea of sectarian rivalries, which was kept in constant agitation, not only by real differences of opinion, but by ill-judged discussions and unfortunate personalities among ambitious men." "No words," he continues, "can express the shock which my mind experienced. The transition from those harmonious and united Christian communities in which my life had hitherto been passed, to this realm of confusion and re-

³Ford, Thomas, *History of Illinois*, 39-40.

ligious anarchy was almost overpowering.”⁴ The members of the college faculty, sincere scholars and earnest seekers after truth as nearly all of them were, naturally sought to answer both for themselves and for their students, some of the deep questions in religion and philosophy, and it is not to be doubted that they were more inclined than the people among whom they had settled, both to discuss and accept new ideas. In Illinois, as elsewhere, it was the old story of the evolution of truth from discussion and controversy. These theological discussions in the early history of this pioneer college were probably intensified by that sectarian rivalry just mentioned, especially by the general feeling of antagonism which existed between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians. In those days there were comparatively few Congregationalists in the Middle West. Indeed it will be remembered that the two denominations had, early in the nineteenth century, entered into a scheme of friendly co-operation known as the “Plan of Union.” The agreement was resulting, practically, in turning over the pioneer West to the Presbyterians. In time the Congregationalists, however, began to realize that the “Plan of Union” would prove detrimental to their denomination; that if their church was really to prosper it must be free to expand and develop wherever opportunity offered. Unless they were content to become a strictly local and declining denomination, the Congregationalists must inevitably compete with other denominations for the religious possession of the new West.

The foundations of Illinois College had hardly been laid when its founders and faculty were forced to stand trial for heresy. As early as 1833, a certain zealous defender of the faith, the Reverend William J. Frazer, made formal charges of heresy against President Beecher, William Kirby and Professor Sturtevant. It will not be worth while to go into the details of this trial. Suffice it to say that Presbytery “by a large majority” acquitted the accused professors. Mr. Frazer appealed to Synod, but in the end did not push the case.⁵

⁴ Sturtevant, J. M., *Autob.*, 160-163.

⁵ Sturtevant, J. M., *Autob.*, 183, 198, 200. Norton, A. T., *Hist. of the Presby. Church in Ill.*, I., 194, 215.

The young men from Yale were, of course, familiar with the "Plan of Union" and to a certain extent acquiesced in the terms of that agreement, even consenting in the beginning that the college should be Presbyterian in character."⁶ Nevertheless, they could not entirely throw off their Congregational sympathies. Although they and their brethren joined the local Presbyterian churches in Illinois and united with that denomination in missionary and general religious work, they still longed for that system of church organization which they had left behind in New England. The hope that some day the Congregational system might be established in Illinois soon filled their hearts. Nor is it surprising that Jacksonville, with its college of New England origin, became, as it were, the capital of early Congregationalism in Illinois, although the first church of that denomination in the state was organized elsewhere. It is not very profitable to enter into the details of the sectarian controversies that arose between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in Illinois and elsewhere in the Middle West, but these controversies, needless to say, were frequently the occasion for conflicts over the broader issue of a reasonable liberty of thought and teaching.

When members of the college faculty began to show tendencies towards even slight liberalism in religion, the more orthodox brethren at once raised a protest. President Beecher and his colleagues on the early faculty of Illinois College were all more or less "guilty" of these liberal tendencies. The members of the faculty had organized a kind of private club in which they discussed theological doctrines very freely, but always behind closed doors. In these discussions, Jonathan Baldwin Turner, the Professor of Rhetoric, seems to have been especially fertile in new ideas. Rumors of heretical tendencies and influences soon began to circulate. Professor Sturtevant, for example, was accused of having consorted with heretics because, forsooth, on one occasion he had dared to preach to a congregation of "Campbellites" and even take communion with them. Adams, the Professor of Chemistry,

⁶ Mss. Records of Ill. Assn. 18.

who was not an ordained minister, was severely criticised because he was preaching regularly and it was said he had even ventured on one occasion to pronounce the benediction. Professor Turner got into a bitter epistolary controversy with Robert W. Patterson, the alumnus of the college already mentioned, then pastor of a church in Chicago and later first President of Lake Forest College.⁷ Turner had been accused of denying "the divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit." It is evident from the private correspondence of the time that Mr. Patterson, notwithstanding his connection with the college, was one of the chief agents in spreading rumors against its religious orthodoxy.

Professor Sturtevant was greatly disturbed by this controversy. Being a man of sincere convictions and a scholar of broad views, he stood firmly for a reasonable freedom of the faculty to discuss religious and theological subjects. He insisted that the only question which the public had a right to ask regarding a member of the faculty was this: Is he a good man and a capable teacher? Writing to his friend Theron Baldwin, he thus summarizes the position of the faculty: "Our responsibilities are great; I feel them. But we are not responsible alone. The Trustees are responsible, too, and the responsibilities of all of us are not to the passion, the prejudice, the bigotry of this or that religious circle, but to reason, to conscience and to God."⁸

A very lengthy and frank correspondence ensued on this subject between Sturtevant and Baldwin. The latter was evidently inclined to be conservative and even somewhat critical in his attitude towards the faculty of the college. Sturtevant, on the other hand, was constantly arguing for freedom of thought and the right to express it. His views on this important principle in religion and education deserve to be quoted

⁷ R. W. Patterson to J. B. Turner, Chicago, Oct. 28; Dec. 10, 1844;

J. B. Turner to R. W. Patterson, Illinois College, November; Dec. 4, 1844. Unless otherwise stated, letters quoted in this paper are manuscripts in the archives of the college.

⁸ J. M. Sturtevant to Theron Baldwin, Illinois College, May 2, 1843; Theron Baldwin to J. M. Sturtevant, Monticello, May 16, 30, 1843.

at length. He wrote, on May 12th, 1843, to his friend Baldwin:

“I think with you that the present emergency calls for a ‘little friendly correspondence’—yes, for a full and free expression of sentiments between those who have so long stood shoulder to shoulder in the enterprise of founding Illinois College. For that enterprise to fail is for me to fail in the great effort of my life upon which years of care and toil have been expended. If it fails because the Providence of God is against it, I can bear it; but the idea of its failing through any follies or blunders of ours is not tolerable. I hope, therefore, that you will find in me no disposition either to conceal any of my views or to take offense at any degree of freedom with which you may express yours. Do not indulge the idea for a moment that I regarded you as interfering for the purpose of ‘straightening’ us here at the college. Your letter was not regarded in that light for a moment. I am not in that direction sensitive. I am willing to be called in question in a kind and proper manner by any one and certainly by you. * * *

This leads me to present this subject in another point of light in which it seems to me it is not often viewed. The Faculty of this College have rights; they have claims upon the justice, the kindness and the sympathy of the friends of learning and religion in this State which cannot be disregarded without offending God and bringing disaster upon the interests of Society. We are in circumstances of great difficulty and trial. We are called to sacrifice almost everything we have to sacrifice, to the public weal. We not unfrequently find it very difficult to get the means of purchasing the necessities of life for our families. I do not mean that we are starving or likely to starve, but I mean that we are on so short allowance that we cannot help feeling some anxiety before one barrel of flour is gone as to the question how we are to get another—a question which it has just taken me nearly a week to answer. Now, how long is it to be expected that we will continue in these circumstances if we still find that

those who should sustain us and sympathize with us—distrust us—speak evil of us—and suspect us? As these murmurs have come in upon me during the past six months I have many times felt that this addition to my *burden* is more than I can bear. I have no idea of resigning—no, this is my *home* and I shall bear as well as I can what is laid on me here—I *shall not flee*—but if this course is persisted in, will it not be likely to disorganize our Faculty? If so, can we organize another as good or nearly as good? Is there not a danger in this direction which threatens the College and which ought to be looked to? You cannot perhaps very easily imagine the faintness of heart which has resulted from these causes during the present year. I feel that the Trustees must look into these matters and unless there are some good reasons to the contrary, afford us the assurance of their confidence and cordial support—especially that they will be ready to defend our right to that latitude of opinion which we must enjoy, or we can neither respect ourselves or be respected by others. In my opinion this is the easiest as well as the most righteous mode of defending the reputation of the College. In this way, it can be defended as long as the Faculty are really good men.” * * *

A little later this theological controversy became so serious that a committee was appointed by the Presbyterian Synod of the State to investigate the charges of heresy made against the Faculty of the College. The committee came to Jacksonville to confer with the members of the Board of Trustees, and lodged a formal complaint against the Faculty. It may easily be imagined that the members of the Faculty were greatly aroused by the appointment of this committee and the formal presentation of charges. Sturtevant was convinced that “if Synod had wished to kill the College at a blow, they would have found it difficult to devise a step more directly tending to that result.”

At first the committee refused to confer personally with members of the Faculty, but at length consented to be present at a meeting of the Board of Trustees, which the Faculty were

also invited to attend. After listening to the discussions, the Trustees, be it said to their honor, were not convinced that the College was harboring a set of heretical professors and passed a series of resolutions expressing confidence in the religious views of the instructors. Perhaps more important than these resolutions as evidence of the confidence of the Trustees in the Faculty, was the action of the Board at this same meeting in electing one of the so-called heretics, Professor Sturtevant, President of the College. But as the years came and went, the theological thunder clouds kept gathering and their reverberations caused many a conflict among people who should have stood shoulder to shoulder for the great cause of religion and education. The details of these controversies, often involving bitter personal rivalries and reflections on the motives and characters of men, need not detain us. However, a vital principle in higher education, the liberty of free investigation and of free expression of opinion, was at stake and, therefore, the broad issues deserve consideration.

The sectarian differences between Presbyterians and Congregationalists continued to stir up trouble and forced the authorities of the College to face the larger issues of toleration and academic freedom. The Presbyterians, looking with increasing jealousy at the growing strength of the Congregationalists in the West, insisted that their interests in Illinois College should be more securely safeguarded. President Sturtevant at first had little patience with the suggestion of yielding to such pressure, but in time, influenced by the advice of his friend Baldwin, he was willing to make some concessions to the Presbyterian party. In 1846 a committee had been sent out by the important eastern "Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West" to investigate the western colleges. The scope of the investigation was apparently to be broad, extending to religious as well as educational and financial conditions. Many of the Faculty looked with considerable suspicion upon this committee from the East who came especially to "get on the

scent" of any heresies which might be lurking around in out of the way places. Nevertheless, it must be said to the credit of this committee that it performed its delicate task in a reasonable manner and its report was, in the main, an endorsement of the College. The only member of the Faculty whose views on theology they questioned and perhaps feared, was Professor Turner. Referring to the Faculty generally, the committee reported:

"They are men of great transparency of character. Their views are too enlarged and elevated to admit of their being bigots in religion, or partisans in politics. We believe them to be men of sound piety. No one questions their intellectual ability and that they are honestly and enthusiastically devoted to the cause of education on these western prairies, their personal sacrifices and firm endurance amid the discouragements of years bear ample testimony. We cannot but honor them for their perseverance. We cannot but acknowledge their superiority to many others who, having engaged with a good degree of zeal in similar enterprises, have fainted under far less embarrassments. It gives us pleasure to add that they have a hold on leading minds in the State of Illinois which could not be easily loosened."

The broad issues of toleration in religion and freedom in academic teaching naturally came to a practical test whenever new members of the Faculty or the Board of Trustees were to be chosen. The issue also flared up in a disconcerting manner whenever funds had to be raised in order to keep the institution going. The Reverend Augustus T. Norton of Alton, a leading Presbyterian minister of the State, and the author of a well known "History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Illinois," stood forth as an ardent champion of the interests of that denomination and a stalwart guardian of orthodox views. It was proposed that an "even balance" should be maintained between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians on the Board of Trustees. President Sturtevant, anxious as far as possible, to allay the tumult of denominational jealousies and to win generous financial support

for the College, drew up an agreement along these lines and even journeyed south to consult the "Oracle of Alton," as he calls Mr. Norton. The latter approved the suggestion but thought it might be still better if some division of *property* were guaranteed in case the College ever came under the exclusive control of one denomination.⁹ These negotiations are interesting because they show the meaning of sectarianism in higher education. Since the President and Trustees had to depend in no small degree upon Presbyterian support in a critical financial campaign just then under way, the controversy created, indeed, a difficult situation. Sturtevant, having expressed his convictions, wisely decided to leave the final decision to his Trustees. He expressed himself frankly to his intimate friend: "I must therefore leave the responsibility with the Trustees. If they revolutionize the institution, I must resign and seek another field of usefulness. If the Trustees stand firm, I see no cause for despair. If they yield, I can stand at the head of the enterprise no longer."¹⁰ When Baldwin learned about the situation, he protested strongly against the idea of acceding to Norton's plan. "My very soul," he writes, "rises up against the idea of an assumption on the part of the Board that they have a right to partition out that great and sacred inheritance to claimants that may come in and assert that they are legal heirs. * * * Principles are involved in this matter that are fundamental and immense in their sweep. * * * The ecclesiastical spirit is up, nevertheless, and its demands will be steady and persistent and I would not treat the case of Illinois College as one of local interest merely, but as involving principles which strike far and wide upon the great educational system."¹¹ He also sent a communication on the subject to be read to the Trustees. When the latter assembled for their annual meeting at the commencement season of 1856, the question of ecclesiastical control was not even introduced, for evidently the members of the Board who favored Mr. Norton's plan saw the futility of bringing up the question.

⁹ J. M. Sturtevant to Theron Baldwin, Illinois College, April 23, 1856.

¹⁰ J. M. Sturtevant to Theron Baldwin, Ill. Coll., June 2, 1856.

¹¹ Theron Baldwin to J. M. Sturtevant, N. Y., June 11, 1856.

The resolute independence of President Sturtevant and his devotion to the cause of intellectual freedom in the College became still more evident in connection with an article which he had published in the *New Englander* in the fall of 1857. This article, dealing in a frank spirit with certain controverted questions, aroused criticism and feeling in some quarters, and in the midst of the campaign for funds, a member of the Board of Trustees expressed to the President his disapproval of the article and warned him "of the evil consequences likely to result from such publications." This trustee furthermore attempted to induce Dr. Sturtevant to pledge himself to a policy of silence on such subjects in the future. The President's reply was what might have been expected; evidently aroused by the interview, he told the Board member in plain words that he would at once resign if the Trustees of the College believed that he had "in the smallest degree violated the strictest proprieties" of his position. He insisted that he did not care to retain his place "at the expense of the smallest portion of my individual liberty to bear my full part in the progress of mind in my generation," that he would not give his sanction "expressed or implied to any principle which would deprive any college officer of any portion of his freedom of utterance." It was certainly a fine, courageous reply and it must have made a wholesome impression upon the complaining trustee for the latter at once assured the President that no thought of his resignation could be entertained.¹²

Undoubtedly President Sturtevant performed a great service for the cause of higher education, not only in Illinois College but throughout the West, by his vigorous protest against narrow denominational control of colleges. It is doubtful whether there was any educator in the country, at that time, who saw more clearly the dangers of a narrow, sectarian control of higher education. He maintained, in both private and public discussions, on the platform and in the

¹² J. M. Sturtevant to Theron Baldwin, Ill. Coll., June 1, 1858.

periodical press, that ecclesiastical control of higher education was as dangerous as political control. In his opinion, political and ecclesiastical bodies were "alike constituted for other ends than the management of literary institutions; and these primary ends for which they exist, will always be paramount in their proceedings and reduce all other interests which they may attempt to embrace and take care of, to a subordinate position." Furthermore he saw, what the subsequent years have demonstrated, that the sectarian spirit in higher education would only "multiply feeble and starvling enterprises to destroy one another by their mutual rivalries." He was sure there was only one remedy:—"The very spirit and principle of denominationalism must be abjured in our colleges. We must found them upon a broad, comprehensive platform of Evangelical Faith. We must co-operate in sustaining them as Christians and not as Sectarians * * * we must esteem them as precious, not as the instruments of aggrandizing our denomination but as blessings to our country, to mankind and to the distant future."¹³

The founders and early faculty of Illinois College were not by any means what one would call today radicals in theology. Far from it. They did, however, stand in their day for broad views in religion and they had a vision of the meaning of a reasonable liberty of thought in an educational institution. Standing resolutely for that principle, they made an important contribution to enlightened religion as well as to the development of higher education in the Middle West.

¹³ Sturtevant, J. M., *Denominational Colleges in N. Englander* XVIII (1860), 68.



GENERAL U. S. GRANT

GALENA'S MEMORIES OF GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

BY FLORENCE GRATIOT BALE.*

“The North hill, the South hill
And all along the Seven hills
Which lift beyond,
Turn out! Congeal on parade,
Not every town will see a warrior pass.”
—Mac Kinlay Kantor
(“General Grant in Galena”).

Very few towns can have such an honored memory as Galena, Illinois, has in its history; and it justly reveres and treasures the valuable record of one of its citizens, who left Galena at the call to arms, in the dark days of civil strife.

The association of General U. S. Grant with the life of Galena will always form a very important part in the History of the Rebellion, for it was the town he left in the Month of May, 1861—to take his place in the great conflict between the North and South; at this time he was a quiet, unassuming, unknown man in Galena life; with a fair record as Captain in the Mexican War, and was a clerk in his father's Leather Store with a salary of \$600.00 per year; the elder Grant had a tannery in Covington, Kentucky—and shipped the output to the Galena Branch, wholesaling it to the surrounding territory.

In April 1860, U. S. Grant and wife with their four children, Frederick, Ulysses, Jr., Jesse and Nellie landed on the old Levee in Galena; they had left St. Louis behind them where fortune had not been kind or generous, and U. S. Grant's venture into the Commercial life of the most import-

*Note.—Florence Gratiot Bale (Mrs. William Grant Bale) is a resident of Galena and a niece of the late Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, Secretary of State, during Grant's administration and later Minister to France.

ant town north of St. Louis was with the hope that they might find the "end of the Rainbow"—and their prosperity be benefited by the association with his brothers, Jesse and Simpson—as the three of them attended to the output of their Father's tannery.

The Grants took up their residence in Galena in a two-story brick house on High Street—it was in a neighborhood of kindly prosperous families and the Grant children were playmates of many of Galenas present-day citizens—The Felt Brothers, B. F. and L. S., Wholesale Grocery dealers, lived near the Grants, A. M. Haines, a Boot and Shoe Merchant lived across the street, and back on "the Hill" was the home of Dr. E. D. Kittoe, a Physician; and in sight of his place, two cottages built almost alike, side by side, were the homes of John A. Rawlins, a young self-educated lawyer, and William R. Rowley, Clerk of the Circuit Court; these three men were close friends during the year of his Galena life as a clerk and became members of his staff during the bitter war that followed their friendly comradeship, as dwellers "on the Hill." Rowley and Rawlins held the rank of General, and Kittoe was a surgeon and medical director of the army of the Tennessee with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

How little did Grant realize that the great part he was to play in his country's history would come to him in this move to Galena! He was almost 40 years old and the Star of his Destiny had not yet arisen, but was waiting the time when its ascendancy would startle the world. A foretelling of Grant's future is related. Mrs. A. M. Haines made a morning call upon Mrs. Grant. She found her busy with the cares of her simple home and young family, but she was glad to visit with her caller and during the conversation she said, "I had such a strange dream last night—'Ulyss' and I were at the Court of Kings and in strange foreign lands and people were bowing and doing us homage." Had she been told that within a few years the dream would be a reality, she could not have believed it could happen. So truly is there "A destiny that shapes our ends rough-hew them as we will."

On April 12, 1861, the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached Galena; on Monday the 13th, came the news of its capture and on Tuesday, the 14th, patriotic enthusiasm was at its height; a mass meeting was called in the Court House in the evening and it was at this tense gathering that U. S. Grant offered his West Point military training and war experience for the service of his country. Two men were at the meeting who were to be closely associated with Grant during the war and his presidential office. They made stirring speeches during the evening—and being important and thoughtful men in the community their words had a deep effect on the audience that listened to them; these men were Elihu B. Washburne, State Senator, and John A. Rawlins, a farmer and self-educated lawyer. Washburne hotly replied to an adverse criticism regarding Grant's liability to have sympathy with the South as he came from St. Louis, and it was reported his wife owned two slaves. In emphatic terms Washburne said, "Any man who will try to stir up party prejudices at such a time as this is a traitor!" John A. Rawlins made a characteristic patriotic appeal and ended with, "We will stand by the flag of our country and appeal to the God of Battles for support."

Capt. Grant was made chairman of a later meeting to raise volunteers and in a few days he was busy drilling troops on the lawns of the most aristocratic homes of the city; his friend Washburne's well kept yard, which surrounded his southern colonial home, being one of them. He refused the Captaincy of the volunteer company, but went to Springfield with them. In the late Judge Spensley's History of Jo Daviess County and its noted men, he repeats the statement made by Thomas Roberts, one of U. S. Grant's close friends, that when Grant left Galena for Springfield, the Capitol of Illinois, he went from his home alone, walking to the Illinois Central depot over a miserable pathway and carrying a little satchel in his hand, "unnoted and unhonored." A typical story is told that shows his dry humor, and it is vouched for by Galenians, who well remember the incident—during the

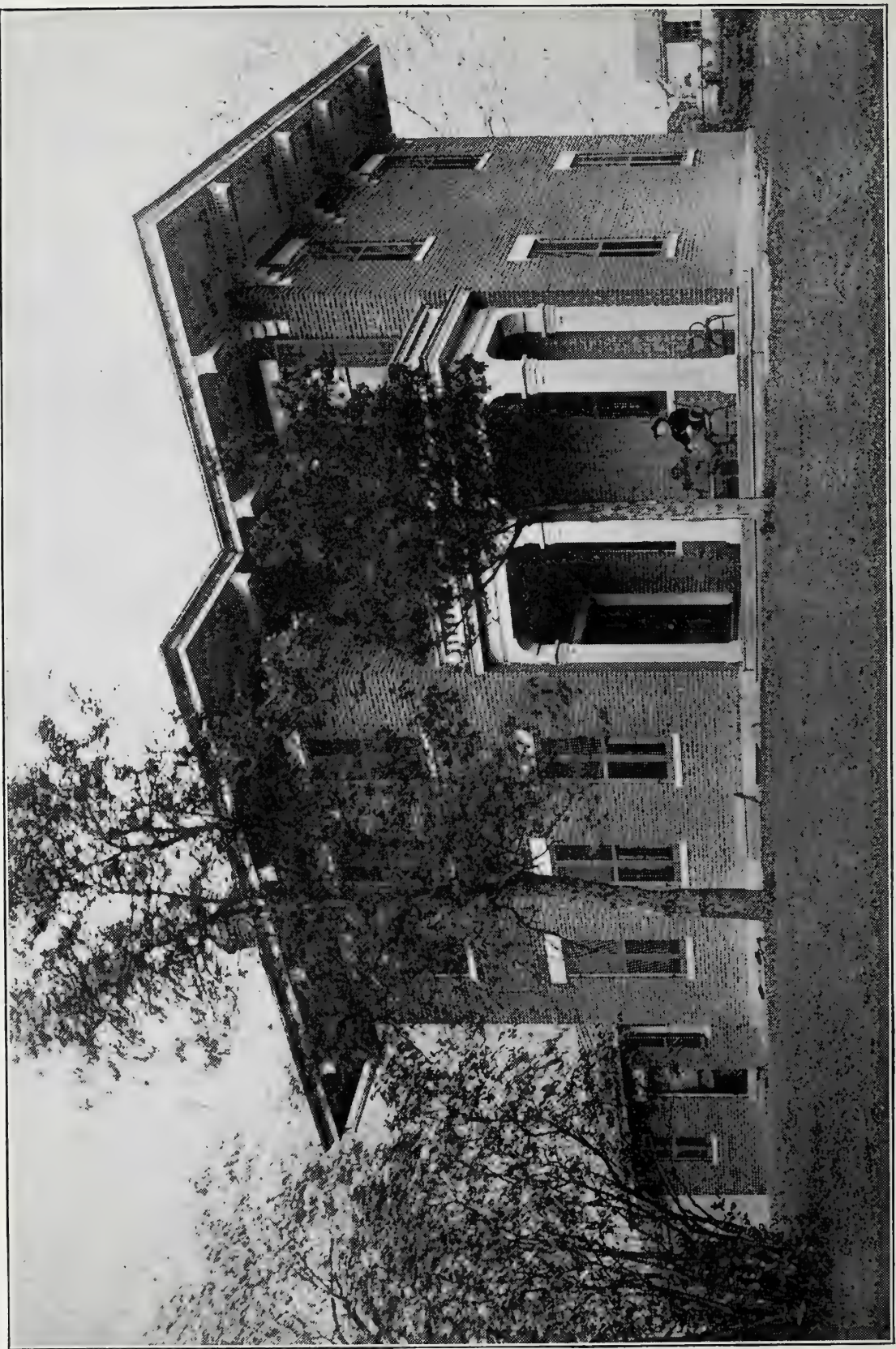
early part of the War he was home on furlough and some one made the remark to him, "Some day you will be a candidate for high civic honors," and his quiet reply was—"I would like to be Mayor of Galena, then I might get a sidewalk built from my home to the depot."

When the city and country for miles around welcomed home the hero of the War and the foremost military Chief-tain of the Century, one of the arches over Main Street bore the inscription, "General, the sidewalk is Built." A new walk of shining pine boards was ready for the great General to use as he had hoped to have it when he only aspired to be Mayor of Galena, and not Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army.

In 1863, the people of Jo Daviess County, desiring to manifest their appreciation of the great service their former resident was doing for the cause of Freedom and a Nation undivided, and to show their regard for him as a man and citizen, presented him with a costly sword of elaborate design. On its hilt was a shield bearing the motto, "Sic Floret Republica" surrounded with a circle of diamonds and this inscription underneath. "Jo Daviess County, Illinois, to Major General Ulysses S. Grant, the Hero of the Mississippi."

After the close of the War in 1865, General Grant returned to his home, the town was wild with unbounded patriotism and rejoicing; throngs came from all over the county and the nearby states to welcome him; flags and festoons decorated every corner and in front of the DeSoto House an immense arch spanned the street bearing this inscription, "Hail to the Chief who in triumph advances!" Draperies fell from its sides bearing the names of those decisive battles, that are in history with a stainless glory and with which Grant's name is always linked.

The citizens of Galena wishing to honor their fellow townsman purchased a fine substantial brick dwelling from Mr. Alexander Jackson, who had built it in 1857 for his own home, and presented it to General Grant. It was located on a high hill across the river on the East side almost opposite



U. S. GRANT HOME AT GALENA, ILL.

his first home on High Street. The Grants established themselves in this sightly and comfortable house, and renewed the friendships of early days and General Grant showed his intention of making it his permanent home by bringing his war trophies with him. He was always an ardent lover of horses and must have had a great attachment for one of his beautiful thorough-breds that had served him in the stress of battle, for he had it shipped to Galena and pastured it until its death in the farm of Mr. Richard Spensley in Vinegar Hill Township. People in the town entertained the Grants at dinners and other social affairs; all the ladies made formal calls on Mrs. Grant and once more the old town felt Grant was a citizen of Galena. His official duties took him to Washington and he was away a great deal of the time, but his legal home was always considered Galena. In 1868, his country gave him the greatest honor it can confer; he was elected President of the United States, and they left their home and removed to the White House in Washington.

In their high official position they never forgot their friends in Galena; when the cabinet under Grant's administration was formed, Elihu B. Washburne was made Secretary of State (and afterwards Minister to France); General John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War; J. Russell Jones, a former Galenian living in Chicago, was appointed Minister to Belgium; H. H. Houghton, Counsel to the Sandwich Islands, and Dr. Edward D. Kittoe was sent over to England for a time on an important mission for the government. Mr. Benjamin H. Campbell of Galena was appointed United States Marshal for the Northern district of Illinois, which position he held for eight years, then moved to Chicago.

A very touching story is told of Grant's loyalty and interest in the two sons of Capt. Bushrod Brush Howard, a Galena man and friend of Grant's; Capt. Howard was killed during the war in Virginia and when Grant became president he secured appointments for both the Howard boys, Thomas Burton in the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and Douglass at West Point. These lads went through their four years of

training without a demerit doing their benefactor honor by their diligence and unusual record.

Mrs. Grant as first Lady of the Land did not forget that a Winter in the White House would be a thrilling experience for three young women; daughters of close friends, and neighbors; these fortunate girls were the Misses Julia Estey, Katherine Felt and Annie Campbell.

After General Grant had completed his second term of office and made his journey around the world, he landed in San Francisco and thence to Galena, where the public demonstration was even greater than when he returned from the war; bands, parades and multitudes of people flocked in the narrow streets to welcome him. There was a brilliant reception given in the DeSoto House and Grant responded in a very brief speech.

General and Mrs. Grant took up their life in their own home with the modesty that had always marked their lives; their children were all located in other places, but made frequent visits to the quiet retreat that Grant hoped to enjoy for many years; their old friends were welcomed and simply entertained and many a Galenian of middle age today can recall climbing the hill as a little boy or girl with an autograph album tightly clasped in their hand so that they might obtain the signature, and speak to the hero of the Civil War; and none of them ever left the hilltop without having their request graciously granted if the General were at home.

The stress of War, political life and the long fatiguing trip had left its mark on Grant; he was weary and fully enjoyed the relaxing from cares of state and the adulation of Royalty and was content to fall into the friendly life of the quiet old town, to sit in his yard and enjoy the view from its height.

He brought with him from Japan a fine type of Japanese servant—"Yanada" by name, and it was the General's custom to walk to town each morning accompanied by his faithful Oriental. They would call for the General's mail at the Post Office and then go to the office of General Rowley on

Main Street; the two old war comrades would have their morning chat, then Grant with Yanada strolling behind him, would walk up the street to B. F. Felt's grocery store where his old time friends were awaiting this morning call, well knowing that he would hold them deeply interested while he told them of far away places and people he had seen; he seldom talked politics.

In the evening there was another trip "over town," which meant to go down the hill from his home on Bouthillier Street, across the Galena River, over the Green Street Bridge and call at his friend Rowley's office; he would spend a great part of the evening there, smoking his ever present cigar and conversing with his friends who dropped in, well knowing they would find him ready for a quiet visit.

Then came the disturbing political campaign of 1880, and his quiet, orderly life was disrupted when his friends made him an unwilling candidate for the third Presidential term. He had repeatedly refused to run until one Sunday afternoon J. B. Brown, editor of *The Galena Gazette*, went to Grant's Home with insistent dispatches from the Convention that Grant be a candidate. He made no remarks or statements as he quietly nodded his head, signifying he would accede to his friends' insistent requests and Mr. Brown left the home immediately wiring that U. S. Grant would be a candidate again for the office of President.

He made the office of General Rowley, headquarters during the Convention and received the bulletins there. One can imagine that all Galena was on tiptoe, for not many small inland towns could boast of a Presidential candidate; every move about that office was closely watched. It was before the days of telephone and news was conveyed from mouth to mouth (each important bulletin was taken by messenger from the telegraph office to Grant's Headquarters and as the little yellow envelopes went inside to be read, eager eyes and ears were on the outside to hear the latest news. A story is told that during the days of anxious watching, Louis, the son of Gen. Rowley, rushed excitedly into the office saying, "There

is a rumor that Hamilton Fish's name will be sprung on the Convention!" General Grant turned to General Rowley and said, "Rowley! Undignified as it might seem in me to do it, if the Convention will agree to nominate Fish, I'll agree to stand on my head right here. Fish is one of the best men in the country."

When at last the important dispatch announcing the nomination of Garfield came, Grant was quietly waiting in the office of Rowley, after he had read it he lighted a cigar, slipped out of the room to the sidewalk, leaned his hand on the old-fashioned hitching post in front of the door, and after a moment of thought tossed the cigar in the street, turned and went back to where his friends were watching and quietly said, "I can't say that I regret my own defeat, by it I shall escape four years of hard work and four years of abuse; and gentlemen, we can all support the candidate."

L. M. LeBron's jewelry store was directly across the street from Rowley's office and a son of Mr. LeBron seeing the General stand at the curb and toss the cigar to the street, realized that an act in American history was being lived in that unpretentious office and that a great man had received his defeat without outward chagrin or disappointment. He dispatched a clerk to pick up the discarded cigar, which is now safely put away as a memento of a great national figure and an heroic soul.

In 1881, the Grants purchased a residence in New York City and removed there, leaving the Galena home and some furniture stored in it and rented to Rev. Ambrose Smith and family. He was pastor of the South Presbyterian Church.

On July 23d, 1885, news came that the great warrior had lost his battle with the disease that caused his death. He was buried at Riverside Park in New York, but the people of Galena went into mourning, not as other places did, but with a sincerity and a sense of real personal loss. A mass meeting was held in Turner Hall and Galena's flags were at half mast while its wonderful old bells tolled for the dead, regardless of church or creed. No other community mourned the passing

of Grant as Galena did on those July days. One of Galena's native sons who had a deep and reverential love for the great commander, was Herman H. Kohlsaats—editor of the Chicago Times-Herald. He also had a love for his native hills and the people of the town in which he grew from childhood to manhood. Fortune had been kind to him and he had worldly wealth, which enabled him to remember Galena with such lasting memorials. In 1892, he presented it with a bronze statue of their famous citizen, Ulysses S. Grant. The sculptor was James Gelert of Chicago. Grant is not represented as a soldier or statesman, but is dressed in citizen's clothes as he appeared on the streets of his home town; the attitude is a very characteristic one as he always kept one hand in his pocket; the bold faced inscription on the west side reads, "Grant our Citizen."

With great magnificence the statue was unveiled June 3rd, 1892—Chauncey M. Depew delivered the address; the city was full of notable people, members of the Grant family were present—and the city purchased and dedicated a Park to surround the gift from Mr. Kohlsaats—calling it "Grant Park." In 1887 a Grant Birthday Association was formed and for many years the 27th of April, the date of the General's birth, was celebrated and hundreds of people came to honor his name in old Galena.

The next gift that Herman Kohlsaats made to Galena was the wonderful painting entitled, "Peace in Union;" it was unveiled in the Public Library room of the Government Building on April 27, 1895, and still remains there, though the room is now the E. D. Kittoe Grand Army Post's Headquarters—it is open for visitors at any time. The painting is by Thomas Nast, the greatest war artist of the Civil War Time; it depicts the Surrender of General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox, April 9th, 1865.

On April 27th, 1904, General U. S. Grant's oldest son, General Frederick D. Grant, and his wife, visited Galena and took part in the Grant Birthday Celebration. The exercises were held in Turner Hall and at their close, General F. D.

Grant made a speech in which he told of the desire of the heirs of his father's estate to present to the city of Galena the home of which they all had such happy memories. Charles Porter, as mayor, responded and accepted the gift in behalf of the citizens of Galena. It is now The Grant Memorial Home and many interesting and valuable gifts have been added to the Home which in some way have been associated with the General and his family. A cabinet contains souvenirs of his world-wide trip and a large arm chair that was his favorite seat in the White House is in the library. Beautiful old China that was used in the White House is also there.

No wonder is it, that among the historic and romantic "yesterdays" in Galena's memory book, it holds in sacred trust for American History its intimate and friendly relations with the great General who lived for a brief period of his civilian life in their midst, returned to them first as the great war hero, and later as an Ex-President of the United States, always a quiet, unaffected, unspoiled and loyal citizen of the century old town of Galena and by its people he is remembered with the veneration Tennyson wrote in "Sir Galahad"

"My good blade carves the casques of men,
My tough lance trusteth sure,
My strength is as the strength of ten
Because my heart is pure."



ELIZABETH MOORE MORRIS CASEY

ELIZABETH MOORE MORRIS CASEY.

BY ELLA MORRIS CASEY KRETSCHMAR.

Written by invitation of The Illinois State Historical
Society.

It is one of doubtless many interesting incidents in western populations that John Wanton Casey, lineal descendant of John Coggeshal, first Governor of Rhode Island, and Elizabeth Moore Morris, lineal descendant of Thomas Lloyd, first Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, should have met and married (in 1845) in the (then) far off State of Illinois.

Civilization concedes that everyone born into the world is a composite of ancestry (though it was only the last century that ironically asked: "Are women people?") and that from the dawn of time, mothers were assigned an equal part with fathers in determining the generations, and in the making of history. Hence a biographical sketch of a man's ancestry must be linked to that of his wife's to be of real value and rounded interest in estimating their descendants.

A biographical sketch of John Wanton Casey appeared in The Illinois State Historical Society's Journal of October, 1921. The compilers of that sketch profoundly regretted, from the time of its appearance, that a biographical sketch of Elizabeth Moore Morris Casey (Mrs. John Wanton Casey) had not been submitted as a supplementary paper at the same time. The opportunity passed, but the regret having deepened, and the propriety of such a joint-paper remaining unfulfilled, this sketch has been prepared at this later date—in justice to the subject.

Especially in this case is The Illinois State Historical Society's claim to the historical data, concerning one of the State's early citizens emphasized by the fact that a Rhode Island history of the Casey family (since 1658) is under prep-

aration, for which the biography of Mrs. John Wanton Casey has been requested.

When one sums up Mrs. Casey's gracious personality, her visioned mind, and her great heart, she would be quite unbelievable, if one did not remember the inherited currents converging in her blood stream. In the procession of the merging generations it would be difficult to imagine individuals more diverse than in the double lines of her ancestry.

Heading Mrs. Casey's paternal line was Thomas Lloyd, first Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, Provincial Counselor, Master of the Rolls, President of the Council, and—history says—until his death the highest officer in the province. Descended from a house as old as Britain itself, allied to other great houses, with royal blood in legitimate line in his veins, owner of large estates, he left all to come with William Penn to found a new state where he might live “guided by the light within” rather than by the dogma of the Established Church.

Next in line was Rachel, his daughter, who married Samuel Preston, Mayor of Philadelphia, also Provincial Counselor, and grandson and heir of Richard Preston, whose history was interwoven in the Colonial annals of Virginia and Maryland. On the Patuxent River he had a large grant of land, on which he built a manor house a hundred years before the Revolution, and which (as carefully preserved as possible) still stands, the oldest house in Maryland. One wonders if Rachel Lloyd Preston as hostess of the Philadelphia Mayor's official functions, wore the stiff brocades of England and of the Colonial aristocracy, or the more demure stuffs of her Quaker faith.

Margaret Preston, their daughter, married Richard Moore of Maryland, whose father, Dr. Mordecai Moore, came over with Lord Baltimore as his family physician and friend, being given grants of land, where he founded his home, interesting himself, in the founding of the great Pennsylvania Medical School and Hospital. Richard Moore, his son, is spoken of in Colonial history as a physician, “also a mer-

chant." He was a Common Counselor of Philadelphia, but during most of his life resided in Maryland. Mordecai Moore, Richard's son, named after his grandfather, was a physician of London Town, Maryland, his daughter Rachel marrying Samuel Morris, one of that many branched family from a common head woven into the very warp and woof of Pennsylvania history. Samuel divided his activities, private and political, between Ann Arundel County, Maryland, and Philadelphia, and was laid to rest with his Rachel in the Friends' Burial Ground, Mulberry Street, Philadelphia. Their son, Samuel Morris the second, of Philadelphia, and later of Harrisburg and Illinois married Sarah Huling Galbraith, and their daughter, Elizabeth Moore Morris, married John Wanton Casey, Pekin, Ills., Quakers all, from Thomas Lloyd to Samuel Morris second.

How different the story of Mrs. Casey's maternal ancestry, beginning with poor Janey Gillespie (daughter of John Gillespie of Gillespie Square, Edinboro) denounced and disinherited by her father, cast off by all of her kinsfolk, for the crime (?) of marrying the Reverend William Bartram, graduate of Edinboro University, but alas, a Presbyterian, not of the fold of the Established Church,—a long, sad story of how persecution followed them to England and Ireland until at last they found haven for their dignity, their faith, and their happiness in Pennsylvania of the New World. Yet, when their only child, Elizabeth, married, the setting of the ceremony was Christ Church, Philadelphia. Was that because Janey, like her father, wished her child (who, the records say, was a young woman of beauty and accomplishment) to make her marriage vows in the church of her forebears? She was marrying into one of the oldest families of Scotland and Ireland, "Galbraiths from the Red Tower, Noblest of Scottish surnames," and one cannot but hope her grandfather Gillespie lived to hear of this marriage.

The Galbraiths were called "the Fighting Galbraiths" because of their courage and military gifts of leadership. The first Galbraith came to America and settled in Pennsylvania

in 1718. Egle says: "He was a man of prominence, the head of a remarkable family, and his son John also brought lustre to the name as in turn did his son James who married Elizabeth Bartram."

James Galbraith threw himself whole-souled into Colonial affairs, fighting in the French and Indian wars as a Lieutenant Colonel, and taking time to found Donegal Church, in the churchyard of which he and some of his descendants are buried. He was too old for field service in the Revolution, but was active in collecting supplies for the army, helping to raise the Continental loan, and himself sending two hundred barrels of flour to our soldiers at Valley Forge. The history of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, says "Colonel Galbraith held many public offices in Pennsylvania although he always refused to ask or work for public preferment. In 1732 he and his popular neighbor, George Stewart, were candidates for the General Assembly—only freeholders allowed to vote, and but one poll in the county. Colonel Galbraith took no part in the canvass but his wife, Elizabeth, mounted her favorite mare, Nelly, and rode through the Scotch-Irish settlements and persuaded the voters to go with her to the polls at Lancaster. She appeared at the court house leading a procession of mounted men, whom she halted and addressed. She rode around the court house and addressed the other voters, to such effect that her husband's election was carried in triumph, he having no opposition after his first election."

This election incident is referred to in a biographical notice of Madame Patterson Bonaparte in Lippincott's Magazine for September, 1877, as follows: "Mrs. Patterson, the mother of Madame Bonaparte, came of that sturdy, independent Scotch-Irish race which peopled Pennsylvania's prosperous valleys. Her grandmother, Mrs. James Galbraith, was a woman of remarkable force, taking a prominent part in the revolutionary stir, and on one occasion traveling on horseback through the then almost wilderness to canvass votes for her husband's election to the assembly, which she won,

whether by argument or in the felicitous way of the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, is not recorded.”

Bartram Galbraith, son of Colonel James Galbraith, was made an officer in Indian wars in his minority. Egle says of him: “He received the best education the schools of that day afforded, and studied surveying, a profession he later followed many years. He was a member of the Provincial Convention of 1775, of the Provincial Conference of 1776 and the Constitutional Conference of 1776. He was that year elected Colonel of the Lancaster Battalions of Associators, on duty in the Jerseys, serving also as a member of the assembly in 1776 and 1777. In June, 1777, he was appointed County Lieutenant and in that year he acted as one of the commission which met at New Haven, Connecticut, to regulate the prices of commodities in the State. After six years of executive and exhaustive military labor, Colonel Galbraith was compelled to resign the office of County Lieutenant, but remained in the service as an officer of the militia until the restoration of peace. Colonel Galbraith was twice married, his second wife being Henrietta Huling of Isle Benvenue, Penn.”

The branch of The Huling, or Heuling family in France, Sweden and Pennsylvania is one of the romances of immigration. A story capable of linking Henry of Navarre, St. Bartholomew's massacre, Pittsburg and Pekin, Ills., is too picturesque to be omitted, even in this abbreviated chronicle, as vouched for by the genealogical authorities.

“Thomas Paul Frederick, Marquis de Huling, a distinguished Bearnese Nobleman, who followed the fortune of his Prince and kinsman, Henry of Navarre, was one of the heroic men who defended La Rochelle, and finally, in April, 1572, accompanied Henry to Paris to be present at the nuptials of that Prince with Marguerite de Valois, daughter of the cruel Catherine De Medici on August 18th. On the 24th of August he witnessed the horrible massacre of Saint Bartholomew. He was one of the young nobleman who waited in the antechamber of the Prince and his bride on that fatal eve. He alone, of all their personal attendants, escaped from the

Louvre, as by a miracle, through the gratitude of one of the Catholic soldiers. After various perils he succeeded in reaching Dieppe. Here he was soon joined by his betrothed wife, Isabel De Portal, who, although a protegee and maid of honor of Queen Catherine, was a member of one of those rare old Huguenot French families of Languedoc, whose name is inscribed in the 'Book of Capitouls' which, like the 'Golden Book' of Venice, contains the names of the patrician families of the ancient nobility.

She was a native of Toulouse, and was rescued by a caprice of Catherine's from the fate of her once powerful but now persecuted family, and though carefully educated in the Catholic tenets, was secretly faithful to the religion of her family.

The Marquis and Lady Isabel De Portal were privately married at Dieppe, and sailed for England, but adverse winds drove them to the shore of Sweden, where they were taken under the protection of the court. They left an only son. A grandson, Lars (Lawrence) Huling, came with Swedish immigrants to the Delaware. A pause of a generation in Gloucester County, New Jersey, then a removal to the Swedish settlement of Morlatton, on the Schuylkill River where the village of Douglasville, Pennsylvania, is located."

Contrast the stormy sea voyage of the Marquis Huling and Isabel De Portal with this:—"Mathias Holstein, married Magdalena, daughter of Marcus and Margaret Huling of Morlatton, Pennsylvania, about 1774. The wedding party came to Christ Church, upper Merion, all in their canoes."

Of all the beauty spots passed in review by the Hulings in Pennsylvania, the Isle Benvenue (later Duncan's Island) in the Susquehanna River, near the outlet of the Juniata, was most to their taste, and there the Marquis Huling's Pennsylvania descendants for the most part converged, spreading in numbers, possession, and influence, as time went on, some of their descendants still peopling that part of Pennsylvania.

History says: "In 1756 Mr. Marcus Huling went to the western part of Pennsylvania and became owner, by purchase

or patent, of the point of land located between the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers, where they meet and form the Ohio, the point where Pittsburg now stands. He later sold this property for two hundred pounds, and returned to his holdings in the Susquehanna and on the Juniata mainland, his son remaining and building a ferry over the Monongahela at the foot of what is now Liberty Street. Another son became owner of Huling's Island in the Allegheny River."

The records further relate, "With Braddock's defeat in 1755 came all the horrors of Indian warfare to parts of Pennsylvania, and many settlers were obliged to flee their homes. Being apprised of the approach of the redskins to Isle Benvenue, Marcus Huling, grasping a few valuables, placed his wife and youngest child upon a large black horse and told her to ride to the point of the Island, their other children having previously been sent to safety. When Mr. Huling failed to join her, fearing he had been murdered, Mrs. Huling urged her horse into the Susquehanna, though it was at high water, and with her child reached the mainland, to be joined later by her husband who had perilously crossed in a light canoe, all reaching Fort Hunter in safety."

Into this island-loving, river-loving, land-loving Huling family was born Henrietta Huling, whom Colonel Galbraith met, wooed and married in 1798, when he was sixty years old, and she still very young. Of their two children, Sarah, the eldest, married Samuel Morris (Mrs. Casey's father), adopting the Quaker faith.

It would thus appear that all of Elizabeth Morris Casey's ancestors who left the old world, whether France, England, Scotland or Ireland, chose for their permanent home on this side of the Atlantic the warm and broad bosom, the rich and gracious bosom, of Pennsylvania.

That the historical background of Samuel Morris, 2nd, and his wife, Sarah Huling Galbraith, who were fixed in the orbits established for them by their ancestors, could have been transposed from their beloved Pennsylvania to early Illinois,

is but a forcible example of how the merest trifle may shape the destinies of generations.

Samuel Morris, of Colonial and Revolutionary stock, a resident of Harrisburg, Penn., one morning in 1830 left his home to go to his office. How commonplace this statement! but how charged with destiny!

Had breakfast been fifteen minutes later, or earlier, in the Morris household that morning, or if, perhaps, Mrs. Morris had not gone to the door for a few minutes' goodbye, or if Mr. Morris had not, perhaps, stopped to admire his neighbor's roses and chat awhile, or if he had taken a different route—one square east or west—he would have missed the moment of waiting Destiny—all unconsciously.

Certain it is that if Samuel Morris on his way to business that sunny morning in 1830 had not met two of his friends who were leaving on a packet-boat within the hour, and suggested that he walk down to the river and see them off—three generations (to date) of Illinois citizens would not be in existence, with many more generations to follow, of which they will be the ancestors.

Arrived at the wharf, the group of Harrisburg friends found the footing unpleasant, a storm the night before having left the levee water-soaked, with little pools standing here and there. A quantity of lumber in irregular piles was all about, and the gentlemen stepped up on a few low boards to keep their feet dry—the trifle that determined the future of Samuel Morris and his family. The board Mr. Morris was standing on slipped, bringing down others, and he was thrown to the ground, breaking his ankle. Under the surgery of that day the breaking of a leg or ankle bone meant six or eight weeks in bed, a trying ordeal for a man not ill. This accident chanced at a time when the states east of the Allegheny mountains were being flooded with printed matter on the “glorious far west” (meaning the Mississippi Valley), “the land of milk and honey, the most beautiful region of the whole world, an Eldorado, the land of opportunity, where riches lay at every man's hand,” etc.

Hundreds were selling their possessions and going out, their bridges burned behind them, with full faith of future independence in the promised land. Hundreds more were going out as a pleasure trip, for the thrill of adventure, and to see the wonders described. Mr. Morris read everything that came to his hands on this subject, and at last himself "taking fire" began to talk with his doctor (who also had "western fever") about making the trip to Illinois and back as an "after-cure" for confinement to the house, and also for the benefit of Mrs. Morris' health which was not up to her standard at the time. The plan was advised, more, it was actually prescribed, and the delicious excitement of planning for what has always held a fascination for humanity—the following of but half-blazed trails, the penetrating of the unknown—possessed the Morris family, and preparations were quickly under way.

People traveled in that day by stage, horseback, by boats, and private traveling carriages—huge, clumsy arks drawn by stout horses—Mr. Morris choosing the last as more comfortable and independent than "staging." The eldest daughter was left in boarding school in Philadelphia, the younger, Elizabeth Moore Morris, aged 13, two boys still younger, and Mr. and Mrs. Morris making up the traveling party. What conveniences for travel were bestowed in that huge conveyance, what route was followed, whether friends made up a caravan, neither family chronicle nor tradition have preserved, but it seems quite certain the tested stage roads would be followed, rather than new routes. The oldest descendants now living remember being told that "sometimes the carriage was wheeled on to a canal boat, and the horses were attached to the tow-ropes to help pull the boat, and that sometimes there were no broken roads but only foot or horse trails over unbroken prairies to follow."

And family tradition has it that the trip was made in a very leisurely way, and the health of the whole family was benefited by the experience.

Peoria, Illinois, was the objective-point Mr. Morris had fixed upon, a friend there having written to him that too much could not be said for that region, that no printed matter could exaggerate its beauty, richness and the opportunity it offered to all who came.

Arrived in Peoria, delighted and enthusiastic about the route, and everything western, the family spirits were dampened by learning that there were "no accommodations to be had in taverns or private houses." Someone suggested they might be "put up comfortable" in Pekin, seven miles south on the river. There was nothing to do but go on, and accommodations of some kind were found there and gratefully occupied. The morning after their arrival, the children were up and out of doors to see what they could see. The scene was described by one in later life—"beyond the clustering houses about the river, as far as one could see, there were so many wild flowers that the prairie looked like a Persian carpet, beauty everywhere, and within a short distance, forests which had never been marred." The Morris family agreed that "roughing it" would be a delightful experience for the summer in such a wondrous region.

But in less than a month Pekin was visited by some terrible epidemic, called "the black tongue," which in later days physicians decided must have been malignant diphtheria. Mr. Morris did the only thing that seemed feasible—he bought a farm ten miles away which had a comfortable cabin, a well of pure water, growing vegetables, a cow and horse, and found a man to work.

The environment was beautiful and healthful, the children found numberless ways of entertaining themselves, pleasant days followed pleasant days, the family remaining until the epidemic had passed, and frost had cleared the atmosphere.

Mr. Morris meantime had secured as comfortable a house as any in Pekin, near the river, and also furniture as best he could. When the family took possession it soon was made homelike and cozy for the winter, it being entirely too

late to undertake the trip back home—to Harrisburg—the first real disaster encountered by the Morris family in Illinois.

Alas! how soon others were to follow! Before winter had passed, Mr. Morris received a letter from a law firm in Harrisburg notifying him that one of his friends, for whom he had heavily endorsed, had suddenly died, leaving his affairs greatly involved, and advising him that it would be well for him to return to Harrisburg as soon as possible.

When travel by horseback became a possibility in the spring, Mr. Morris, greatly worried, took the long trail back to his Pennsylvania home, which he and the family had left in such gay spirits for happy adventure. Arrived, he found his friend's affairs in a far worse condition than the lawyer who wrote had supposed possible—there being practically no assets left from a large fortune,—and Mr. Morris was the heaviest loser, even his business and home being in danger of being taken over to discharge his endorsements.

The settlement of the estate was in the hands of the court, and there was nothing Mr. Morris could do but to attend to minor matters, and then to return to Illinois, to await the slow process of the law. He refused offers of temporary "accommodations" from his friends, and shipping some heirlooms, silver, and comforts, allowed by the court, to Illinois, he returned as he had come by horseback, over the long and now sad trail, feeling, that at the best, a long period must elapse before he could take his family back to their Harrisburg home and to the old pleasant, easy living.

If "blood tells" when should it tell most plainly? In disaster? in hardships to be patiently borne? in "the heart-aches and the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to?" Even so! And Samuel and Sarah Galbraith Morris met their reversal of fortune as any student of race-inheritance would expect them to meet it.

They made their pioneer home attractive with home things from Harrisburg, and what they could buy, they made friends with their neighbors, they became public-spirited for the town, they identified themselves with the church (there

being no Quaker meeting house), above all, they taught their children the principles, ideals, and gentle manners that had governed their own lives, also they were their teachers along the fixed lines of the school methods of that period. They developed their farm by renting "on shares," Mr. Morris took advantage of whatever opportunities offered of business to add to their slender income, and at home sawed and split the wood for heating and cooking, drawing the water and taking over other heaviest burdens of the house to lighten Mrs. Morris' share in pioneering. A gallant battle! by gallant souls! There was no "help" to be had, even in illness neighbors caring for one another. The eldest daughter came to the new home from her Philadelphia boarding school, but soon married a civil engineer of easy means.

Mr. Morris went to Harrisburg at intervals as time passed, with but small returns in bettering his immediate fortune, and in 1843, thirteen years after first coming west, he was summoned to Harrisburg for a final settlement of his affairs. It was in early November and Mrs. Morris protested it was too late in the season for the trip by horseback, only consenting at last because two other men from Peoria going east, accommodated their plans to going with Mr. Morris.

Not one of the party was ever heard from after the first week on the trail! The weather had turned cold, and whether they were attacked by wolves, or whether they were ambushed by some roving band of Indians for their equipment, will never be known.

Mrs. Morris' grief in this final disaster cannot here be pictured, but she bore her sorrows and added burdens with proud courage—so much is handed down. A son born in Illinois had died through the years, the eldest son married, moving to Havana, further down the river, in two years daughter Elizabeth married John Wanton Casey, but Mrs. Morris insisted on living on in the home Mr. Morris had bought, with a son and daughter both born in Illinois. The latter was a frail child of quite remarkable intelligence, and of a fortitude under suffering so great as to inspire a "Sun-

day school book'' written by a local clergyman. At last, at the age of thirteen her release came, her ''joyful hour,'' and even her bereft mother could not cloud the parting, but smiled with her as she ''entered into rest.''

Now, indeed, Mrs. Casey demanded that the old home be given up and that her dear mother come to the Casey home for the rest of her days. The dear little hands had no more ''duties,'' the tired feet had naught but cushioned ease, indeed ''grandma Morris'' became the ''shrine'' of the household, giving out blessings and love and receiving every attention that she would reluctantly permit. She had not a care in the world, and thus her devoted daughter brought back to her a faint reflection of her Harrisburg days, giving play for her natural and complete Quaker serenity of spirit. She passed on the eve of Christmas, 1854, and when at earliest dawn on Christmas morning her sorrowing daughter went downstairs for a loving look, alone, at the precious dust, she was astounded to see that the traces of years had departed from the dear face, and that, indeed, there was a smile as though in blessed Christmas greeting.

Reading of the descent and the history in this country of her ancestors, one can appreciate the better the composite little lady of this sketch, their descendant. One can understand her deeply religious nature being coupled with an innocent and attractive worldliness. One can understand why the little workstand (which was her mother's, and stood by her particular easy chair on one side of the sitting-room fireplace in the Casey home) always held a bible, her prayer book, the latest good novel, and current magazines. One understands her flair for fine clothes for herself and family, filtered through Quaker instincts which resulted in new expressions of good taste, her love of fine laces, and her wearing of them with marked effectiveness. One understands Elizabeth Casey's courage and executive ability, which enabled her to administer her large home and grounds without friction or seeming effort; her radiating hospitality, which made her an ideal hostess, ever putting her guests at ease; her near genius

for letter writing, and other characteristics. The following incident shows one of her race instincts.

Before the days of railroads, the beautiful steamboats on the wide rivers of the middle west were social centers to people in cities and towns on their banks, being equipped with much luxury, including a very lavish cuisine (with gardens, forests, plains, rivers, and the south's importations to draw upon)—the setting of many written romances.

On one occasion when Mr. and Mrs. Casey were making a trip down the Illinois River to St. Louis, Mrs. Casey saw, while dancing in the evening, a tiny thread of smoke curling out from some point in the woodwork where no smoke should be. Excusing herself from her partner on the pretext of getting a fan from her cabin, Mrs. Casey danced laughingly away until out of sight, then flying to the official quarters of the boat, to tell what she had seen. In only a few seconds officers and crew were on "fire duty," the erstwhile genial captain taking time to gruffly command "Go back and dance." Like a soldier Mrs. Casey returned smilingly to her partner, dancing with a prayer on her lips, the band's music covering the noises from below, excepting to her alert ears; and no passenger knew aught of danger until the wharf in St. Louis was in sight the next morning, when the captain announced, that Mrs. John Wanton Casey had saved the boat from fire the night before. It seems to the writer that her act was on a par with the heroism of her Huling ancestor who, with her child before her, swam the Susquehanna on horseback when that river was at high water.

Mrs. Casey shed some tears of mortification when her elder sister introduced on the lecture platform in Peoria, Pekin and other central Illinois towns, the great woman who first invaded the west with the strange doctrine of "Women's Rights," a doctrine not in the least degree then assimilated by the public mind. She lived to feel pride in her sister's vision, and her act, comparable to that of their great grandmother Galbraith, who threw feminine conventions to the

winds and canvassed her Pennsylvania County for votes for sending her husband to the General Assembly.

In a mid-western town, in the process of growing and drawing to itself the features, advantages, pleasure and characteristics of older towns in the eastern states, individuality readily found its way to expression, and as Mrs. Casey put herself into all that she did in her home, church, and town life, it is little wonder that she brought a flavor of her Pennsylvania and of Mr. Casey's Rhode Island, which she loved to visit, to each. Her enthusiasm, her loving spirit, and swift initiative, also found their appointed way.

On one occasion, when she was giving a large "party," as the more formal evening companies were then called, all of the big house lamp- and candle-lighted, fires in all of the grates, all of the guests in best clothes, everyone in gala spirits, the host at his genial stateliest, the hostess at her hospitable happiest, there rang out the most dreaded of town alarms, an engine house siren—(soon to be taken up by all church bells)—running feet, and a frightened shout "it's on Court Street," the chief business street of the town. Trays of refreshments were just being brought into living room and parlors, there were a few seconds of awed pause—then men on their feet (all property owners being members of the Volunteer Fire Department), when Mrs. Casey, waving back the maids with their trays, said: "Gentlemen, our refreshments will be served to you and your helpers at the fire." Quickly choosing some guest helpers, she led them to the dining room and kitchen, where they worked through the long night. It was a wicked fire for a volunteer department, but the workers were cheered with coffee and sandwiches at intervals, and more coffee and more sandwiches, guests sending home for loaves when those of the hostess gave out. And, then, just at earliest dawn, when the fire was conquered, what more natural than for the weary bedraggled fire fighters to go to the Casey home, only a square away, for breakfast, Mrs. Casey having sent word for all to come. Then it was that the lavish party refreshments did yeoman service,

the hostess and her helpers serving and praising everyone. A new *custom* had been established, the serving of refreshments at fires by neighborhood housewives.

During the war it was Mrs. Casey who initiated the custom of safely illuminating homes and other buildings (after various accidents) when word of victories of the northern armies had been received. Lace curtains came down and behind each small pane in all of the window sashes a candle was *safely* held in place by devices evolved by a carpenter and tinner under her direction—that when darkness came, the victory message could be joyously sent out in all of the shining town.

(How little Sinclair Lewis understood small-town life—how myopic his vision, how paltry his cynical mood when he wrote popular “Main Street.” The whole gamut of human emotions is played through in every street of a small town, and the actual orbit of living is probably greater in such towns for the individual than in a city; while for outreaching sympathies, spontaneous pleasures, group purposes, general culture, soul growth, and beauty of living, a great city and most small towns may be compared in terms of desert and green meadows. City spells opportunity, Town spells life.)

In what Mrs. Casey in later years called “The early days” there was much leisure for reading, not only in small towns of the west but in all of the east as well. Mrs. Casey loved books all of her life and browsed far afield in the reaches of religious, political, historical and fictional literature. Of the latter she especially was fond of the fine “Historical novels” so widely read in that day. It was a day when poetry too had a footing in the minds of all cultured people. Religious poetry was deeply recited, the orator proclaimed heroic lines, the lover whispered tender meters which he felt but could not voice, and nursery rhymes and jingles for tots a little older, were so apt and beloved that they are still in use today. Mrs. Casey’s ready memory was stored with verse, religious, sentimental, and heroic lines (as Scott) in which her children delighted.

In 1866 a circulating library was founded in Pekin, Mrs.

Casey being one of the founders. Up to that time people had to buy their own books, and from some book-cases in the town, as in the Casey home, books traveled so far and so long that they quite forgot their way back home again.

From all of her ancestors Mrs. Casey inherited a love for politics and public questions of the day. She of course had no vote but few voters were so informed, or active. Mr. Casey read to her many of his articles for publications, and discussed with her the questions in which they were mutually interested. During the Blaine campaign there was no doubt in the Republican Party of final triumph at the polls, but when two days before election day a misguided campaign orator made the "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" speech, which turned the tide to Mr. Cleveland, the result was awaited with deepest anxiety. It is said in the family that when Mr. Casey announced the defeat of Blaine to Mrs. Casey, she threw herself into his arms and wept.

In person Mrs. Casey was small, with delicate extremities, a famous sculptor once saying to one of her daughters: "Such a beautiful mother as yours should be placed on the mantelpiece as an ornament." Perhaps the characteristic best appreciated by all of her friends was her never-failing hospitality. What her children and grand-children most cherish is the memory of a rare and *understanding* mother-love, which has followed them, and blessed them through all the years of their lives.

One of the comfortable and oldest tenets of human life is that "grief never slays," and, alone, it doubtless never does. But an overwhelming grief may leave an impress on the mind and heart too deep to fade while life lasts. Such was the grief that came upon Elizabeth Morris Casey with the passing of her beloved mate. There was a difference of fifteen years in their ages, which, in their lives had the unique effect of enabling the one to recapture more of youth, and the other to enjoy the happiness of leaning on maturer wisdom. Neither their children nor friends thought of disparity, so great was their mental and spiritual sympathy, so in common their tastes, their attitude towards life. Their son and

youngest daughter, both married, had their residence in Chicago, and when for business reasons the family of the eldest daughter was also to remove to that city, Mrs. Casey bravely reconciled herself to leaving her old home, the associations of fifty years, her church, in short, her old life and all that it meant to her. In the city she adjusted herself to new conditions in gentle uncomplaint, living for the most part with her eldest daughter but blessing all of her children and grandchildren by her presence. She interested herself in all of their affairs, and each knew her sympathy in all things was ever ready to be called upon. She was still interested in all public questions, in all that transpired in Congress, in the pleasures of those dear to her, in books and newspapers, entering into the life of those around her with cheerfulness and affectionate understanding.

But Mrs. Casey was changed. As though the inspiration for living had been withdrawn. Her expression was never gloomy but ever wistful. Her mourning attire was individual, and her daughters only realized years afterward that she had turned to the Quaker garb of her mother in the medium of black instead of grey—the simple straight skirt, open bodice underlayed with soft white net crossed over the breast, and a cap of finest tarleton, trimmed with plaited border, that sat like a crown on her full white hair.

The years passed, long years, until thirteen had been fulfilled—when the summons came!—alas, for her children!—finding Elizabeth Moore Morris Casey, with a loving look behind, ready to enter into the next chamber of life. Reverently she was borne by old friends from the train in Pekin to her old church, and from there to Lakeside cemetery, to be tenderly laid in the waiting place beside her best beloved.

And there they sleep together, their eternal earth-sleep, so far from Rhode Island, so far from Pennsylvania, but gloriously dwelling in the Universe of God, which is One.

And now the final line was added to the Lakeside Cemetery Casey monument.—

DIED IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, FEBRUARY 13, 1894.

NECROLOGY

DR. CHARLES B. JOHNSON.

1843-1928

Dr. Charles B. Johnson was born on a farm near the village of Pocahontas, Bond County, Ill., October 8, 1843. At an early age he was placed at farm work and in this way was occupied the greater part of the warm months, while during the winter season he attended the district schools of his native county wherein his preliminary education was obtained. Finally, when only eighteen years of age, he taught one of these schools during the winter term. Meanwhile the Civil War had broken out, and before he had reached his nineteenth birthday, young Johnson on the 9th day of August, 1862, enlisted in Company F, One Hundred and Thirtieth Illinois Infantry, serving continuously till the war ended three years later. During about half his period of service he was in the ranks and the remainder of the time he was connected with his regimental hospital in the capacity of Hospital Steward, and while thus employed began his medical studies.

Returning home at the end of the war he attended his first course of lectures in the Medical Department of Michigan University at Ann Arbor, during the winter of 1866-67, subsequently graduating at the Ohio Medical College, Cincinnati. Dr. Johnson first located for the practice of medicine at Chatham, Sangamon County, Ill., but in 1871 removed to Crittenden Township, Champaign County, where for three years he was engaged in active practice while located at a farmhouse. From 1874 to 1879 he practiced at Tolono, Champaign County, and in 1879 came to Champaign City, where he has long been prominent in his profession, and an influential factor in promoting its advancement along all lines.

Doctor Johnson took an active part in building up the Champaign County Medical Society, and affiliated with other leading medical societies. Since 1897 he was a member of the



DR. CHARLES B. JOHNSON

Illinois State Board of Health, and was President of the Board during the years 1899, 1900 and 1901. He was a Republican in politics and took part in its councils from time to time.

On January 1, 1874, Doctor Johnson was married to Miss Maria L. Lewis of Chatham, Ill., and to them were born six children, namely: Lewis Williams, Charles Sunderland, James Edward, Fred Volentine, Alice Sarah and George Thompson, all of whom received their education at the University of Illinois.

He was a writer of ability. Among his writings are "Musket and Medicine, or Army Life in the Sixties" published in 1917, and "Illinois in the Fifties, or a Decade of Development" published in 1918. He appeared often on the programs of the Illinois State Historical Society, and contributed to its Transactions and Journals. His last appearance was on the program for May, 1928, his subject being "Some of the Aftermath of the Presidential Election of 1860."

His death occurred May 21, 1928. In company with his son, Dr. George Thompson Johnson, Terre Haute, Indiana, he was returning from a medical meeting at Danville when a collision occurred on the Interurban in which they were riding and both met their deaths. Doctor Johnson was one of our oldest and most interested members of the Illinois State Historical Society and always attended the sessions of the Society where he will be greatly missed.

ANDREW SWANZY.**1838-1928.**

Andrew Swanzy, Princeton nonagenarian and one of the earliest settlers of Bureau County, died August 7th, 1928, at the home of his niece, Mrs. Harold Kirkpatrick, at La Grange, Ill. His death came suddenly and was the result of a heart attack.

The remains were brought to Princeton for burial. The funeral service was conducted at 2:30 o'clock, Aug. 9th, 1928, at the Methodist church by the Rev. B. Barrett Evans, former pastor, who is now located in Chicago. The interment was in the family lot in Oakland cemetery.

Mr. Swanzy came from Biloxi, Miss., to attend the Bureau County Centennial. After the celebration he went to LaGrange on Friday to visit his niece. When he left Princeton Friday noon he was apparently in good health and expected to return here before starting on his homeward journey to Biloxi. He was stricken about 5:45 A. M. with a heart attack and passed away before a doctor could be summoned.

Mr. Swanzy was born in Princeton on February 3, 1838. He was a son of Dr. James Swanzy, an English physician, who settled in Princeton shortly after the city was founded and was one of its first medical practitioners.

After receiving his education in the schools of Bureau County, Andrew Swanzy became a dry goods salesman for a New York wholesale firm and for 40 years he travelled extensively in this country and in Europe.

He had a genius for friendship and a remarkable memory for names and faces. In the years that he was on the road, Mr. Swanzy picked up acquaintances everywhere he went and it was said of him that he could call more people by their

given names than almost any other person in the United States.

Upon his retirement from business life, Mr. Swanzy returned to Princeton and until ten years ago he made this city his permanent home. Unable to stand the rigorous climate in the winter time, he established a residence in Biloxi, and that city has been his abode in recent years.

Mr. Swanzy took a keen interest in the social and cultural life of Princeton. He was a member of the Methodist church and served for a number of years on the Union school board. Strangers were his hobby and he always took it upon himself to see that new people were made welcome. It was through him that the custom of holding an annual reception for the Princeton school teachers was established. Mr. Swanzy was an enthusiastic and interested member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Mr. Swanzy was married in 1862 to Miss Waitie Walker and for many years they lived in the beautiful colonial home which stands opposite the Princeton High School on Euclid avenue. Mrs. Swanzy died on October 23, 1908.

From "Bureau County Republican"
August 9, 1928.

by the federal office holders. A deadlock was broken when Lorimer threw his strength to Yates, forestalling a move to give the Carter delegates to Reeves.

In his eighteen years on the Supreme bench, Judge Carter wrote more than 1,000 decisions. In his last years he was one of the trustees of the estate of Joseph Medill, former editor of the Tribune.

Mr. Carter was a member of the American Bar Association, the Illinois State Bar Association, the Chicago Bar Association, the Chicago Law Institute; the Congregational, Union League, Hamilton and Law Clubs and was a former director of the Illinois State Historical Society.

**ILLINOIS STATE BAR ASSOCIATION
HONORABLE ORRIN N. CARTER.**

**An Appreciation at the Time of His Retirement from the
Supreme Court of Illinois in 1924.**

Justice Orrin N. Carter, to the great regret of the bar and the public, was compelled by ill health to retire from the Supreme Bench of Illinois at the close of his term in June of 1924, after a long and honorable service. It is fitting that this Association should spread upon its enduring records a sketch of his life and of his duty well done.

Graduated from Wheaton College with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1877, Judge Carter possessed the educational foundation for a well rounded life, in whatever line of endeavor his lot might be cast. Like so many of our public men, in early life he was a school teacher. Successively Superintendent of Schools of Grundy County, State's Attorney of Grundy County, Attorney for the Sanitary District of Chicago, and County Judge of Cook County for twelve years, he progressed steadily in public confidence and esteem until he was advanced to the position of Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois on June 18, 1906, where for eighteen years he preserved the best traditions of that great tribunal.

His career upon the County Bench of Cook County, with its multiplicity of exacting duties and responsibilities calling both for the highest type of legal and judicial mind and for administrative ability of the highest order, was notable. His conspicuous fairness and ability were such that he was promoted directly from the County Bench of Cook County to the Supreme Bench of Illinois. Among other honors that have come to him along the way, he was, while County Judge of Cook County, the candidate for nomination for Governor of the State, and was supported by a large and highly respectable element of his party.

His service on the Supreme Bench more than fulfilled the promise of his earlier life. Of his technical ability as a lawyer, there was never any question; it is of the highest; his industry has been unusual. Both are witnessed by his long line of cogent and well-reasoned opinions appearing in Volumes 222 to 313, inclusive, of the Illinois Supreme Court Reports.

But Judge Carter possessed other qualifications which are quite as essential for a good judge as mere technical proficiency. He had the educational background which irresistibly impelled him to decide questions along right legal lines, as he saw them. It is this quality in judges and lawyers which of itself prevents the profession from degenerating into a mere trade. In addition, his moral leanings have been such that he has always approached any question, whether of property or human rights, from the angle of pure justice. The fallacious and sophistical arguments of groups or individuals of the anti-social class received no sympathy from him. Not the least tribute to this able and upright judge is the fact that at the end of his first term, without opposition, he was returned to the Supreme Bench by his metropolitan constituency of Chicago and its environs, a melting-pot of nearly every race, tongue, creed and shade of political opinion.

He has earned the respect and affection of the Bar of the State and of the public. His life has been one of uninterrupted effort, directed and controlled by a laudable ambition,

high ideals and a genuine love for his fellow men. His sincere affection for those with whom he has been associated is reciprocated by them, and those who number Judge Carter as a personal and particular friend are many indeed. No one has ever questioned his integrity, his earnestness, or his desire to do what he believed to be the right thing.

Judge Carter's retirement to private life is a great loss to the bench and bar of Illinois, but we entertain the hope that with increased leisure his health may be restored and that he may find time and strength for many lines of service for which he is so well fitted, less strenuous, but perhaps no less important than his former activities.

On behalf of the State Bar Association we send greetings to Judge Carter and an invitation to be present at our meetings whenever he can do so. When he speaks, we shall lend an attentive ear.

Resolved, that these sentiments be adopted as expressive of our appreciation of Judge Carter as a friend, a lawyer, a judge and a man; that they be spread at large upon the minutes of the Board of Governors and that a copy be sent to Judge Carter.

ILLINOIS STATE BAR ASSOCIATION

C. M. CLAY BUNTAIN, *President*

JOHN R. MONTGOMERY, *Vice President*

GEO. H. WILSON, *Vice President*

RUSH C. BUTLER, *Vice President*

R. ALLAN STEPHENS, *Secretary*

FRANKLIN L. VELDE, *Treasurer*

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Roger Sherman

Robt. P. Vail

Daniel P. Trude

S. S. Anderson

Oscar E. Heard

John D. Black

Charles E. Feirich

June C. Smith

W. K. Bracken

J. W. Clendenin

Clarence W. Heyl

W. R. Dusher

GEORGE M. BRINKERHOFF.**1839-1928.**

Funeral services for George Madoc Brinkerhoff, sr., 89, for many years active in the business, civic and political life of Springfield, were held at the residence, 515 Keys avenue, at 2:30 p. m. Tuesday, Sept. 11, 1928.

Masonic Lodge services were conducted for the deceased at Oak Ridge cemetery, where burial was made. Rev. John T. Thomas, of the First Presbyterian church officiated at the funeral.

Pallbearers were A. C. Millspaugh, E. F. Irwin, Dr. A. C. Baxter, George Pasfield, P. E. Hatch, W. R. Vredenburg, F. P. Ide and H. A. Converse.

A resident of the city sixty-nine years, Mr. Brinkerhoff died at 1:15 p. m. Sunday at his residence following several months' illness. He had been active until a short time ago in the greenhouse business in which he had been engaged for many years.

Mr. Brinkerhoff was the oldest Mason in the city both in age and in point of membership. He was identified with every civic movement for many years and was also active in politics, holding several city offices.

Mr. Brinkerhoff was born Aug. 20, 1839, in Adams county, Pennsylvania, near Gettysburg. He was graduated from Gettysburg College in the spring of 1859, and in the fall of that year came to Springfield to instruct in Mathematics and Latin at the old Illinois State University.

On Aug. 4, 1862, he was married to Miss Isabella Hawley in this city. They were the parents of six children. One son died in infancy and a daughter, Cornelia, died March 24, 1906. Mrs. Brinkerhoff died June 12, 1894.

Soon after coming to Springfield Mr. Brinkerhoff began to be active in public life, serving two terms as city comptrol-



GEORGE M. BRINKERHOFF

ler. He held office at the time Springfield's first waterworks system was installed and dug up the first shovelful of dirt for the construction of the reservoir at Reservoir park, more than sixty years ago.

Mr. Brinkerhoff was later chief clerk in the state auditor's office for two terms and he inaugurated the system for state supervision of insurance companies which is still in use.

When the Springfield Iron Company was organized Mr. Brinkerhoff left the auditor's office to become secretary of the new organization which position he held for fifteen years.

At that time he was also engaged in the mortgage, loan and real estate business from which he retired about thirty years ago. Since then he maintained an active interest in floriculture until his last illness.

A republican, Mr. Brinkerhoff showed great interest in national, state and local politics. He was personally acquainted with the most prominent leaders in state and national affairs of the last fifty years. It was his good fortune to know Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. General Grant was drillmaster at Camp Butler and visited frequently with Mr. Brinkerhoff when he called at the state auditor's office. William Jennings Bryan, before he was nationally known, came to Mr. Brinkerhoff at the auditor's office for his father's warrants. Gen. John A. Logan was another warm friend of Mr. Brinkerhoff's.

He was a member of First Presbyterian church and was a charter member of practically all the local organizations, in which he held membership. He helped institute several Masonic lodges in this district.

Mr. Brinkerhoff was a member of St. Paul's Lodge No. 500, A. F. & A. M., a member of the Springfield Consistory, Elwood Commandery No. 6, Knights Templar, Ansar Temple, Springfield, Springfield chapter No. 1, Royal Arch Masons, Springfield council No. 2, Royal and Select Masters, and Flower City Chapter No. 152, Order of Eastern Star.

He was also a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Sangamo club, the Illini Country club, the Illinois State Historical Association, a charter member of the Lincoln Centennial association and was the last survivor of the Lincoln Monument association.

He is survived by two sons, John H. and George M., jr., and two daughters, Marian B. and Bessie W. Brinkerhoff, who were at the bedside at the time of his death; two brothers, James W. Brinkerhoff, of Ottawa, Kan., and Henry Brinkerhoff, of California.

GEORGE M. BRINKERHOFF.

Editorial, ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL,
Tuesday, September 11, 1928.

One who has been a distinguished and useful citizen of Springfield passed away when George M. Brinkerhoff died at his home in this city Sunday, at the age of eighty-nine years. His biography says of him that he was Springfield's oldest Mason in age and in period of membership. He knew Lincoln and brought to this present day recollections of the stirring times that preceded the Civil war.

During his long life in this community he filled many places of responsibility and played well his part in the civic development of Springfield and Sangamon County. From a village he saw it grow into a magnificent city that is known, the world over, for its places of historic interest and its industrial products. Few of his contemporaries of those days when he was most active remain. Only one or two live who can relate from personal contact the story of the sixties and seventies. Time rapidly calls the roster and nears the ends of the list. But the city and the county can never do too much to preserve and cherish the memories of these devoted and stout hearted men who pioneered in this inhospitable country and subdued it to the needs of civilization. Mr. Brinkerhoff was among these and his works are seen today all about us.

Editorial, ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER,

Wisdom, modesty and kindliness were among the many praiseworthy attributes of George M. Brinkerhoff, sr., who passed away Sunday at his residence in Springfield. The brief sketch of his life appearing elsewhere in this issue of the STATE REGISTER carries the reader back to a period when this city was laying the foundations for its present great structure. Serving as city comptroller back in those early days, and in his subsequent capacities in public and private life, Mr. Brinkerhoff contributed to the well being and up-building of this community. That he was a close friend of Abraham Lincoln, General Grant and others whose names are sacred in the history of the development of this state and nation suggests the inspiration which he found in those early days to the constructive dignity which marked his long and useful life. Nearly ninety years old at the time of his death, he has seen Springfield grow from its infancy to the great city that it is today. Here he reared a family which has honored him and the community. To its members the STATE REGISTER extends most sincere sympathy in their bereavement.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-34. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1927. (Nos. 6-26 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. clvi and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. xxxiii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles by Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law Series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph. D., LL. D. lxv and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall. xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Out of print.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 182 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I. No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXI. No. 3, Oct., 1928.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to X, inclusive.

*Out of print.

OFFICERS
OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
May, 1928—May, 1929

President

OTTO L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Daytona Beach, Fla.
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City
JOHN MCAULEY PALMER.....Washington, D. C.
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island

Board of Directors

CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP.....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH.....Carbondale
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
J. A. JAMES.....Evanston
IRA W. ALLEN.....La Grange
LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana
THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.....Urbana
H. J. PATTEN.....Evanston
LOGAN HAY.....Springfield
GEORGE C. DIXON.....Dixon
LINCOLN WELDON.....Bloomington
GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield
THOMAS REES.....Springfield
JOSEPH B. OAKLEAF.....Moline
CORNELIUS J. DOYLE.....Springfield

Secretary-Treasurer

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents

THE PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN ILLINOIS

CONTENTS

I. Officers of the Society.....	v
II. Appeal to the Historical Society and the General Public..	ix
III. George D. Harmon. Douglas and the Compromise of 1850	453
IV. Paul M. Angle. The Peoria Truce.....	500
V. Thomas Rees. Nauvoo, Illinois, under Mormon and Icarian Occupation	506
VI. Margaret Katherine Schnapp. Historic Churches in Illinois. Prize Essay.....	525
VII. Bess D. Moss. Statue of the Madonna of the Trail, un- veiled at Vandalia by Daughters of the American Revolution	534
VIII. Mrs. Charles E. Davidson. Bronze Memorial Tablet to Soldiers of 1812, unveiled at Greenville, Illinois.....	541
IX. N. E. Gochenour. One Hundredth Anniversary of Pres- byterian Church of Vandalia, Illinois.....	547
X. L. H. Pammel. Benjamin Dann Walsh.....	556
XI. O. F. James. The Illinois State Society of Washington, D. C.	569
XII. Illinois Day Observance by the Illinois State Historical Society, Dec. 3, 1928.....	571
XIII. Gift of ring from Lincoln to Joseph Medill.....	572
XIV. Mrs. Talitha Catherine Dartt, Illinois' Only Real Daugh- ter of the American Revolution.....	573
XV. Necrology	579
E. H. Scott	
Phil Mitchell	
Mrs. Richard J. Oglesby	
XVI. Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society	592

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(MEMBERS PLEASE READ THIS CIRCULAR LETTER.)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography, and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian Tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Co-operative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed Works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; Materials for Illinois History; old Letters, Journals.

2. Manuscripts; Narratives of the Pioneers of Illinois; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great Rebellion, or other wars; Biographies of the Pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every County either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlement of every Township, Village, and the Neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois History.

3. City Ordinances, proceedings of Mayor and Council; Reports of Committees of Council; Pamphlets or Papers of any kind printed by authority of the City; Reports of Boards of Trade; Maps of cities and Plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in the State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Illinois; Political Addresses; Railroad Reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual or other Reports of School Boards, School Superintendents, and School Committees; Educational Pamphlets, Programs and Papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier Laws; Journals and Reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' Messages and Reports of State Officers; Reports of State Charitable and other State Institutions.

7. Files of Illinois Newspapers and Magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of Counties or Townships, of any date; Views and Engravings of buildings or historic places; Drawings or Photographs of scenery; Paintings; Portraits, etc., connected with Illinois History.

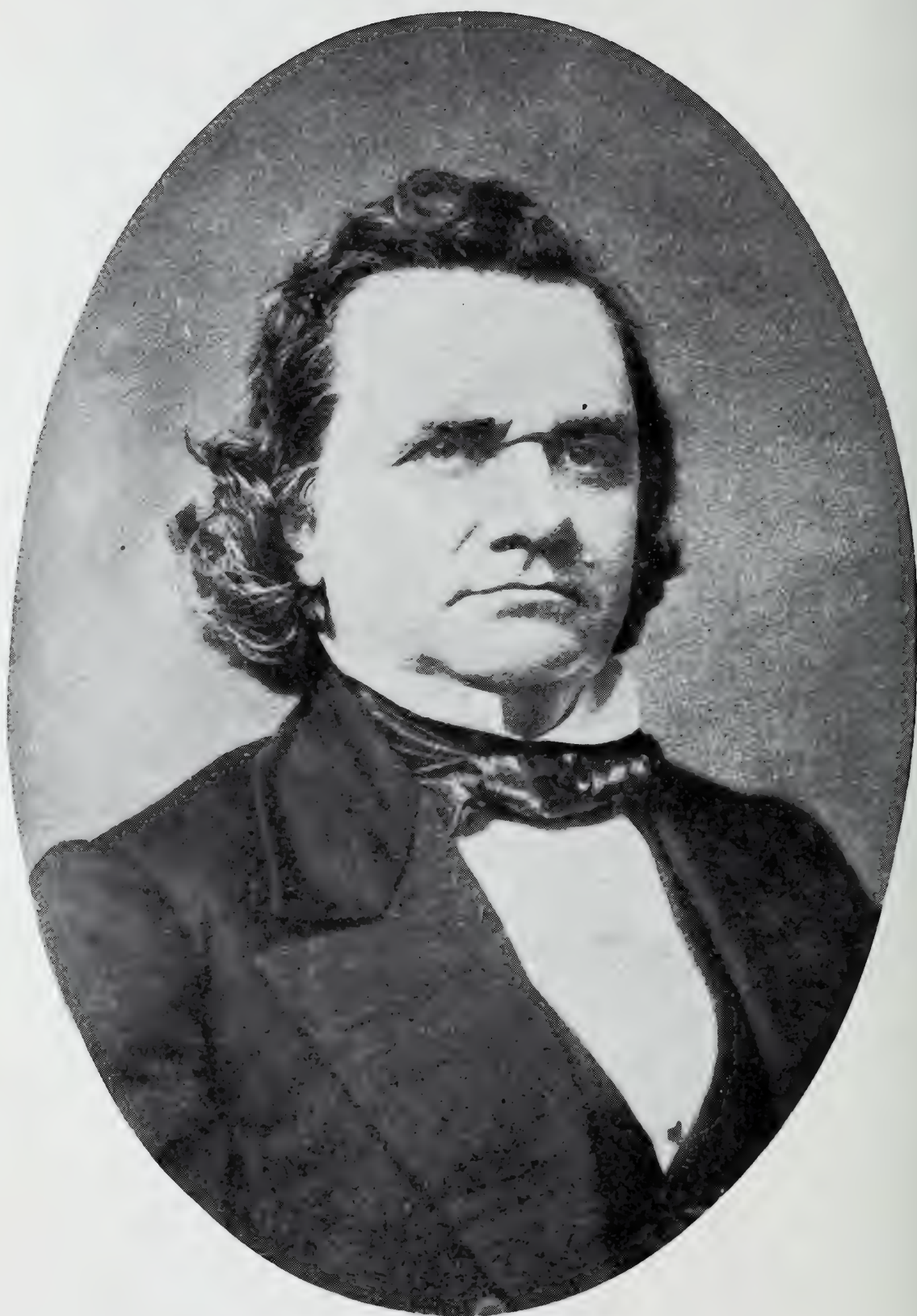
9. Curiosities of all kinds; Coins; Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statuary; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes—their History, Characteristics, Religion, etc.; Sketches of prominent Chiefs, Orators and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities, and Implements; also Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics. It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

DOUGLAS AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

BY GEORGE D. HARMON,

*Assistant Professor of History, Lehigh University,
Bethlehem, Pa.*

With the admission of Texas in 1845, the settlement of the Oregon boundary during the next year, and the Mexican cession two years later, new and difficult problems were thrust upon Congress. So long as New Mexico was foreign territory, the disputed boundary between that province and Texas was a matter of diplomacy, but when New Mexico became American territory, the diplomatic problem which was largely free from the question of slavery became an internal problem—one for Congress to settle—pregnant with the hideous question of slavery. In addition Congress had to provide territorial governments for the new possessions. The problem to be decided was which province, if any, should be slave, and which, if any, should be free. The two major parties refused to take a stand upon the slavery issue; so the issues confronting the people inside of the party lines were: the ineffective fugitive slave law of 1793, the interstate slave trade, the question of slavery, and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and also within the territories. Every thinking person of the time belonged to one or another of the several groups according to the view he took of two things: slavery itself, and the body of law that had grown up about it. "There were the abolitionists, who believed slavery to be so utterly wrong that they were ready to go all lengths to get rid of it, violating the Constitution, breaking the compromises, endangering the Union. There were the Southern fire-eaters, who not only believed slavery right but were similarly willing to go all lengths to defend and extend it. There were the moderate men who made up the bulk of the two great parties in the North, who believed slavery wrong but felt themselves bound by the compromises of the Constitution which protected it where it already existed

and debarred from any method of attacking it which might bring the Union into danger. There were the moderate men of the South, Whigs and Democrats alike, who believed either that slavery was right or at least that there was no better state possible for the mass of blacks, but who were yet devoted to the Union and respected their constitutional obligations. Finally, there were men so constituted that they could decline to take any thought whether slavery was right or wrong and could deal with every question that arose concerning it as a question of expediency...or of law and precedent."¹

Up to this time it was not known which of these groups Douglas would join. His public career was too meagre and brief to ascertain clearly where he stood. Douglas was elected to Congress in 1843, and had largely drafted the joint resolution admitting Texas into the Union.² While a member of the house of Representatives, he had voted against the Wilmot Proviso in 1846 and 1847. In the latter year he was elected to the Senate.

A few minutes after President Polk announced to Congress the conclusion of the Oregon treaty with Great Britain and recommended, at the earliest possible moment, the organization of a territorial government for the newly acquired territory,³ Douglas offered a bill of this nature, stating it had been prepared before the terms of the treaty had been made public.⁴ The House so amended the bill as to incorporate the provision of the Ordinance of 1787 which forbade slavery. The session of Congress ended however without providing a territorial government for Oregon.

Upon becoming Senator, Douglas was made chairman of the Committee on Territories.⁵ On January 10, 1848, he, for the fourth time, presented a bill for the establishment of a government for Oregon.⁶ Unfortunately, at this time, the Senator from Illinois was called to the bed-side of his father-in-law who lived in Mississippi. His absence caused a deadlock in the Committee on Territories between the Whigs and Democrats, over the clause which prohibited slavery in Oregon. As a result, a select committee was

¹ Brown, W. G. (Riverside series) *Life of Stephen A. Douglas*, 62-63.

² Johnson, A., *Life of Douglas*, 97, 98, 105.

³ Polk, *Diary*, entry for June 17, 1846.

⁴ *Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st sess., 1203.

⁵ He was chairman of a similar committee in the House, 1845-47.

⁶ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 804.

appointed with Senator Clayton as Chairman. Within a few days a compromise bill was drafted and reported which embraced not only Oregon, but also California and New Mexico, thus setting a precedent for the Omnibus Bill.⁷ After a long and bitter debate it was finally accepted by the Senate. Douglas returned in time to vote for the Compromise and to use his influence in securing its passage. His efforts were wasted, however, for the House merely laid the bill on the table without reading it.⁸

After the failure of the Clayton Compromise, Douglas again reported his original bill. Hoping to make the bill more acceptable, he offered an amendment to the objectionable prohibitory clause by adding the words "inasmuch as the said territory is north of 36° 30' of north latitude, usually known as the Missouri Compromise." He informed the Senate that it was the wish of his committee that "no senator's vote on the bill should be understood as committing him on the great question." Hence he invited the Senate to act without creating a precedent.

Subsequently, Douglas proposed the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific.⁹ However, after a long and bitter debate, he voted to recede from his proposal,¹⁰ and the Oregon bill passed with the restrictive clause borrowed from the Ordinance of 1787. Polk signed the bill, stating that his reason for so doing was because the territory was north of the compromise line of 1820.

During the recess of Congress, Polk read to Douglas confidentially certain portions of his forthcoming address to Congress among which was the part dealing with the establishment of territorial governments in California and New Mexico. In the spirit of compromise, the President was still willing to extend the Missouri Compromise line through our new possessions to the Pacific. If this should be unacceptable, he would give his consent to the bill which would leave the irritable question of slavery in the territories to the courts as had been proposed by Clayton. Douglas gave the President his unqualified approval.¹¹

⁷ For terms of the Compromise, see, *Globe*, 30th Cong., 1st sess., 950. The printed bill may be found on pages 1002-1005.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1007. Bill passed the Senate July 27; vote 33 to 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1061-62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1078.

¹¹ *Polk's Diary*, IV, 194, November 11, 1848.

When Congress met, however, Douglas had arranged his own programme. It differed from anything the President had suggested. He proposed to admit California, New Mexico, and the remaining Mexican cession into the Union as one state under the name of California.¹² Later in 1851,¹³ he said that he introduced his California bill with the approval of President Polk, but in this Douglas doubtless erred. He himself deserves full credit for this bill.¹⁴ Douglas endeavored to justify himself in departing from precedent in this instance, on the ground of California's unprecedented growth in population. Besides, doubt existed as to whether a territorial bill could pass during the short session for three bills had already been rejected.¹⁵ The people of California needed a legal government. Every effort should be made to furnish them the necessary governmental protection. Douglas, however, reserved the right of Congress to form new states out of any portion of said territory which lies east of the Sierra Nevada mountains. Douglas also said that if the Senate desired that a territorial bill shall be introduced in the place of this, he was now ready to support the bill of Senator Clayton from Delaware, (the Clayton Compromise); "or, with still greater pleasure, support a bill presenting and carrying out the Missouri Compromise, as I proposed myself at the last session. But if we cannot get this, I am in favor of giving law to the people of that country by bringing it into the Union at once, that we may give quietness and harmony to the country," and that the question may be settled.¹⁶

While it is true that California had a tremendous increase in population, Douglas did not make known his real thought. What he really wanted and proposed, was to avoid the question of slavery in the territories. If California could skip the territorial stage altogether, it might then form its own government with or without slavery. No one could deny this right after it had become a state in the Union.

This bill seemed to surprise President Polk. Frequent conversations were held between the President and his

¹² *Polk's Diary*, IV, 194-6.

¹³ December 21, 1851, See Douglas's speech of that day.

¹⁴ Polk, *Diary*, IV, entries for Dec. 11, 12, 13, 14, 1848.

¹⁵ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 21.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 21.

Cabinet and also between Douglas and the President. The plan of leaving the slavery question to the people of the new state might be an ingenious one, but that of forming the entire Mexican cession into a single state was an objectionable feature; therefore, in repeated interviews, Polk urged Douglas to draft a separate bill for New Mexico and California. Douglas seemed favorably inclined to adopt the President's suggestions, "but did not decide positively to do so."¹⁷

Meanwhile, much to the chagrin of Douglas, his California bill was not referred to his Committee but to the Committee on the Judiciary. Four out of the five members of the latter committee were Southerners, and the vote would accordingly be a sectional one;¹⁸ hence an adverse report was almost assured. The people of the new provinces, if signs were true, would exclude slavery, for the people of New Mexico had already petitioned Congress against slavery.¹⁹ The South was very sensitive to such signs. The committee said that the bill was a radical departure from precedent and asked, when had Congress ever formed a state out of "an unorganized body of people having no constitution, or laws or legitimate bond of Union?" California was supposed to be a sovereign state, yet the bill gave Congress power to create new states out of it; in addition, Texas claimed part of New Mexico and endless litigation would be the subsequent result. The committee, therefore, felt that it would be far more prudent to organize California and New Mexico into two separate and distinct territories.²⁰

In reply to these objections, Douglas said that the question of sovereignty did not necessarily depend upon the size of a state; that Congress could carve new states out of California without injuring the sovereignty of that state; that in case of doubt he was willing to add the clause, "with the consent of the state," that, as for precedent for admitting states into the Union without an organized government, which was recognized by Congress he named Tennessee, Vermont, and Kentucky.²¹ He said "that the only issue now presented, is

¹⁷ *Polk's Diary*, IV, 236-37. See entries for Dec. 11, 12, 13, 14, 1848.

¹⁸ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 46-49.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 46-49.

²⁰ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 190-92.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 192-93.

whether you will admit California as a state, or whether you will leave it without a government, exposed to all the horrors of anarchy and violence. I have no hope of a territorial government this session. No man is more willing to adopt such a form of government than I would be; no man would work with more energy or assiduity to accomplish that object at this session than I would. But I regard the passage of a territorial bill at this session as almost an impossibility. I do trust, therefore, that the Senate will consent to pass a bill at this session of Congress. And it was, sir, in consequence of entertaining this view that I have endeavored to present the constitutionality of such a bill and to advocate its passage.^{'22}

When this bill failed, Douglas did not surrender; there was still hope. With characteristic persistence, and in quick succession, he framed two other bills, one of which provided for a division of California and for the admission of the western part as a state in the Union.²³ When this, likewise, failed he introduced the second bill providing for the admission of California and New Mexico as separate states in accordance with the previous suggestion of President Polk.²⁴ The Senate had no patience with such haphazard legislation.^{24a} Douglas, however, strove again and again to have it taken up, but the Senate persistently refused to consider it.

With parties disorganized and sectional feelings of intense nature exhibited on every hand, it was doubtful when Congress would be able to pass a bill providing for a government in California. With dissatisfaction within the ranks of the southern wing of the Democratic party and the suspicion of a conspiracy being formed by Calhoun to break up the Union, there was added further difficulty to the situation which made harmonious party action, thenceforth, between Northern and Southern Democrats well nigh impossible. During the debates which followed, Douglas said: "Sir, if we wish to settle this question of slavery, let us banish the agitation from these halls. Let us remove the causes which produce it; let us settle the territories we have acquired in a man-

²² *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 193.

²³ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 262.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 381.

^{24a} *Ibid.*, 436, 551, 553.

ner to satisfy the honor and respect the feelings of every portion of the Union. Bring those territories into this Union as states upon an equal footing with the original states. Let the people of such states settle the question of slavery within their limits, as they would settle the question of banking, or any other domestic institution, according to their own will.”²⁵

Douglas also said: “No man advocates the extension of slavery over territory now free. On the other hand, they deny the propriety of Congress interfering to restrain, upon the great fundamental principle that the people are the source of all power; that from the people must emanate all government; that the people have the same right in these territories to establish a government for themselves that we have to overthrow our present government and establish another if we please, or that any other government has to establish one for itself.”²⁶

About this time a change had come over Douglas himself. He could no longer speak of needed legislation apart from sectional interests; “he could no longer treat slavery with assumed indifference; he could no longer affect to rise above such petty, local concerns to matters of national importance. He was now bound to admit, that slavery stood squarely in the way of national expansion. This change of attitude was brought about in part, at least, by external pressure applied by the legislature of Illinois. With no little chagrin, he was forced to present resolutions from his own state legislature, instructing him and his colleagues in Congress to use their influence to secure the prohibition of slavery in the Mexican cession.”²⁷ Douglas, accordingly, voted for the Wilmot proviso contrary to his noninterference policy just enunciated.

Ten days prior to the adjournment of Congress, the California question again came forward for consideration. Senator Walker of Wisconsin offered a rider to the appropriation bill; it proposed the extension of the Constitution and laws of the United States to the territories.²⁸ There is no doubt that the bill was introduced to bring legislation to a standstill, but Webster immediately inquired, if Congress could

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 208.

²⁶ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 314-15.

²⁷ Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 139-40.

²⁸ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 140. See *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 56.

thus extend the Constitution. Calhoun replied in the affirmative, but Douglas refused to enter the "subtle questions of constitutional law thus raised." If the Senate would not pass his own statehood bill, he was for the Walker amendment. He thought there was no time to argue points of law when there were Americans in California unprotected from the outrages of criminals and thieves.²⁹

Yielding to necessity, the Senate passed the appropriation bill, including the rider, but the House obdurately clung to its own bill to organize a territorial government for California,³⁰ with a clause prohibiting slavery. Great excitement prevailed in Congress during the following day. A conference committee was unable to reach any agreement. Then Douglas gave his support to the House bill and tried to force it through the Senate. He said: "I have tried to get up state bills, territorial bills, and all kinds of bills in all shapes, in the hope that some bill, in some shape, would satisfy the Senate; but thus far I have found their taste in relation to this matter too fastidious for my humble efforts. Now I wish to make another and a final effort on this bill, to see if the Senate [Senators] are disposed to do anything toward giving a government to the people of California."³¹

On March 3, the Senate and House remained in session until late at night.³² Sectional feeling was strong. There were two fist-fights in the House and "at least one in the Senate."³³ There was danger of Congress adjourning without passing the much needed appropriation bill. Some of the Senators became uneasy for fear they would not draw their salary. A decided effort was, therefore, made to secure its passage. In order that the whole California subject might be stricken out altogether, Jefferson Davis proposed that the Senate "disagree to the Amendment of the House; and. . . . that the Senate appoint a Committee of Conference," so, "at this last moment of the session, we may proceed to pass the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill."³⁴

²⁹ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., App., 275-76. Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 140-41.

³⁰ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 595, 665.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 668.

³² Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 141.

³³ Polk, *Diary*, IV, 371-72.

³⁴ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 685.

Douglas responded: "That is the last of all propositions that I can consent to. I would rather see the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill fail, than to see the proposition for a government for California fail. Between the two evils, it does not take me an instant to choose which I would prefer. I have supported every form of bill on which we have been able to vote, in order to give a government to California. I am prepared to do it yet, so far as I can do it, consistently with the principles which I hold to be essential. But I cannot consent now to abandon the whole thing; to leave the people of California without a government, merely for the sake of getting a little money for our own office-holders." He said let the office-holders do without their salary, if necessary, and provide a government that would protect the Californians from plunder and murder.³⁵

The Civil and Diplomatic Bill finally passed with the House amendment relative to slavery stricken out, and also void of Senator Walker's provision for the Government of California and New Mexico.³⁶ The Senate, however, adjourned without taking action on the House Bill.³⁷

The outcome was disheartening to the Chairman of the Committee on Territories. "His programme had miscarried at every important point. Only his bill for the organization of Minnesota became law. A similar bill for Nebraska failed to receive consideration. The future of California remained problematic. Indeed, political changes in Illinois made his own future somewhat problematic."³⁸

The Democratic National Convention of 1848 nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan, the author of the theory of popular sovereignty in territories; however, the Democratic platform was very vague and non-committal. On the other hand, the Whig National Convention nominated Zachary Taylor, a southerner and a slave-holder, also on a non-committal platform. The election resulted in the success of Taylor. He had never declared any opinions on the questions in dispute, and it is doubtful if he had an opinion prior to his election.

When President Taylor assumed office, he refused to call an extra session of Congress, hoping that Utah, New Mexico,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 685.

³⁶ *Polk's Diary*, IV 369.

³⁷ *Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., 691-92.

³⁸ Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 142.

and California in the meantime would frame constitutions and be knocking at the door of Congress for admission as states in the Union when the regular session of Congress convened. This programme partially miscarried. In his first message to Congress, the President merely stated that California had of her own motion made ready for statehood; that New Mexico, he hoped, would soon follow her example; and he recommended that both be admitted into the Union with such constitutions as they might present. Almost immediately, the House, where thirteen free-soilers held a balance of power, entered into a long controversy over the speakership; and the Senate subsequently entered into a fierce debate over certain anti-slavery resolutions presented from the legislature of Vermont. "The North seemed to be united on the Wilmot Proviso as it had never before been united on any measure of opposition to slavery, and the South, fearing to lose the fruits of her many victories in statesmanship, in diplomacy, and on Mexican battlefields, was threatening disunion if, by the admission of California as a free state with no slave state to balance her equality of representation in the Senate should be destroyed. The portents were all of disagreement, struggle, disaster."³⁹ The North demanded the establishment of governments for all the territories of the United States with a prohibition of slavery; the admission of California into the Union as a free state; the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the District of Columbia.

On the other hand, the South demanded an efficient fugitive slave act; the establishment of territorial governments for all the territories, including California, but without a prohibition of slavery. The Texas boundary question was one on which the several parties disagreed, the South supported the claims of Texas for it was a slave state, and the North insisted the disputed area formed part of New Mexico for that territory was free by Mexican law.

Before Congress convened the Californians had already drafted a constitution prohibiting slavery; the New Mexicans had petitioned for its abolition; and, on December 27, 1849, Douglas presented a memorial of the provisional government of the people of Deseret, accompanied by a constitution and

³⁹ Brown, *Life of Douglas*, 69-70.

form of government, praying for admission into the Union as a state, or the organization of a Territorial government by Congress,⁴⁰ which was submitted, on motion by Douglas to the Committee on Territories on January 22, 1850.

Senator Foote submitted a resolution, December 27, saying that it was the duty of Congress, at this session, to establish suitable governments for California, Deseret, and New Mexico.⁴¹ On the same day, Senator Clemens submitted a resolution requiring the President to inform Congress to what extent, if any, he had encouraged the people of California to frame constitutions, and upon what ground did he make the statement that New Mexico would probably frame a constitution and request admission into the Union.⁴² To the resolution of Clemens, Douglas gave his support.⁴³ Senator Mason of Virginia introduced a bill for the rendition of fugitive slaves on January 4. It was referred to the proper committee and was reported back to the Senate on January 16, by Senator Butler from the Judiciary Committee. On the 14th of January, Senator Houston submitted a series of resolutions covering most of the subjects already mentioned.⁴⁴ Thomas H. Benton submitted a bill for the purpose of reducing the Texas boundary with remuneration to the State. Texas was to be subsequently divided into two states.

On January 16, Foote of Mississippi submitted a bill somewhat different from that of December 27 which provided for the organization of Territorial Governments of California, Deseret, and New Mexico, and to enable the people of Jacinto, with the consent of the state of Texas, to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such states into the Union upon equal footing with the original states in the Union.⁴⁵

The bill was debated in the Senate on January 21 and 22, and Foote endeavored to have the bill referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, but Douglas threw his influence against it. The latter moved to take up from the table the memorial of the people of Deseret, begging to be admitted as

⁴⁰ *Senate Journal*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 434. See *Globe*, 86.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 34-35.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

⁴⁴ Sheahan, *Life of Douglas*, 128.

⁴⁵ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 168-71, Jacinto is in Eastern Texas.

a state or given a territorial government, and refer it to his Committee. Clay and Foote opposed the motion of Douglas, but the Little Giant was successful in his efforts; therefore the memorial was referred to the Committee on Territories.⁴⁶ Douglas then moved to refer the bill introduced by Foote to the same committee, which was also approved. The Territorial Committee now had the entire subject before it.

Thus facts prove that by January 25, there had been bills or resolutions introduced either jointly or individually in the Senate to admit California as a state in the Union, to organize territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico, to settle the Texas boundary controversy with remuneration to the state of Texas and to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. When Clay gave his famous compromise programme of January 29, he merely took over the various bills and resolutions then pending in Congress, revised them, made them his own, and presented them in one grand compilation. If facts mean anything, The Great Pacificator did not present anything novel or startling in his worthy plan.

Senator Clay's proposed resolutions to settle the distracting questions, however, were promptly discussed. On February 5th and 6th, he addressed the Senate upon the subjects embraced in his resolutions. On the 13th of the same month the President communicated to the Senate the Constitution of the state of California. Benton suggested its reference to a select committee.⁴⁷ At the same time Foote suggested that it be referred to a select committee of fifteen to be instructed to consider all the questions relating to slavery in the territories.⁴⁸ Douglas opposed the proposals of Foote and Benton, and moved that the matter be referred to the Committee on Territories.⁴⁹ Benton moved that Douglas's motion be amended by adding that said committee be instructed to report a bill for the admission of California, disconnected with any other subject of legislation.⁵⁰ This amendment to Douglas's proposal precipitated a heated debate upon

⁴⁶ Senator Benton submitted a bill, January 16, for the purpose of reducing the Texas boundary which was referred to the Judiciary Committee—*Senate Journal*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 87.

⁴⁷ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 354-55.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 355.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 355.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 369.

the general subject of slavery and the propriety of passing a compromise in one omnibus bill. On February 25, Foote offered his resolution to refer all the pending resolutions upon the subject of the Territories, Texas boundary, and other questions of a similar nature to a select committee of thirteen.⁵¹ On February 28th, Senator Bell of Tennessee presented his compromise⁵² scheme which was more in accord with the administration plan; but Clay's proposal was, in the meantime, discussed from various angles.

Granting Clay the title of "Great Pacificator," his compromise measures, taken together, like the administration plan, satisfied very few members in the Senate or in the House. "The great majority of the North were utterly unwilling to abandon the restriction of slavery in the territories. A formidable minority of the same section was equally as unwilling to comply with that clause of the Constitution requiring the rendition of fugitive slaves. This latter class, also, were not satisfied with the bare suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but insisted upon a total abolition."⁵³

Of the Southern members there was an overwhelming majority opposed to the admission of California as a state, "under the Constitution so formed, irregularly and without the authority of law." The Southern Whigs were willing to admit California under her constitution; but required that in the organization of the territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico, the people from the South settling and colonizing these territories, should be permitted to carry their slaves with them, if they chose; and that the whole people there should be permitted to frame such constitutions as they desired in reference to African slavery; and upon their application for admission into the Union, they should be received as states without any Congressional restriction upon the subject. So matters stood in both houses. No active demonstration of forces was exerted in either house until February 18. However, the general compromise plan was discussed daily. "Clay, Calhoun and Webster had spoken with all the weight of their years upon these propositions, before Douglas was

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 418. At first Senator Foote sponsored a Committee of 15.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 436.

⁵³ *Stephens, A. H., The War between the states*, II, 200.

free to address the Senate.”⁵⁴ Douglas made only two outstanding speeches from February 12 to March 15. On the former date he spoke briefly but convincingly. The occasion was the discussion which followed the presentation of the petition asking that slavery be forbidden in the territory of New Mexico and California. On the question of applying the Wilmot Proviso, Douglas expressed his heartfelt feelings on the subject in defense of the principle of popular sovereignty. He said, “I have opposed the Wilmot Proviso on other grounds; that it was in violation of the great fundamental principles of self-government; that it was a question which the people should be left to decide for themselves. I have always held, and I hold now, that if the people of California want slavery they have a right to it, and if they do not, it should not be forced upon them.” Then Douglas continued with great vigor and force:

“I go further and I hold that to prohibit slavery in the territories, while it is a violation of the great fundamental principle of self-government, it is no violation of the rights of the southern states. . . . ; that for us to recognize slavery in the territories is no violation of the rights of the northern states. In that sense, neither the northern nor the southern states has a right there, in my opinion to do either. Either to prohibit or establish slavery by an act of Congress, over a people not represented here is a violation of the people of California.Talk to me about the rights of the North, or the rights of the South! Neither has any right there so far as the institution of slavery is concerned. Why, sir, the principle of self-government is, that each community shall settle this question for itself; I hold that the people of California have a right either to prohibit or establish slavery, and we have no right to complain either in the North or in the South, whichever they do. . . .”

Douglas thus perceived that the question of the right of Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in the territories was irritating to both sections and that neither section has any such right. He accordingly desired and urged that the entire question be left to the people of the territories to decide for themselves. It matters little whether Douglas may be considered as an anti- or pro-slavery man. On the con-

⁵⁴ Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 177.

trary, it must be seen that from the practical point of actual settlement, a harmonious union of the two sections must be effected. In this sense Douglas's parley was nothing but an appeal for a compromise. Or, more particularly, his appeal was that both the North and the South equally should endorse the principle of popular sovereignty and leave the whole question of slavery to the people concerned. "It is evident that Douglas decided to place himself among the rank of compromisers on the above ground. And, taking this position, he must have known that it meant the victory for the free states in the end."⁵⁵

After the leading orators and statesmen had spoken, Douglas on March 13 and 14 came forward with a programme which he had largely formulated in his own committee. Accordingly he did not choose to speak on the much debated compromise provisions, but rather on the concrete question raised by the application of California for admission into the Union. He thus addressed the Senate, refuting in order, as he proceeded, Webster, Seward, Calhoun, and Davis.⁵⁶

It was quite characteristic of Douglas that he chose to speak on the concrete question raised by the application of California for admission into the Union. His opening words "betrayed no elevation of feeling, no alarmed patriotism transcending party lines, no great moral uplift. He made no direct reference to the state of public mind."⁵⁷ Clay began with an invocation. Webster pleaded for a hearing as an American, with the preservation of the Union as his theme; "Douglas sprang at once to the defense of his party." He presented the policy of northern Democrats on the question of the annexation of Texas and repudiated the implications of Webster that Texas had been sought as a slave state. The whole of Texas, he said, was not bound to be slave territory. He showed that by the terms of annexation free states might be carved out of the state of Texas.⁵⁸ After dwelling upon the validity of the existing laws, he ventured to proclaim that "Slavery, then, is prohibited in all the country acquired from Mexico, by a fundamental law—a constitutional provision

⁵⁵ Akagi, R. H., "Douglas and the Compromise of 1850" (unpublished) 20-27.

⁵⁶ Benton, Cass, Calhoun (whose speech was read by Mason), Webster, Davis and Seward had already spoken.

⁵⁷ Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 177.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 177. See *Globe*, 30th Cong., 1st sess., App. 366.

adopted by the inhabitants of the country, and which must continue in force forever unless repealed by competent authority.”^{58a}

Douglas next commented upon Webster’s recent discoveries: that slavery is forever excluded from the territories of California and New Mexico by the supreme law of nature, and therefore a prohibition clause in the territorial bills for those territories would be useless. He said that it seems that Webster would have made such a discovery earlier, for it was enunciated by Buchanan and Cass but opposed by the New Englander two years ago.

Douglas objected to the Wilmot Proviso for two reasons: (1) that it denies the people the right of popular sovereignty, and (2) that it not only prohibits slavery in the territories while they remain territories but pledged the “faith of the nation that slavery should never exist in the country acquired, either while it remained in the condition of territories or after it should have been admitted into the Union on equal footing with the original states.” He adds:

“The Wilmot Proviso in a territorial bill or a state constitution! What a confusion of ideas—a provision of terms!It proposed to deprive the people of the right of moulding and framing their domestic institutions to suit themselves.The Wilmot Proviso, therefore, proposed to pledge the faith of this nation in the most solemn manner to submit and destroy the constitutional right of one or more of the new states of this Union.”

Douglas, after demonstrating the opposition on the part of the Democrats, then concluded: “California and New Mexico were acquired by an absolute and not a conditional title, with the right to dispose of and govern them as the people might determine under the Constitution of the United States. From the day on which the ratification of treaty was exchanged by the two countries the Wilmot Proviso became an absolute idea, having died an eternal death, without hope of resurrection.”⁵⁹

When Douglas began to reply to Calhoun, he was able to emancipate himself from the fetters of partisanship. He de-

^{58a} *Ibid*, *Globe 30th Cong., 1st sess.*, App. 366.

⁵⁹ How does such a statement as this compare with the instructions of the Illinois State Legislature which compelled its representatives to vote for the Wilmot Proviso?

voted considerable time to thwarting what he termed, Calhoun's fundamental error—"the error of supposing that his particular section has a right to have 'a due share of the territories' set apart and assigned to it." Douglas's eloquent passage reads thus:

"What share had the South of the territories? or the North? or any other geographical division unknown to the Constitution? I answer, none—none at all. The territories belong to the United States as one people, one nation, and are to be disposed of for the common benefit of all, according to the principle of the Constitution. Each state, as a member of the Confederacy, has a right to a voice in forming the rules and regulations for the government of the territories, but the different sections—North, South, East, and West—have no such right. It is no violation of the southern rights to prohibit slavery, nor of northern rights to leave the people to decide the question for themselves. In this sense, no geographical section of the Union is entitled to any share of the territories."

Calhoun had said much about Southern rights and Northern aggressions and cited the Ordinance of 1787 as an example of unfair exclusion of the South from the public domain. Douglas refuted the argument thus presented by Calhoun by citing an instance in Illinois where slavery existed in spite of the Northwest Ordinance. Hence he inferred that the Ordinance of 1787 was practically a dead letter, for it did not make the country to which it applied free from slavery; that the Missouri Compromise did not keep slavery out of the region north of that line, but "slavery was effectually excluded from the whole of that country, by the laws of nature, of climate and production, before, as it is now, by an act of Congress."⁶⁰ Douglas clearly pointed out that the cause of freedom had steadily advanced, while slavery had receded, and that it would be impossible in the future to continue an equal number of slave and free states.⁶¹

Douglas, with the spirit of boastfulness, reminded the Senate of his previous efforts to secure the admission of California into the Union and of his prediction that the people of that country would form a free state constitution. Time had

⁶⁰ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., App. 370.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 37.

sufficed to vindicate his position at the last session of Congress. Yet, the North, he said, was still apprehensive lest slavery should be extended to New Mexico and Utah. "There is no ground for apprehension on this point," he proclaimed. "If there is one inch of territory in the whole of our acquisitions from Mexico where slavery could exist, it was in the valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin, within the limits of California. It should be borne in mind, that climate regulates this matter, and that climate depends upon elevation above the sea as much as upon parallels of latitude." Douglas could not see why the question should be left open for further discussion. Nature alone had decided the question—the cause of freedom would ultimately triumph because climate and geography had so decreed. He said give to the people of California the Government to which they are entitled. "The country is now free by law of nature and in fact—it is free according to those laws of nature and of God, to which the senator from Massachusetts alluded and must forever remain free. It will be free under any bill you may pass, or without any bill at all."⁶² He concluded that the North has been just in its dealings with the South and all other sections, and that it never has excluded emigration into the territories with slaves. Nature alone has thus decreed. Douglas claimed, however, that the question of surrendering fugitive slaves was a power of Congress, by the endorsement of the Supreme Court decision, and not in the state. He admitted that the defective law in this connection "should be remedied." He said, "And I must remind the Senator (Calhoun) that it is as much his duty as mine to devise a remedy and of the South as well as the North to apply it."

He ended by refuting the suggestion made by Calhoun to amend the Constitution so as to establish a permanent equilibrium between slave and free states. This Douglas rightly characterized as a "moral and physical impossibility." Douglas then exclaimed with an exuberant spirit:

"We all look forward with confidence to the time when Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and probably North Carolina and Tennessee, will adopt a gradual

⁶² *Ibid*, *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 373.

system of emancipation, under the operation of which, those states must, in the process of time, become free. In the meantime we have a vast territory, stretching from the Mississippi to the Pacific, which is rapidly filling up with hardy, enterprising, and industrious population, large enough to form at least seventeen new free states, one half of which we may expect to be represented in this body during our day. Of these, I calculate that four will be formed out of Oregon, five out of our late acquisition from Mexico, including the present state of California, two out of the territory of Minnesota, and the residue out of the country upon the Missouri River, including Nebraska. I think I am safe in assuming that each of these will be free territories and free states, whether Congress shall prohibit slavery or not. Now let me inquire, where are you to find the slave territory with which to balance these seventeen free territories, or even any one of them?.....”

He answered his own question in a strong negative: “There is none—none at all.”

A truer prophecy was “never uttered in all the long controversy over the extension of slavery.”⁶³

After commenting upon the self-sacrificing spirit of Senator Clay in presenting his resolutions and of his “matchless moral courage of standing undaunted between the two great hostile factions and rebuking the violence and excess of each,” he concluded with the following optimistic and exultant spirit: “The people of the whole country, north and south, are beginning to see that there is nothing in this controversy which seriously affects the interests, invades the rights, or impugns the honor of any section or state of the Confederacy..... The Union will not be put in peril; California will be admitted; governments for the territories must be established; and thus the controversy will end, and I trust forever.”⁶⁴

What an optimism and what a prophecy in the face of such an impending storm! He stood like a castle on the rock in that famed parable. Yet, history of the succeeding years only acted as a judge that he had stated those jubilant thoughts truthfully. Douglas was vigorous and aggressive,

⁶³ Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 180.

⁶⁴ For the entire speech see: *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., App. 364-375.

farsighted and self-confident in all his utterances. He had weighed them carefully on the delicate political scale of the time.

Although Douglas did not discuss the compromise resolutions, nor commit himself to their support, we have a keynote to Douglas's attitude toward the compromise measures. With masterly eloquence he announced that he believed that California should be admitted with her free constitution; that territorial governments should be established in the Mexican cession on the basis of the principle of popular sovereignty—incidentally declaring the Missouri Compromise to be of no practical force and the prohibition of slavery by acts of Congress to be of no value; and that the defective fugitive slave law should be remedied. Douglas's entire speech is leavened with his pet political philosophy of popular sovereignty; on that basis, though not in specific words, he gave notice that he would labor for the cause of the Compromise. However, he steered the middle course between the two extremes of the North and the South, of the Democrats and the Whigs. He accordingly was able to liberalize the two extreme sections and party factions. Douglas thus became a masterful manipulator of men. He became a great general to guide the Compromise programme successfully through Congress.

Before any definite action was taken on Clay's suggestions, Douglas, having all the territorial bills under his own control, took to his usual aggressive action and drew up two bills^{64a} which he reported on March 25.⁶⁵ These were: (1) A bill to admit California with her free constitution, and (2) a separate bill to establish territorial governments in New Mexico and Utah and for other purposes without prohibition of slavery. This was the first definite action on the Compromise measures.

In order to understand fully this aggressive role of leadership adopted by Douglas, it is necessary to note the origin of these bills. On Monday, February 18, James D. Doty of Wisconsin⁶⁶ offered in the House a resolution instructing the Committee on Territories to report a bill for the admission of California under her Constitution. The purpose was to

^{64a} Sheahan, *Life of Douglas*, 130, 166.

⁶⁵ He remodeled the original bills to suit his own ideas.

⁶⁶ Stephens, A. H., *The War between the States*, II, 201.

admit California without settling the territorial questions. There was a large majority of the members of the House in favor of the admission of California but part of this majority were Southern Whigs, who were opposed to her admission until the territorial question should be adjusted. They accordingly resisted the passage of Doty's resolution.⁶⁷ The vote became almost exclusively sectional.

In this critical condition of affairs, John A. McClernand of Illinois approached Toombs and Stephens of Georgia to ascertain a way to end the contest. They informed McClernand of their objection to the admission of California without a satisfactory adjustment of the territorial question. They insisted that there should be no congressional exclusion of slavery from the public domain; that, "in organizing Territorial Governments, the people under each should be distinctly empowered so to legislate as to allow the introduction of slaves and to frame their Constitutions in respect to African slavery, as they pleased, and when admitted as states into the Union, should be received without any Congressional restriction upon the subject"; that they "never would permit California to be admitted, if 'they' could possibly prevent it, until these Territorial principles were first settled. The propositions were briefly set forth in writing."⁶⁸ McClernand read them, and stated that he thought a compromise could be effected on the basis thus set forth. A meeting was agreed upon for the next night at the Speaker's ⁶⁹ home." There were present Cobb, Toombs, Linn Boyd of Kentucky, Stephens from the South, and McClernand and Richardson of Illinois, and Miller from Ohio of the North. There is little doubt but that the Little Giant suggested to McClernand the idea of approaching these gentlemen with an olive branch. At all events, the latter stated that Douglas of the Senate, with whom he had consulted, "would act in concert with him in anything he might agree to on the subject," but the honorable Senator from Illinois had deemed it best not to be present. Douglas was Chairman of the Committee on Territories of the Senate and Boyd was chairman of the like Committee of the House. Douglas and

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 201-2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Stephens A. H., *The War between the States*, II, 202-203.

⁶⁹ The Speaker of the House was Howell Cobb,

McClernand conferred freely together and understood each other thoroughly;⁷⁰ besides Douglas was on friendly terms with Toombs and Stephens.⁷¹ Although Douglas was not present his influence and moral support of the cause had a great influence in the final result and subsequent developments.

At this meeting, it was agreed that California should be admitted, that territorial governments should be provided, giving the slave owners the right to take their slave property into the territories ceded by Mexico without molestation and that joint efforts should be united to effect these results, as well as the defeat of any attempt to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.⁷² McClernand and Douglas therefore prepared bills on this basis within their respective committees.⁷³ This agreement marks the first triumph on the part of Senator Douglas in the great compromise battle. Yet he did not "compromise" anything so far as his convictions and principles were concerned.

Although Douglas appeared for the moment triumphant in his plan of admitting California with her free constitution and of establishing the territorial governments in New Mexico and Utah without a prohibition of slavery, there was a division within the Committee itself and he had thus to state the situation in reporting the bills to the Senate. In his report, he said that "there was a difference of opinions on some points in regard to which each member of the Committee reserves the privilege of stating his own opinions, and acting in accordance with it, or offering any amendment they consider proper to offer."

A division within the ranks of the Committee itself was unfortunate, but even if there had been perfect harmony, "the course of events was not without ill-omen." The suggestion made by Foote to appoint a select committee of thirteen to which the delicate questions⁷⁴ then confronting Congress should be referred in order to secure a basis for a compromise, was growing in favor.

⁷⁰ Stephens, *The War between the States*, II, 203.

⁷¹ Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 182.

⁷² Stephens, *The War between the States*, II, 204.

⁷³ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 592. McClernand did not present his in the form of bills but epitomized them on the 3d of April. See *Globe*, 628.

⁷⁴ Immediately after Douglas reported his bills of March 25, a bitter debate followed between Foote and Douglas upon this very point. *Globe*, 6024.

From the first Douglas favored the consideration of the California bill entirely separate from the other questions then pending. He was eager to see California admitted as a state, and believing that the reference of all the pending resolutions before the Senate to a special committee would defeat this end, he therefore opposed the appointment of a select committee. Douglas said: "If it be the desire of the Senate to write the California bill with the territorial bills, it can be done by the Senate, upon a motion to that effect. Let the Senate declare, one way or another, its determination upon that point. Any senator who desires to have them included in the same bill can move the territorial bills as amendments to the California bill. There is a bill now pending for admission of California as a state, and there are bills pending for establishing territorial governments in New Mexico and Deseret. And there is a fugitive slave bill now pending. I can see no reason for appointing a committee to take these bills into their consideration and bring them in again, and report them back into the Senate. If it be the sense of the Senate to unite them, it can be done without sending them to a committee. I move that the resolution lie upon the table, and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill for the admission of California."⁷⁵ Douglas's opposition ceased, however, when the Select Committee of Thirteen was finally appointed on the 18th of April with Clay as its chairman. Though out-voted, Douglas threw his influence against the numerous resolutions presented to hamper the action of the committee by means of instructions. In this connection Douglas stated "that while he was opposed to appointing a committee, he was also opposed to giving them any instructions."⁷⁶ The Senator from Illinois did not believe that the Committee would do any constructive work; that the entire project was a farce, but he was not disposed to quibble and "turn the farce into a tragedy."⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 662.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 772, April 18.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 757. The quotation is taken from Johnson, *Douglas*, 183.

Douglas was not made a member of the Committee of Thirteen⁷⁸ for obvious reasons. Thus far he had failed to align himself with Clay, Webster, and other leaders, neither had he accepted a status as a distinct follower of any of the senatorial factions. In fact, Douglas himself was recognized as a leader of exceptional ability, and acted almost independently in his course, having a strong following within the ranks of the Democratic Party, in the North, South, East and West. His chief work henceforth was to manipulate the extreme factions,—this probably could best be done outside of the Committee. He thus became the great and skillful general of the worthy enterprise. Far from being disappointed, Douglas requested that his bill for the admission of California be immediately considered; that it should be made the special order of the day. Douglas was sustained by Clay; but a Committee of six senators having been selected to accompany the remains of Calhoun to South Carolina, Clay said that he “wished some understanding on the subject of taking up this California bill with the senator from Illinois and the Senate.” The latter explained the mission of the Committee of six and requested that no vote be taken until the return of the senators. Douglas acquiesced, and explained that his only object was to have the bill considered, and, when the Senate had arrived at the point for a test vote, he would defer that vote until the Committee should return. Clay replied, “That is exactly in conformity with the liberal, manly course of the Senator, and, with that understanding, I hope the bill will be taken up.”

On the same day Clay gave notice that he would move to add to the California bill provisions for territorial governments and for the adjustment of the Texas boundary; and by way of explanation, stated that the amendments he proposed to offer were “the bills reported by the senator from Illinois, and which have already been printed. . . .” Benton gave notice that he would oppose all such amendments. On the 22nd Benton’s motion, “That the said committee be instructed to report separately upon each different subject

⁷⁸ The members of the Committee were: Clay, of Kentucky, Cass of Michigan, Dickinson of New York, Bright of Indiana, Webster of Massachusetts, Phelps of Vermont, Cooper of Pennsylvania, King of Alabama, Mason of Virginia, Downs of Louisiana, Mangum of North Carolina, Bell of Tennessee, and Berrien of Georgia.

referred to it and that the said committee tack no two bills of different natures together, nor join in the same bill any two or more subjects which are in their nature foreign, incoherent, or incongruous to each other," was taken up and debated. In the course of that debate, Cass, a member of the committee said: "Now, sir, I think it quite possible, yea, even probable, that the committee will not report any bill at all. The senator (Mr. Benton), then, is presupposing a state of things which may never occur at all, and which it will be quite time enough to discuss when it does."⁷⁹ Cass then explained that what he meant was, "instead of reporting a specific bill or bills, it was quite possible that the Committee may propose amendments to, or recommend the passage of bills now before the Senate."^{79a}

The statement by Cass was doubtless favored by Clay. "It was not his intention then, and not until after his report was written, to report a bill that would include the admission of California and governments for the Territories. Whoever will turn to the report of the select committee will see that it recommends the passage of the bill reported from the Committee on Territories for that purpose, and that the bill reported from the same committee, establishing territorial governments for New Mexico and Utah, making proposals to Texas for the settlement of her boundaries, should be added by the Senate to the California bill, and all passed as one measure. In the report no mention is made of any bill agreed upon by the committee, except one to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia."⁸⁰

The reason for Clay's change of mind may be explained by giving the substance of a traditional conversation, which Professor Allen Johnson thinks is probably true, between Douglas and Clay on May 7. After exchange of friendly greetings, the former inquired when he would report his compromise bill. The latter said that he "should present an elaborate report upon all the subjects before the committee, in which would be recommended that the Senate should write the two bills, California and Territorial, which Mr. Douglas had previously reported from the Committee on Territories,

⁷⁹ Sheahan, J. W., *Life of Douglas*, 131-32. (79a) *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 793.

and pass them in one act; but he should report no bill on those subjects from his Committee. Mr. Douglas asked why Mr. Clay did not himself unite the two bills and report them from the select committee as their bill; to which Mr. Clay promptly answered, that such a course would not be just or fair toward Mr. Douglas, the author of those bills, particularly after having had all the labor, and having prepared them in a form so perfect that he (Mr. Clay) could not change them in any particular for the better; hence, continued Mr. Clay, as a matter of justice toward Mr. Douglas, he intended to recommend to the Senate to take up the bills as they stood, and, after uniting them, pass them without change."

Douglas at once stated that "he had no such pride in the mere authorship of the measures as to induce him to desire that the select committee, out of regard to him, should omit adopting that course which would or might possibly best accomplish the great object in view. Moreover, there was another reason, which he regarded as of the highest importance, why the select committee should report to the Senate the bills united into one. It was his opinion they could never pass the two houses of Congress as a joint measure, because the union of them would unite the opposition to the several measures without uniting their respective friends; the bill for the admission of California, as a separate measure, would receive all the votes from the North, and enough from the South to secure its passage; while the Territorial Bills, if not connected with the California Bill, could receive nearly all the Southern votes, with a sufficient number from the North to secure their passage through both houses of Congress. For this reason, he urged that, if the bills were to be united at all, they should be united by the select committee, and in that form reported to the Senate as the action of that committee. If that course were adopted by the select committee, the Senate would have the several measures before them in two forms—one as a separate measure, and the other as a joint measure, and thus all the chances of success would be secured; for, in the event of the defeat of the joint measure, the friends of the Compromise

could fall back upon the bills separately. If united in the Senate, and then defeated, all would be defeated.”

Senator Clay acknowledged the force of this reasoning, but repeated that to take the bills of the Chairman of the Committee on Territories and report them as the great Compromise Bill, prepared by the select committee, would be unjust to their author, who was entitled to all the honor of preparing them.

Senator Douglas then said: “I respectfully ask you, Mr. Clay, what right have you, to whom the country looks for so much, and as an eminent statesman having charge of a great measure for the pacification of a distracted country, to sacrifice to any extent the chances of success on a mere punctilio as to whom the credit may belong of having first written the bills? I, sir, waive all claim and personal consideration in this matter, and insist that the committee shall pursue that course which they deem best calculated to accomplish the great end we all have in view, without regard to any interest merely personal to me.”

The aged Clay (extending his hand to the Little Giant) said: “You are the most generous man living. I *will* unite the bills and report them; but justice shall nevertheless be done to you as the real author of the measures.”⁸¹ On the next morning, May 8, the Chairman of the Select Committee of Thirteen presented the great Compromise measures in the form of bills. The first part of the report, which became known as the “Omnibus Bill,” contained the two measures which Douglas presented on March 25, joined together by a wafer.⁸²

Whether the previous story be true or not the facts are pretty convincing, for the Senator from Kentucky had previously opposed joining the different measures together; and, in his report, and subsequent statements, Senator Clay remained true to his promise; he bore honorable testimony to the ability, fairness, and patriotism displayed by Douglas throughout that long and memorable session. In reporting that part of the Compromise bill which provided for the admission of California, Clay said, “A majority of the com-

⁸¹ Sheahan, *Life of Douglas*, 132-34.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 134.

mittee, recommended to the Senate the passage of the bill reported by the Committee on Territories for the admission of California." In regard to Utah and New Mexico, he said, "A bill has been reported by the Committee on Territories dividing all the territory acquired from Mexico, not included in California into two Territories, under the names of New Mexico and Utah, and proposing for such a territorial government." In regard to the Texas boundary settlement, he further said, "The terms proposed for such an adjustment are contained in the bill herewith reported, and they are, with inconsiderable variation, the same as that reported by the Committee on Territories."⁸³ Clay also said, "The Committee availing themselves of the arduous and valuable labors of the Committee on Territories, report a bill, herewith annexed, (marked A,) embracing those measures,"⁸⁴

The traditional story, supported by subsequent events, explains why the first part of the Omnibus Bill, which consisted of Douglas's two bills, were joined together by a wafer. It also explains Douglas's position toward the Omnibus Bill; he was fully convinced that the bills could never pass both houses joined together, but by so doing it gave his bills a double chance of acceptance; if they failed jointly, he would resurrect his original bills. Douglas accordingly exerted all his energies to secure their passage in any form. However, prior to his defense of the Omnibus, Douglas astutely insisted upon a test vote to ascertain whether the Senate was willing to consider the Omnibus Bill instead of the separate bills which he had previously reported.⁸⁵

The senate decided in favor of the general measure in preference to the separate measures; therefore, Douglas did not present his original measures until the breakdown of the Omnibus.

The Select Committee made one highly important change in the territorial bills, as already alluded to, inside the Omnibus. According to Douglas's political philosophy, his original bills were silent on the slavery question, while the Omnibus expressly forbade the territorial legislature to pass any

⁸³ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 944-45.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 945.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* May 13, Yeas 24, Nays 28. It provoked considerable discussion.

measure in regard to African slavery; thus restricting the powers of the territorial legislature at a vital point. This fact did not escape the attention of the Little Giant. In fact, the wafer proved to be the weakest part of the Omnibus, and a series of the bitterest debates ensued. Amendments after amendments were offered day after day.

On May 15, Jefferson Davis moved to amend the bill in order to prevent the legislature of the territories from interfering “with those rights of property growing out of the institution of African slavery as it exists in any of the states of the Union.”⁸⁶ On the next day the proposed amendment was modified so as to prevent any legislation in respect to African slavery, but declared that no phrase or clause in the bill should be so interpreted as to prohibit the Territorial Legislature from passing such measures or providing such remedies as may protect the owners of African slaves within said Territory in the enjoyment of their property. On the 22nd of May, Senator Davis, at the suggestion of Senator Pratt, further amended his proposal in order to assert that the Territorial Legislature shall not pass any law “to introduce or exclude African slavery”; providing that nothing contained within the act should prevent the Territorial Legislature from “passing such laws as may be necessary for the protection of the rights of property of any kind which may have been, or may be hereafter, lawfully introduced into said Territory.”⁸⁷

Douglas, in reply to the amendment proposed by Jefferson Davis, endeavored to secure the obliteration of the wafer interposed by the Committee of Thirteen in regard to legislation upon slavery by the Territorial Legislature which precipitated a heated debate upon the subject in the Senate.⁸⁸ Douglas said: “I wish to say one word before this part of the bill is voted upon. I must confess that I rather regretted that a clause had been introduced into this bill providing that the territorial governments should not legislate in respect to African slavery. The position that I have ever taken has been, that this and all other questions relating to the domestic affairs and domestic policy of the

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, *Globe* 31st Cong., 1st sess., May 15, 1850.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 1003. May 16.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1114-17.

Territories ought to be left to the decision of the people themselves, and that we ought to be content with whatever way they may decide the question, because they have a much deeper interest in these matters than we have, and know much better what institutions suit them than we, who have never been there, can decide for them. I would, therefore, have much preferred that that portion of the bill should have remained as it was reported from the Committee on Territories, with no provision on the subject of slavery the one way or the other; and I do hope yet that that clause in the bill will be stricken out. I am satisfied, sir, that it gives no strength to the bill; I am satisfied, even if it did give strength to it, that it ought not to be there, because it is a violation of principle—a violation of that principle upon which we have all rested our defense of the course we have taken on this question.”⁸⁹

In reply to Douglas, Davis said: “The difference between that senator and myself consists in who are a people. The senator says that the inhabitants of a territory have a right to decide what their institutions shall be. When? By what authority? How many of them?” continued Senator Davis. “*The difference, then, between the senator from Illinois and myself is the point at which the people do possess and may assert their right.* It is not the inhabitants of the Territory but the people as a political body—the people organized—who have the right; and on becoming a state, by the authority of the United States, exercising sovereignty over the Territory they established a fundamental law for all time to come.”⁹⁰ Douglas immediately rose to his feet and replied: “If, sir, there are enough to require a government, and to authorize you to allow them to govern themselves, there are enough to govern themselves upon the subject of negroes as well as concerning other species of property and other descriptions of institutions. Your bill concedes that government is necessary—a government founded upon principles of popular sovereignty, and the right of the people to enact their own laws; and for this reason you give them a legislature constituted of two branches, like the legis-

⁸⁹ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1114.

⁹⁰ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1115.

latures of the different States and Territories of the Union; you confer upon them the right to legislate upon all rightful subjects of legislation except negroes. Why except negroes? Why except African slavery? If the inhabitants are competent to govern themselves upon all other subjects, and in reference to all other descriptions of property—if they are competent to regulate the laws in reference to master and servant, and parent and child, and commercial laws affecting the rights and property of citizens, they are competent also to enact laws to govern themselves in regard to slavery and negroes.”⁹¹

At this stage of the debate, Senator Downs asked Senator Douglas if he did not vote for and approve the Clayton Compromise.⁹² In reply the latter said: “I struggled then, as I do now for the principle that I am contending for. That bill was hatched up in my absence, from a necessity which all will acknowledge. I got back here with just time enough to vote on the question and, after all other things had failed—after the principle I contended for had failed, I did vote for that bill rather than have no government at all. I preferred that bill to leaving the people, as they have been left, without a government. But, sir, while that was the case, I did not approve then of that principle, and I do not approve of it now,”⁹³

After discussing the question of the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories, Douglas said: “I am not prepared to say that, under the Constitution, we have not the power to pass laws excluding negro slaves from the Territories But I do say that, if left to myself to carry out my own opinions, I would leave the whole subject to the people of the Territories themselves, and allow them to introduce or exclude slavery as they may see proper. I believe that that is the principle upon which our institutions rest. I believe it is one of those rights to be conceded to the territories the moment they have governments and legislatures established for them; because by establishing a government and giving them power to form a legislature, you admit that they are competent to govern

⁹¹ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1115.

⁹² *Ibid*, 1115.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 1115.

themselves; otherwise they would not be authorized to establish a legislature and confide all their rights to it, with the exception of this one of the institutions of slavery. For these reasons, I am opposed to any provision in this bill prohibiting the people of the Territory from legislating in respect to African slavery.”

In conclusion Douglas said: “I do not believe, sir, that the Senate can agree upon any principle by which a bill can pass giving governments to the Territories in which the word ‘slavery’ is mentioned. If you prohibit; if you establish; if you recognize; if you control; if you touch the question of slavery, your bill cannot, in my opinion, pass this body. But the bill you can pass is one that is open upon these questions, that says nothing upon the subject, but leaves the people to do as they please, and to shape their institutions according to what they may conceive to be their interests both for the present and the future.”⁹⁴

These were bold and prophetic utterances, yet it should be recalled that Douglas was violating his instructions. Throughout this period the Wilmot Proviso had been offered in almost every conceivable form, but it was voted down each time. Douglas was in an awkward position. He had to choose between conviction and the retention of his political power. This situation was all the more embarrassing to him because he had so often asserted the direct responsibility of the representative to his constituents.⁹⁵ Douglas extricated himself from the predicament in characteristic fashion. He reaffirmed his convictions; sought to ward off the question; but followed instructions when voting. He obeyed the letter but violated the spirit of his instructions.

Douglas now came forward with the proposal to strike out the clause which forbade the territorial legislatures to establish or prohibit “African Slavery.” This was the irritable wafer interpolated by the Committee of Thirteen. The Illinois Senator was not successful; but he was still persistent. The bill thus stood with the prohibition on the powers of the territorial legislature.

⁹⁴ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1116-1117.

⁹⁵ Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 184.

On June 15, Soule proposed an amendment to those parts of the bill which related to Utah and New Mexico as follows: “. . . and when the said territory, or any portion of the same shall be admitted as a state, it shall be received into the Union with or without slavery as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.”⁹⁶ Thus Douglas had to justify his previous action before the Senate for this was true popular sovereignty; but he violated his instructions in order to support the bill—he was instructed as previously stated, to vote for the Wilmot Proviso.

While this amendment was pending, Senator Douglas explained why the original bill did not contain a similar provision, and why he had voted on several occasions for the Wilmot Proviso in the following language:

“I shall vote for this amendment, not because I believe it confers any new right upon the people of the Territories, or modifies the terms of any old right which they possess. I shall vote for it as the assertion of a principle which is already in the Constitution, and which I believe would be implied and be equally valid if here expressed. I would not deem it necessary here to express it again, but for the fact that the amendment has been offered, and but for the further fact that I have heard, to my surprise, the doctrine that the people, when they come to form a state government, have a right to do as they please in moulding the domestic institutions questioned in some quarters.”

“If it is questioned, I see no reason why we should not express, when it comes in our way, what we believe to be the true constitutional doctrine. I believe the people have a right to do as they please when they form their constitution, and no matter what domestic regulations they may make, they have a right to come into the Union provided there is nothing in their constitution which violates the constitution of the United States. Believing that, I shall vote for the amendment, in order that the Senate may express its opinion in this bill. I have always held that the people have a right to settle these questions as they choose, not only when they come into the Union as a state, but that they should be permitted to do so while a Territory. If I have ever re-

⁹⁶ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 911.

corded a vote contrary to that principle, even as applicable to Territories, it was done under the influence of the pressure of an authority higher than my own will. Each and every vote that I have given contrary to that principle is the vote of those who sent me here, and not my own."⁹⁷

That part of the Omnibus bill which dealt with the administration of California was identical with Douglas's original bill; therefore, he and Clay, as well as the former's colleagues, voted together on all amendments, never failing to support the bill. Douglas came, like a mighty giant, to its defense. When Berrien of Georgia proposed to limit the representatives and delay their admittance to Congress until after the passage of the Bill, Douglas vindicated the justice of allowing the full representation to California and of admitting them at once.⁹⁸ When Soule proposed to amend the Bill postponing the admission of California until she had by an ordinance relinquished all titles or claims to the public domain, Douglas spoke for two days denouncing such resolutions.⁹⁹ Moreover, Douglas and Clay opposed every amendment proposing to cut California into two sections.¹⁰⁰ Douglas, however, served notice on June 24, that he would propose a division of the state into two sections, but by the 26th of June he evidently had changed his mind, for nothing came of his announcement to the Senate, and afterwards he boldly defended the admission of California as one state.

The most difficult and embarrassing part of the bill was that portion proposing terms to Texas for the adjustment of the boundaries between that state and the Territory of New Mexico. Seldom a day passed without a heated debate upon the subject. Rusk of Texas said it was the first thing debated each morning and the last thing in the evening. Clay left a blank in the bill for the amount of money to be paid to the state of Texas. He was interrogated in every imaginable way to name the sum with which he intended to fill the blank. He was successful in parrying all efforts to secure an answer, by declaring that he would move to fill the blank when the bill had reached its last stage; but the Omni-

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., App. 911, June 17.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 958 ff. Douglas, Clay and his colleagues voted against Berrien's motion.

⁹⁹ Douglas spoke on the 26th and the 28th of June.

¹⁰⁰ *Globe*, 1113, 1411, App. 1404.

bus broke down with the blank unfilled. On the 19th of June, Senator Underwood of Kentucky moved to strike out all the sections of the bill relating to the boundary of Texas, and to incorporate a provision which would authorize the determination of the boundary by a suit in the Supreme Court.¹⁰¹ After a heated debate, Underwood's proposal was rejected.¹⁰²

Douglas rarely spoke on the Texas boundary question, but he defended the bill as it appeared in his original report and naturally every move was in conjunction with Clay and his followers, always against amendments.¹⁰³ When it was proposed to extend the Texas boundary to deprive New Mexico of a large amount of territory Douglas stubbornly opposed and won the decision.¹⁰⁴

From June 28th to July 9th there were many speeches made against the Omnibus Bill. On the latter date Senator Butler was addressing the Senate when he was interrupted by Webster who announced the dying condition of President Taylor. The Senate adjourned. The Compromise Bill was not again considered until the 15th of July. On that date the bill was taken out of the Committee of the Whole and reported to the Senate together with the amendments already concurred in. Senator Benton then commenced an active war upon the bill by proposing amendments particularly to that part pertaining to the adjustment of the Texas boundary.¹⁰⁵ In Webster's elaborate speech in support of the Compromise Bill on July 17, which was his last speech in the Senate, he stated that he favored every measure of the Omnibus Bill,¹⁰⁶ but he thought California should be admitted immediately. He inquired of Douglas if he thought by admitting California the irksome question would be stopped there.¹⁰⁷ The latter replied, "Mr. President, if California should be admitted by herself, I should certainly feel it my duty, as chairman of the Committee on Territories,

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 923.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 954. Douglas did not vote upon the bill. It was lost by a vote of 16 yeas to 24 nays.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1455, 1456, 1457, and also 921-22.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1432-33.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1420-1436. Senator Benton was not the only one. There were others doing the same thing.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, *Globe* 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1266.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 1266.

to move to take up the territorial bills at once, and put them through, and also the Texas boundary question, and to settle them in detail if they are not settled in the aggregate.”¹⁰⁸

Between July 15th and July 30th there were numerous attempts to terminate the Texas boundary question. Seward on July 25th submitted an amendment to admit New Mexico as a state and supported it in a lengthy speech which precipitated an angry and exciting debate.¹⁰⁹ The proposition was lost by a vote of 1 in the affirmative and 42 in the negative.¹¹⁰ On July 24th Bradbury of Maine moved to strike out all of that part of the bill relating to the adjustment of the Texas boundary, and to insert a section providing for the appointment of three commissioners by the President of the United States to meet a like commission from the state of Texas, who were to ascertain and agree upon a boundary, and report the same, which, if agreed to by the United States and Texas, was to be binding upon both parties.¹¹¹ Almost immediately a flood of amendments were offered.¹¹² On the next day Benton offered the following amendment to come in at the end of the proposition of the Senator from Maine:

“Provided, That, in agreeing upon said boundary line between the territory of the United States and the said State of Texas, the said commissioners shall agree upon no line which does not exclude every portion of New Mexico, whether lying on the east or west side of the Rio Grande, from Texas, and which they do not believe to be the true and legitimate boundary between New Mexico and Texas.”¹¹³

Douglas replied that he could not vote for the amendment proposed by the Senator from Missouri for it would deprive New Mexico of 75 square miles, which she would get under the report of the Committee of Thirteen.¹¹⁴ On the 29th of July, Bradbury's proposition was lost by a tie vote.¹¹⁵

Within a few days after the defeat of his amendment, Senator Bradbury proposed another almost identical with the

¹⁰⁸ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1266.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 1442.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 1447. It goes without saying that Seward was the only person who supported his proposition and that Douglas voted in the negative.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 1420.

¹¹² *Ibid*, 1420-33.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1430.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 1433.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 1456. The vote stood 28 yeas and 28 nays. Douglas did not cast a vote.

former with an additional clause.¹¹⁶ Immediately, another flood of amendments were offered to the proposed amendment.¹¹⁷ Senator Dawson of Georgia moved to amend the proposition by providing that during the proceedings of the boundary commission the territorial government, as provided in the bill, should not go into effect in that part of the disputed territory. On July 30th, Clay said that he considered the proposition made by the Senator from Georgia as characterized by great fairness. He said: "Now, I ask the whole country, I ask every man who wishes to see this question settled pacifically, if there is not prudence, propriety, fitness, justice, in abstaining from acting upon the territory east of the Rio Grande within the boundary of New Mexico, until it is decided whether it is ours or belongs to Texas? That is the whole question."¹¹⁸

Douglas replied to Clay as follows:

"In order to carry out the principle laid down by the Senator from Kentucky, that we should suspend all action under this measure, on the east side of the Rio Grande, until the dispute is settled, it would be necessary to put in a clause also that Texas shall refrain from all steps, on her part, to take possession of the country, so that action shall be mutually suspended. Because, if we are to suspend the operations of the bill on the one side, and still Texas is to go on and organize a government on the other, it strikes me as very clear that the passage of this amendment settles and establishes the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas forever. The language of the amendment is, that until the boundary of Texas shall be agreed to by the Texas Legislature, there shall be no territorial government on the east side of the Rio Grande. When, I ask, will Texas ever agree to a boundary, if she is to have the Rio Grande as her boundary up to the time she does agree to it? It is an invitation to Texas never to agree to a boundary. All that she will have to do will be to refuse to negotiate at all; to refuse to make any other boundary and then the amendment makes the Rio Grande the boundary forever. I think, therefore, that it is necessary to make some modification of this amendment to obviate this difficulty."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1456.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1456.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Globe* 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1458.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1458.

The debate was thus renewed with great intensity and feeling—the bill evidently having approached a crisis. Walker of Wisconsin said that “the friends of the bill having despaired of reaching an agreement with Texas, for it seems that Texas will not consent to anything, will not support anything—and as it would seem that the passage of this bill is utterly hopeless, I move to lay it on the table.”¹²⁰ His proposal was not agreed to but the proviso of Dawson’s, already mentioned, was finally successful. Hence the proposition of Bradbury’s, as amended by the Dawson proposition, was inserted in lieu of that part of the bill containing the proposals to Texas for the adjustment of her boundary.¹²¹ Douglas voted against Dawson’s amendment to the amendment offered by Bradbury but after the acceptance of the Dawson proposal by the majority of the senators and the same had been incorporated in the latter, Douglas gave his support to the final passage of the Bradbury amendment.¹²² He cast the deciding vote, for if he had voted in the negative, the vote would have been tied and therefore lost, since Fillmore had become president of the United States.

Immediately after the passage of Bradbury’s amendment, Senator Norris of New Hampshire, at the suggestion of Douglas, moved to strike out that part of the bill which prohibited the territorial legislature from passing any law establishing or prohibiting African slavery.¹²³ The object of the amendment being, as Douglas desired, to leave the territorial legislature as free to pass laws upon the question of slavery as upon any other “rightful subject of legislation.”¹²⁴ The amendment was passed on the next day.¹²⁵

The controversy over the Omnibus dragged on until the 31st of July. On that day a heated debate took place which resulted in striking out everything which related to New Mexico and Texas and that part relating to California. Only Utah remained; thus vanished Clay’s magnificent Omnibus bill.

¹²⁰ *Globe* 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1463

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 1463. Thirty voted in the affirmative and 28 in the negative. Douglas voted in the negative.

¹²² *Globe* 148.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 1463.

¹²⁴ *Sheahan, Life of Douglas*, 140.

¹²⁵ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1490.

An analysis of the votes taken on that exciting day proves that Douglas voted consistently upon what he first addressed himself. On that part of the amendment proposed by the Senator of Maryland, Pearce, to strike out all that part of the bill relating to New Mexico, Douglas voted in the affirmative, while Clay and seven members of his Committee voted in the negative.¹²⁶ The obvious reason for this action was because the bill had an objectionable slavery clause. Pearce proposed another amendment which was quite similar to that of the original. At this time, Douglas, as well as the men of the Clay school, voted in the negative.¹²⁷ On the motion for the indefinite postponement of the procedure, Douglas and the Clay men voted in the opposition and were successful.¹²⁸ In regard to the amendment offered by Underwood providing a government for New Mexico and allowing the commissioners to adjust the difficulties in her relation to Texas, Douglas and the Clay school were divided, the former voting for the amendment but being defeated.¹²⁹ The Texas boundary provision was subsequently eliminated, Douglas and the Clay followers voted in the negative. Jefferson Davis next offered an amendment relating to the eastern boundary of Utah which was defeated. Douglas and the above men referred to voted against the proposal. There were three attempts, at this stage of the discussion, to strike out the California bill, in the last of which it was successful. Nothing was now left of the Omnibus but that part pertaining to Utah. On these motions Douglas and Clay voted consistently in the negative.¹³⁰ Douglas was not particularly concerned whether the California bill was stricken out or not, for it was his bill; his position that the Omnibus could not pass from the very first was vindicated by time. But, in accordance with Douglas's planning, as we have seen, the Omnibus gave his bills two chances to pass; one chance had been lost as he predicted but he was now ready to recall his original bills with a few objectional features whitewashed and put them through the Senate one by one. Douglas now had become the unquestioned leader of the Com-

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., App., 1479.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 1480. There were similar attempts made several times and Douglas and Clay men voted consistently in the negative.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, 1480.

¹³⁰ *Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1481-1482. Douglas did not vote in the second attempt.

promise movement. Clay, if he had been the leader, had failed in his efforts; his entire scheme had broken down; wearied out by heated debates, laborious but glorious efforts, he departed from the halls of Congress for a rest in the Mountains of Old Virginia. Douglas unwearied and undaunted became the great commander-in-chief of the Compromise programme. Without a sign of hesitation or wavering, he took matters into his own hands; at once set himself to the responsible task of finishing the Compromise plan,—now in accordance with his own method and vision. He first gave the finishing touch to the lone survivor, the Utah Bill, by securing an amendment to the southern boundary on the 37th parallel, and secured its passage to the third reading. On August 1st, the Utah Bill thus amended passed the Senate without a division. And on Douglas's motion the name of the Bill was changed to "A Bill to Establish a Territorial Government for the Territory of Utah."¹³¹ Thus Douglas was successful in whipping through the Senate one part of his own compromise scheme. This was not Clay's bill, but Douglas's incorporated in the Omnibus with the consent of the latter.

On the same day, August 1, Douglas brought forth his original bill admitting California as a state into the Union with her free Constitution. He requested that the bill be amended so as to insert a section on the public land which had been stricken out at an earlier stage of the debate. The motion was agreed to. There were two further amendments offered to divide the state of California into two parts by the parallels of 35° 30' and 36° 30' respectively, but Douglas had a sufficient following to cause the defeat of both measures.¹³² Douglas in opposing the line of 36° 30' and in answer to the charges already made against him, said:

".....as reference has already been made to me, as the author of a similar amendment in 1848 to the Oregon bill, I desire only to state that I was then willing to adjust this whole slavery question on that line and on those terms; and if the whole acquired territory was now in the same condition as it was then, I would vote for it, should be glad to see it adopted. But since then California has increased in popula-

¹³¹ It was necessary to make a change in boundary in order to include some Mormon settlements whose locality was not exactly known at the time of the drafting of the original Bill.

¹³² *Globe*, app., 1504, Aug. 2; Aug. 6, *Ibid*, 1510.

tion, has a state government organized, and I cannot consent, for one, to destroy that state government,....For that reason, and that alone, I shall vote against the amendment.”

A bitter debate took place on the eve of the passage of the bill. This debate was based largely on the question of public lands within the state. Douglas at this time was confident of his leadership and accordingly spoke very little. His one outstanding speech of August 12 was characterized with eloquence and power; he defended the statehood of California by denying that her procedure was irregular and refuted the claim that she was formed out of the unorganized public land.¹³³ Douglas's leadership, at this time, was masterful and effective. However, he was not able to secure the passage of the bill without debate. The bill was debated daily until the 12th of August, when it was ordered to a third reading, and on the next day the bill passed the Senate. Thus passed a second of Douglas's measures through the Senate largely as he had originally drafted it, and also in accordance with his statesmanlike insight and political philosophy.

It was the 5th of August, while the California bill was still undergoing the process of a bitter debate when Senator Pearce introduced a bill to settle the northern boundary of Texas. The discussion was drawn out over the four succeeding days with vigor. On the 9th of August the bill passed. During the period of the debate, Douglas spoke only once, excepting short interrogations here and there; and that only occasion was to assure the Senate that any change to be made in the bill is *ipso facto* to be agreed upon when the New Mexico bill is taken up—a bit of Douglas's cautiousness. Not only did he keep silent, but on one occasion he moved even to postpone its consideration as time has arrived to consider the California bill.¹³⁴ However, this does not imply that Douglas did not care for the Texas bill; but, he thought that the Californians had been in a state of anarchy and chaos long enough; that a stable government should be speedily provided for them. Such action on the part of Douglas did not imply that he was at odds with Pearce or his motion; on the contrary he was perfectly in harmony with Pearce as may be shown from the fact that he voted with the latter on every

¹³³ *Ibid*, *Globe*, App. 1523.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 1543.

amendment. The bill finally passed by a vote of 30 to 20 on the 9th of August; of course Douglas's vote helped to make it thirty, and no doubt it was highly pleasing to the Senator from Illinois to see a third of his original measures, with a few slight changes, successfully pass the Senate.

Immediately after the passage of the California bill, which was dearest to the heart of the Senator from Illinois, Douglas moved that they next consider the New Mexico bill and made it the special order of the following day. On August 14th, he called up the bill, and moved to strike out all the parts of the original bill which related to the Territory of Utah and to the Texas boundary, which had been disposed of already, and to change the boundary section of the bill in conformity with the Utah bill. There were various amendments subsequently proposed but all of them failed. On August 15, he again called up the bill to secure its final passage; in this he was successful. He next moved that the title of the bill be changed so as to omit the name of Utah from the original title; this was a mere matter of routine; but he was nevertheless triumphant. Thus Douglas stood before the Senate, the Country, and the World in complete triumph. He himself had whipped through the Senate, one after the other, three of his original measures and, with the aid of Senator Pearce, the fourth measure, which had been proposed by the former, had passed the Senate. It is only necessary to add here that this successfully completed the passage of every measure contained in Douglas's original report from his Committee on Territories on March 25.

Clay, during all these proceedings, was away for a rest; he had not cast a single vote. Douglas, with the aid of time, had clearly vindicated the truth of his prophecy by passing separately the bills in which he was primarily interested, but he was not willing to stop here; the whole compromise must be pushed to a successful conclusion; the two remaining measures must be passed—the fugitive slave bill and the bill prohibiting the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

The Fugitive Slave Bill was accordingly taken up the 15th of August, and passed on the 23d of the same month. Douglas, unfortunately, was absent and could not participate in the debates. Because of his absence, many Congressmen and Senators charged him with dodging the question. Though

he stated publicly on different occasions that he would have voted in favor of the bill had he not been forced to be away in New York at the time of the passage of the bill on a "pecuniary obligation" involving the sum of four thousand dollars.¹³⁵ This circumstantial evidence is perhaps true. If it should be doubted "the best refutation of the charge," as Professor Allen Johnson says, "lay in Douglas's reputation for courageous and manly conduct." He was true to himself when he said, "The dodging of votes—the attempt to avoid responsibility—is no part of my system of political tactics."¹³⁶ Moreover, a further proof of Douglas's attitude and conviction on the question of the return of fugitive slaves is found in his courageous defense of that very Act against the furious Chicago constituents on October 23, 1850.¹³⁷ After all, what difference does it make, even if he did not vote when his heart and soul were married to the measure and when he exerted all his energies in defense of it?

The last of the series of the compromise measures was the bill prohibiting the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. This measure came up for discussion on the 28th of August. Douglas, during the debates which followed made only one speech, and recorded his votes only thrice—on the enrollment of the bill, on Seward's substitute bill to abolish slavery in the District, and on concurring in the adoption of the bill as reported by the Select Committee of Thirteen on the motion of Clay. Perhaps it is needless to say, knowing the man's make up and nature, that he cast three affirmative votes. The bill finally passed the Senate on the 16th of September by the large majority of 33 to 19, Douglas and Clay voted for its passage.

Hence Douglas had rightfully forecasted the ultimate verdict of the Senate from the very beginning. The Omnibus had been wrecked; and its supposed general became weary and discouraged and departed from Washington; the exuberant Douglas took charge and became the supreme commander. He picked up the measures one by one, refitted them to separate bills, repolished them and secured their passage. Douglas's programme became triumphant in nearly every particular.

¹³⁵ *Globe*, 32d Cong., 1st sess., App. 66. Sheahan, *Life of Douglas*, 168-86.

¹³⁶ Johnson, *Life of Douglas*, 188-189.

¹³⁷ His entire speech appears in Sheahan, *Life of Douglas*, 168-86.

In conclusion, the Compromise of 1850 is usually spoken of in connection with the name of Henry Clay, almost exclusively. To say that Clay was the father of the Compromise of 1850 is a statement too sweeping to make. Clay was not the father of the measures nor of the idea; the idea as previously stated, was conceived during the last year of Polk's administration, during the short session of 1848 and 1849, while Clay was a private citizen of Kentucky. During this period Douglas became the persistent champion of providing a territorial government for Oregon and the entire Mexican cession. He introduced bill after bill and voted for bill after bill in order to provide for such a settlement; he was willing to compromise, to concede and recede in order to effect a settlement. The bills drafted by Douglas and presented to the Senate on March 25 became the basis of settlement. Although Douglas's efforts were defeated, he began to renew his efforts in order to provide a government for the people of the western territories. Foote in addition came forth with his famous resolutions to provide for a government of California, Utah, New Mexico, and Jacinto. Mason and others presented numerous bills, nearly all of which, by January 25, had been referred to either the Committee on Territories or that of the Judiciary. These in essence were compromise plans or measures. When Clay came forth on January 29th with his famous Compromise plan, he merely presented one of numerous compromise schemes. Moreover he took over and compiled the various measures and made them his own. It did precipitate an elaborate discussion of the questions involved and it may be regarded as the second great step in the Compromise of 1850,—the first was taken up by Douglas in the previous session of Congress in his efforts to secure the passage of territorial bills. Clay, as we have seen, did not first propose that these various measures be joined together; this seems to be largely the idea of Foote in so far as the responsibility for such action can be ascertained. The third great step in the progress of the Compromise was the indorsement of such a plan by such men as Clay, Webster, Benton, Cass, Foote, Douglas and others; the fourth was when Douglas presented his famous bills of March 25 for the admission of California as a state and providing territorial governments for Utah, New Mexico and for other purposes.

These bills were incorporated into the famous Omnibus; in fact they may be regarded as an Omnibus in themselves. The fifth step was the appointment of the Select Committee of Thirteen with Clay as its chairman; and the sixth was the breakdown of the Omnibus and Douglas assuming leadership.

Throughout the early period, Clay was in the forefront; but Douglas understood the different factions as no other man, perhaps; he thus became the manipulator of men, of factions, and of parties. He was not convinced of the wisdom of combining the different measures but largely through his influence they were united. When the Committee of Thirteen reported on May 8, the report included four of Douglas's own measures together with two other measures; the authorship of none could be traced directly to the hand of Clay. The next great step in favor of the success of the Compromise was the influence of the Nashville Convention brought to bear on the Senators, the death of President Taylor which removed the opposition of the administration, the failure of the Omnibus, and Clay being forced to leave the Capitol in order to recuperate. Douglas became the supreme and unquestioned leader of the enterprise; it was through his masterful leadership that the bills for the establishment of territorial governments for Utah, New Mexico, the settlement of the Texas boundary, and the admission of California were successfully terminated. After this accomplishment, he lent his support to the two remaining bills with vigor. He marshalled every faculty, every energy, and every resource to effect their passage. This he accomplished.

DOUGLAS THE AUTHOR OF THE COMPROMISE

If Douglas was the author of four of the six compromise measures, which he was; if Clay was not the author of a single measure, which he was not; if Clay's Omnibus broke down, which it did; and if Clay left his post after the wreckage of his plan, which is undisputed; if Douglas assumed the leadership and put through his own measures one by one, four in all, and then lent his moral support to the remaining two; why should not he be regarded as the author of the Compromise of 1850 instead of the veteran Senator from Kentucky? Facts prove that the Kentucky Senator was not, as commonly

thought, an archangel sent from Kentucky to save the Union. His efforts deserve praise, but the questions would, in all probability, have been settled practically as they were if he had remained in Kentucky. The Illinoian was largely the author and finisher of the Compromise. Douglas, however, humbly admitted that he "had no pride of opinion that the bills should be passed in the precise form he had reported them." In the ensuing session of Congress that same spirit ruled him, he said, "I claim no credit for having originated and proposed the measures contained in the Omnibus... They were merely ordinary measures of legislation, well adapted to the circumstances, and their sole merit consisted in the fact that separately they could pass both houses of Congress." Though he claimed no credit as the author of these measures, Douglas nevertheless was lauded by his fellow Senators. Jefferson Davis pleased the vanity of Douglas in the Senate, by saying: "If any man has a right to be proud of the success of these measures, it is the Senator from Illinois."¹³⁸

Douglas moreover, remained humble, and on October 23, 1850, he said, "If there is anything of merit, give the credit to those who passed the bills," and then he heroically defended the Compromise, especially the Fugitive Slave Law, before the aroused and furious audience of Chicago.¹³⁹

When the last of the Compromise measures passed, Douglas thus addressed the Senate: "I do not deem it very profitable now to stop to inquire whether it would have been better to have passed the several bills jointly or separately; the important point was to secure their passage..... I supported them all as a joint measure and when they failed, I supported each as a separate measure. I had no idea of losing the great measures which my judgment approved, and upon which I believed the peace and quiet of the Country depended, by a petty quarrel as to the mode in which the thing should be done.... I prepared the bills for California, Utah, New Mexico and Texas boundary separately, and laid them before the Committee in that shape, with the view of taking judgment of the Committee whether they should be joined together or kept separate.... We came to the conclusion that it was expedient to pass California separately, and to unite

¹³⁸ *Globe*, 1830.

¹³⁹ Sheahan, *Life of Douglas*, 168 f. f.

the governments for Utah and New Mexico with the Texas boundary in one bill, and accordingly I reported them from the Committee on Territories in that shape. When the Committee of Thirteen subsequently united these two bills in one, and recommended their passage in that form, I gave them my cordial support. I could see no reason why I should oppose my own bills merely because they had been united together. My object was to settle the controversy, and to restore peace and quietude When the Omnibus was defeated, I fell back upon my own separate bills, which, fortunately for the Country, received the sanction of the two houses of Congress, and became the laws of the land. California, Utah, New Mexico, the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the bills for the abolition of the slave trade in the District, each passed the Senate as separate measures. In the House, New Mexico was joined to the Texas boundary and both passed as one bill. Thus it will be seen that neither plan entirely succeeded. *No man and no party has acquired a triumph, except the party friendly to the Union triumphing over abolition and disunion.* The measures are right in themselves, and collectively constitute one grand scheme of conciliation and adjustment. . . . Neither section triumphed over the other. The North has not surrendered to the South, nor the South made any humiliating concession to the North. Each section has maintained its honor and its rights, and both have met on the common ground of justice and compromise. It will always be a source of gratification and just pride to me that I had the opportunity of acting a humble part in the enactment of all these great measures, which have removed all cause of sectional discontent, and again unite us together as one people."

This is a fair and accurate resumé of the Compromise of 1850; it is a fair and just stand; it is in accordance with the manly senator from Illinois.

THE PEORIA TRUCE

BY PAUL M. ANGLE,

Secretary of the Lincoln Centennial Association

Although the life of Abraham Lincoln has been the subject of more research—certainly more writing—than that of any other American, the story still contains many perplexities. There is the disputed origin of Nancy Hanks, the Ann Rutledge episode, the “fatal first of January, 1841,” and the almanac of the Duff Armstrong murder trial, to name but a few. All are fascinating subjects—so fascinating that one sometimes hopes solutions will never be reached.

In the same category is the story of the “Peoria truce” of October 16, 1854. All students of Lincoln’s life are familiar with the orthodox account of the episode—with the way in which Lincoln, aroused by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, assailed Douglas as the author of that measure, with the debates between the two men at Springfield on October 3 and 4 and at Peoria on the 16th, where Douglas, harassed by his opponent, begged for quarter. The story runs that Douglas proposed that both men should leave the stump, and that Lincoln agreed, only to learn later that on the 18th Douglas broke the pact by making a speech at Princeton.

Like so many other disputed incidents of Lincoln’s life, this story owes its being to William H. Herndon. It was he who supplied Ward H. Lamon with the manuscripts on which Lamon’s life of Lincoln, where the story first appeared, was based, and it was Herndon, in his famous *Life of Lincoln*, who gave the incident the form most generally accepted.

“By request of party friends,” runs the Herndon account,¹ “Lincoln was induced to follow after Douglas and, at the various places where the latter had appointments to speak, reply to him. On the 16th of October they met at Peoria, where Douglas enjoyed the advantages of an ‘open

¹ Herndon, *Life of Lincoln*, (1889 Ed.,) II., 373-374.

and close'. Lincoln made an effective speech.....His party friends in Springfield and elsewhere, who had urged him to push after Douglas till he cried 'enough,' were surprised a few days after the Peoria debate to find him at home, with the information that by an agreement with the latter they were both to return home and speak no more during the campaign. Judge of his astonishment a few days later to find that his rival, instead of going direct to his home in Chicago, had stopped at Princeton and violated his express agreement by making a speech there! Lincoln was much displeased at this action of Douglas, which tended to convince him that the latter was really a man devoid of fixed political morals. I remember his explanation in our office made to me, William Butler, William Jayne, Ben. F. Irwin, and other friends, to account for his early withdrawal from the stump. After the Peoria debate Douglas approached him and flattered him by saying that he was giving him more trouble on the territorial and slavery questions than all the United States Senate, and he therefore proposed to him that both should abandon the field and return to their homes. Now Lincoln could never refuse a polite request—one in which no principle was involved.....He therefore consented to the cessation of debate proposed by Douglas, and the next day both went to the town of Lacon, where they had been billed for speeches. Their agreement was kept from their friends, and both declined to speak—Douglas, on the ground of hoarseness, and Lincoln gallantly refusing to take advantage of 'Judge Douglas's indisposition'. Here they separated, Lincoln going directly home, and Douglas, as before related, stopping at Princeton and colliding in debate with Owen Lovejoy. Upon being charged afterwards with his breach of agreement Douglas responded that Lovejoy 'bantered and badgered' him so persistently he could not gracefully resist the encounter. The whole thing thoroughly displeased Lincoln."

For his account of this episode Herndon relied not only upon his own memory, but also upon a statement from Benjamin F. Irwin, one of those who had induced Lincoln to follow Douglas, and who was present when he made his report. Irwin's statement, dated February 8, 1866, is in harmony with Herndon's account, and adds the further information that "Lincoln did not make another speech till after the elec-

tion.”² Further confirmation came after the publication of the Herndon “Life.” Henry C. Whitney in his “Life on the Circuit with Lincoln” mentions the occurrence, but takes issue with Herndon when he says that Douglas “pretended to be ill, and urged Lincoln to not debate with him any more, by reason of his illness. . . . This is the reason Lincoln gave me, although Herndon gives a different reason.”³ Years later William Jayne, another one of those present at the conference with Lincoln, formally endorsed Herndon’s account as correct.⁴ In further substantiation is a definite story to the effect that on the evening of October 15th Douglas, who was staying at the home of a friend, gave such pronounced evidences of anxiety that his host asked if he could possibly be concerned about the next day’s encounter with Lincoln. “Yes,” answered Douglas, “I am troubled, deeply troubled, over the progress and outcome of this debate. I have known Lincoln for many years and have continually met him in debate. I regard him as the most difficult and dangerous opponent that I have ever met, and I have serious misgivings as to what may be the result of this joint debate.”⁵

Due to this array of evidence students have generally accepted the story, in spite of the fact that to beg for mercy seemed not to be in keeping with the character of Douglas, and that to grant it, at least in political encounter, was not Lincoln’s usual custom. Even many modern students, though more critical than their forerunners, have endorsed the orthodox account of the incident. Thus Ida Tarbell,⁶ Lord Charnwood⁷ and Carl Sandburg⁸ repeat the story without qualification, while Frank E. Stevens, the latest Douglas biographer, goes out of his way to damn the “iconoclast” [sic] who doubts.⁹

Yet, widely as the incident has been accepted, skeptics do exist. Dr. William E. Barton¹⁰ calls Herndon’s account “not wholly satisfactory,” and confesses that the “Peoria

² Herndon, III., 621.

³ P. 29.

⁴ In a letter to Frank E. Stevens, January 16, 1909. See Stevens, *Life of Stephen Arnold Douglas*, p. 488.

⁵ Letter of Francis Lynde Stetson to Horace White, New York, December 7, 1908. In Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, p. 68n.

⁶ *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, I., 284.

⁷ *Abraham Lincoln*, 142.

⁸ *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, II., 18.

⁹ *Life of Douglas*, 486-487.

¹⁰ *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, I., 349-350.

truce" baffles him. Stephenson discards it by failing to mention it in his chronological "Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln," while Allen Johnson¹¹ brands it as palpably improbable.

In view of this disagreement, and in view of the fact that no two accounts of the incident agree in details, it is strange that no one has heretofore consulted the newspapers in search of light. Had anyone done so, the story would not have been repeated so frequently, for, though the material found there does not offer a complete refutation, it does indicate that the skeptics have by far the better side of the argument.

In the first place, Douglas could not have been goaded into speaking at Princeton on October 18th, for eleven days prior to that time that appointment, along with nine others commencing at Quincy on the 7th and ending at Aurora on the 19th, was publicly announced in the Illinois State Register.¹² Moreover, at Princeton, Douglas—not Lovejoy—made the first speech, taking up a half hour.¹³ Lovejoy followed with another half hour, whereupon Douglas spoke until dark.

In the second place, Douglas actually was ill. When his appointments, carrying him to October 19th, were first announced it was stated that further speaking engagements would be made, and that notices would be issued in the near future. No notices appeared. The reason is to be found in the following item from the Chicago Times of October 20:

"Judge Douglas.—This gentleman returned to Chicago last evening; he was met at the cars by a committee appointed for that purpose by the Cook county convention, and escorted to his rooms at the Tremont House. He left this city four weeks ago, and since then has made over twenty speeches at as many different places; and has traveled on his route more than a thousand miles. We regret to say that his health, in consequence of the great physical exertion he has made, is not as good as it was. He returns as undaunted in spirit and buoyant in hope as a man confident of the rectitude of his course can only be. A few days rest, will, we hope, restore him to his wonted health."

¹¹ Stephen A. Douglas, 266.

¹² Illinois State Register, October 7, 1854.

¹³ Letter of John H. Bryant, Princeton, Illinois, March 15, 1866. Bryant states that he writes with a contemporary newspaper before him. Herndon, II., 374n.

A few days rest was sufficient, for on Friday, October 27, the Illinois State Register stated that "Judge Douglas is now addressing the people in the first district. He spoke at Woodstock on Wednesday, and at Rockford yesterday. He speaks today at Freeport, at Galena on Saturday, at Mt. Carroll on Monday and Oregon city Tuesday."

In the third place, Lincoln went on speaking as if nothing had happened. It has generally been overlooked that Lincoln in 1854 was not engaged in an extensive speaking tour. Primarily, he was practicing law—as he himself put it: "He did not abandon the law, but gave his attention by turns to that and politics."¹⁴ Consequently it is foolish to expect from him anything like the number of speeches made by Douglas, and equally foolish to assume that his failure to make an impressive number of speeches was due to his agreement with Douglas. Yet he did speak at least three times after the reputed truce at Peoria—on October 24 at Urbana;¹⁵ on the 27th at Chicago;¹⁶ and on November 1st in Quincy.¹⁷

So much for the contributions of contemporary newspapers. There are two general considerations which alone should make any careful student extremely wary of this story of the Peoria truce. For one thing, the whole incident is out of keeping with the characters of both Lincoln and Douglas. The most prominent characteristic of Stephen A. Douglas was his superb courage. That the man who defied an entire administration should beg mercy of a relatively unknown country lawyer is very difficult to believe. That Lincoln should grant his request is equally hard to understand. Let anyone who pictures Lincoln as a yielding, accommodating political opponent read his correspondence with Hardin preliminary to his nomination for Congress in 1846, or his letters regarding his effort for the General Land Office in 1849, or even the great debates with Douglas in 1858—and then let him say if he recognizes in this man the complaisant retiring victor of the 1854 story.

For another thing, there is no hint of this broken truce in the debates or in any of the other speeches and editorials which I have seen. From 1858 to 1861 partisans of both Lin-

¹⁴ Works, VI., 38.

¹⁵ Urbana Union, Oct. 26, 1854.

¹⁶ Chicago Daily Journal, Oct. 30, 1854.

¹⁷ Browning Diary, I., 160.

coln and Douglas exhumed every charge which had been made against their favorite's opponent. Lincoln might never have referred to this broken agreement, but it is unthinkable that some of his more zealous partisans would have allowed it to remain forgotten.

In view of these general considerations, and in view of the specific causes for doubt afforded by the newspapers of the day, it seems to me that the story of the Peoria truce and Douglas' subsequent treachery should be relegated from its place as an established incident in the lives of these two men to the growing category of hoary tales which may be true—but probably aren't.

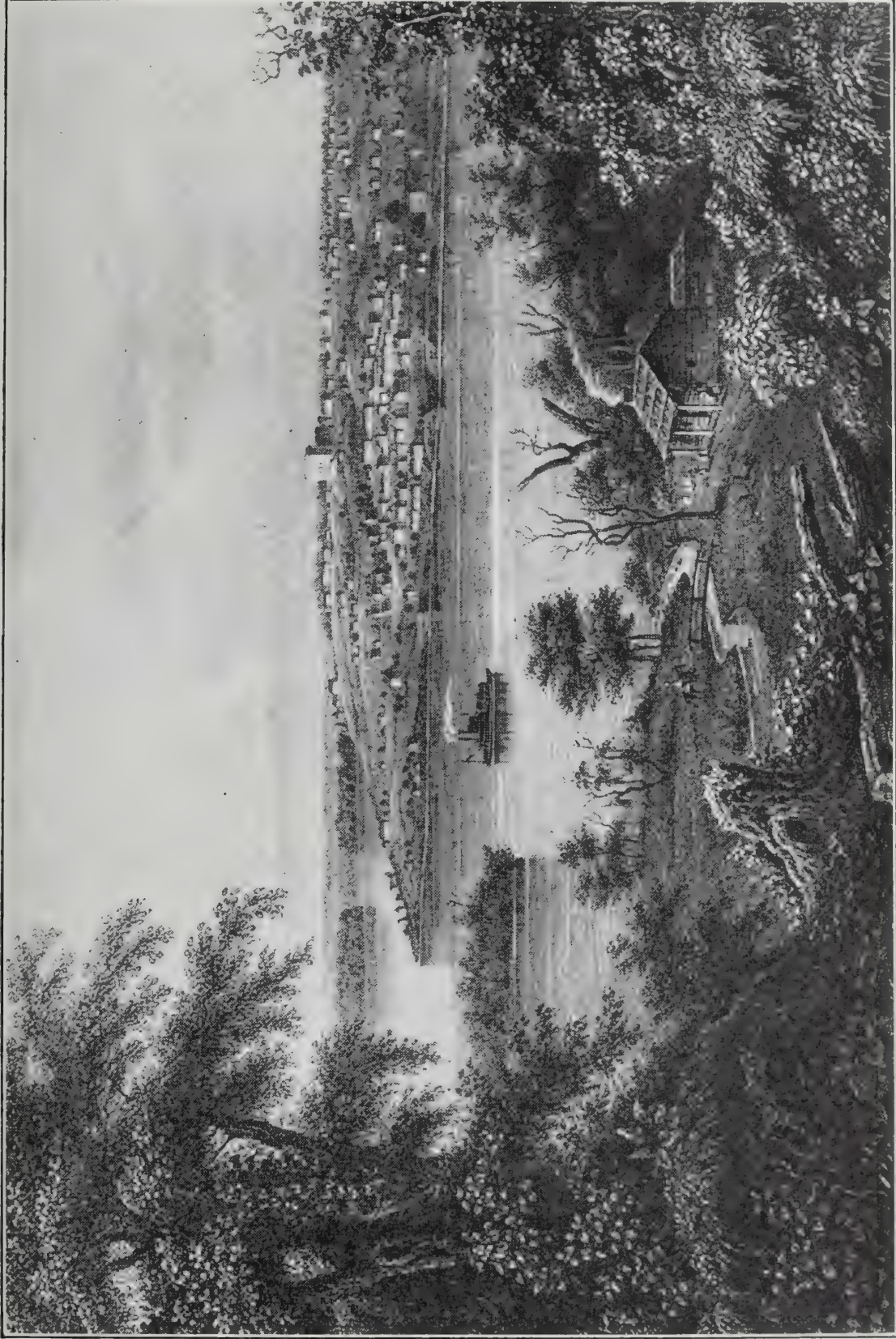
NAUVOO, ILLINOIS, UNDER MORMON AND ICARIAN OCCUPATIONS

BY THOMAS REES

In the winter of 1838-39 there came into Illinois by way of Quincy a great influx of people. Until then it seems there never had been so many people coming into the state at one time. They were the Mormons who had been driven out of Jackson County, Missouri, as undesirable citizens and had trekked through the wilderness of that old state, coming into Illinois by crossing the Mississippi River at Quincy. It was a heterogeneous mass, made up of people from all parts of the union and even foreign countries.

They were well-nigh destitute and were in a pitiable condition. Their leaders were left behind, being incarcerated in the jails of western Missouri, charged with treason and other crimes. The whole number of Mormons in Jackson County at that time has been estimated at 15,000 and many of them came into Illinois with this caravan. The people of Quincy, which was then a very small city, and the people of western Illinois, touched by pity received the refugees cordially, contributed to their wants and treated them well. The Illinoisans had considerable sympathy for the newcomers as they were convinced that they had been driven from Missouri on account of their religious convictions. However, there were other reasons for their exodus. This great horde of people coming into Illinois were not fleeing from the wrath to come, but were fleeing from the wrath of the Missourians that had already arrived.

There was at that time a little village or trading post on the east side of the Mississippi River about sixty miles north of Quincy, called Commerce. It appears that Dr. Isaac Galland, representing a New York company, owned most of the village of Commerce. He immediately took a great interest in the Mormons. He joined their sect and gave them a number of lots which he owned in Commerce. The Mormons



NAUVOO, ILLS.

then purchased a large tract of ground adjoining, and after working from Quincy up to this point settled here and established this as the permanent location for themselves and of their church. They dropped the name of Commerce that had applied to the settlement, and founded a new city, calling the same by a name which is credited with the meaning of the "view beautiful" and this was the beginning of Nauvoo.

Joseph Smith and his associate, Sidney Rigdon, escaping from their prison in Missouri soon followed and vigorously began to establish a modern Zion and to build up the city of Nauvoo. They made remarkable progress and within a few years had a city, great for those days in the west, the population at the zenith of its success being estimated at all figures from fifteen to the extravagant claim of twenty thousand or over.

INCEPTION OF THE MORMON MOVEMENT

Now let us turn back for a while and consider the beginning and the progress of the Mormon church as represented by these new arrivals in Nauvoo.

Joseph Smith was born December 23, 1805, in Windsor, Vermont, the son of a farmer. He moved with his family when ten years of age to Palmyra, New York, and when fourteen years old they moved to Manchester. He claimed to have been converted at a revival. He determined, however, to investigate the subject of religion more fully.

He relates the following story: "I retired to a secret place in a grove where I became enwrapped in a heavenly vision and where I saw two glorious personages. They warned me against the churches and I received a promise that the true gospel should be revealed to me at a later date."

When he was about eighteen years of age, he said, a messenger visited him in another vision and proclaiming himself as an angel of God informed him that he was chosen to be an instrument in the hands of God to bring about a glorious dispensation. He further said he was told at that time of the location of a certain set of plates that were buried in the ground. There were a thousand of these plates and they seemed like gold and were of a thickness equal to thin tin, each plate being beautifully engraved. The plates were

about 6 x 8 inches in size and the whole package was about six inches in thickness.

Smith claimed that he showed these plates to ten men, all of whom declared they had seen them and testified positively as follows: "Joseph Smith showed the plates to us, that we did handle them with our hands, that we saw the engravings thereon, and that we had seen and 'hefted' them and that we knew of a surety that said Smith had got the plates."

These plates were placed in the hands of one of these men, Oliver Cowdery, who translated them, and the teachings thereon as translated were used as the foundation of the Mormon doctrine.

In 1830 the Mormon church was started in Fayette, New York. Then Sidney Rigdon, one of Smith's principal adherents, went over to Kirtland, Ohio, and after a great revival established the church there and then they began the building of a temple there. In connection with this religious movement Smith had organized a bank at Kirtland, but the bank failed and Smith and his brother became very unpopular. They were ridden on a rail through the town, tarred and feathered and ordered to leave the community. But they were not dismayed and removing the tar and feathers they presented their doctrines at the same place on Sunday, the day following.

Smith then claimed to have received a new revelation to go to Independence, in Jackson County, Missouri, a short distance east of Kansas City and there to establish a new Zion. So they moved again, the church continued and the foundation for another temple was laid at Independence.

The Mormons remained there until they were compelled to evacuate and seek some other location. This brought them up to the time of their removal to Quincy and their arrival in Nauvoo.

One reason given for the lack of their welcome and prosperity in Missouri was the fact that they preached the freedom of mankind which classed them in Missouri as abolitionists. And so in the winter of 1838, conditions becoming unbearable, they began their trek from Jackson County, Missouri, which led eventually to Hancock County, Illinois.



MORMON TEMPLE, NAUVOO.

THE MORMONS IN NAUVOO

On their arrival in Nauvoo, Joseph Smith not only continued to hold the position of head of the church, but after the city was organized he soon became, either by his own appointment or election, the mayor of Nauvoo. Immediately on their arrival in Illinois the Mormons began to take an interest in politics and they soon became a mighty political power. They elected their own representatives to the legislature.

From the liberal legislature of Illinois they demanded much and received a great deal. They secured from the legislature—through the efforts of their first representative, one Dr. John C. Bennett—three of the most remarkable charters ever granted by the State of Illinois to any community. Among others who assisted in securing these famous or rather infamous charters, is said to have been Stephen A. Douglas, who was then secretary of state.

The three charters which they secured in the legislative session of 1840-41 were: one for the incorporation of the city of Nauvoo, one for the founding of the University of Nauvoo, and the third for the organization of a military legion. The success in securing these charters was made easy by the fact that both political parties at that time were vying with each other for the good will and support of the Mormons.

The three charters were all contained in one act of the legislature and embraced among other provisions a city council, a board of trustees and a court martial. Each of these branches, supreme in their way, were invested with legislative, judicial and executive powers. The rights were to enact, establish, ordain any and enact all laws and ordinances not in conflict with the constitution of the United States or of the State of Illinois. There were no provisions, however, in the act guarding against infringement of or the ignoring of any or all the laws either of the State of Illinois or of the United States.

The intention of the three charters seemed to be to establish at Nauvoo a government of the Mormons, by the Mormons and for the Mormons, independent of control either by the state or the United States. The third charter created a military legion, an army to uphold such acts or laws as the

Mormons wished to enforce. It is said that this military legion at one time numbered six thousand men, and was entirely at the command of Joseph Smith as lieutenant-general and as leader and prophet of the Mormons.

In addition to this legion there was a sort of secret organization known as the Danites or the sons of Dan, whose work was done secretly and who could be depended upon at any time under the directions of the prophet to remove characters objectionable or obnoxious to the authorities of the church.

Joseph Smith being head of the church, mayor of Nauvoo, and general-in-chief of the Nauvoo legion, his authority was unquestioned. Not satisfied with being the head of everything in his kingdom he even aspired to become president of the United States.

On the third of February, 1841, the city of Nauvoo was organized under its charter, with Dr. Bennett who had secured the charter, as its first mayor, but he was soon succeeded by Joseph Smith. The legion and the university were organized about the same time but the university never seemed to have made much progress. However, Joseph Smith's big asset and office was lieutenant-general of the legion.

One of the first acts of the city council was to pass a vote of thanks to the state government for favors conferred, and to the citizens of Quincy for the kindness shown them when driven from Missouri and when they found refuge in Illinois. This appears to be the only thanks ever extended by the Mormons.

The legion was furnished with state arms through General Bennett, who had not only secured the charters alluded to but who had also been appointed quartermaster-general of Illinois one year before by Governor Carlin.

On May 24, 1841, Joseph Smith sent out a notice that all Mormons in the state must locate in the county of Hancock, in which the city of Nauvoo was situated, and the one particular part of the county where he proposed to reign supreme and govern all the people thereof in the name of the Lord.

About this time as usual, Joseph Smith and the Mormon church began to have all kinds of trouble, both internal and external. Smith was arrested on several requisitions sent over from Missouri for crimes said to have been committed while he was there. But with the wonderful charters he possessed and his control of the courts, each time he was promptly released by writs of habeas corpus or other means.

The progress of the Mormon church continued, however, and on the 6th of April in the year 1841, the corner-stone of the third Mormon temple was laid at Nauvoo. History records that there were ten thousand people present at this ceremony and the temple which was to be erected at a cost of one million dollars—a good deal of money in those days—was intended to be and when completed was, without doubt, the finest structure of any kind in this western country.

Notwithstanding the fact that Nauvoo, under Mormon rule, had become a hotbed of crime and the hiding place of criminals who sought and secured refuge there after committing crimes in or near that section, the city as a growing metropolis still seemed to be in a flourishing condition. Both political parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, were continually making overtures to the Mormons. Stephen A. Douglas of the democratic party was popular with them, while John T. Stuart, Lincoln's law instructor and afterwards his first law partner, ran for congress on the Whig ticket and secured almost the solid vote of the Mormons in Hancock County.

The Mormons however were not the only people in Nauvoo. Naturally such a flourishing city in the new west attracted many people and of those who came there many were just about as bad if not worse than the Mormons.

In addition to enmities existing between the Mormons and other religious sects, the Mormons also differed among themselves and a violent quarrel broke out between Joseph Smith and his principal military aid, General Bennett.

THE FATAL TRAGEDY

New churches with regular or non-descript doctrines were organized in Nauvoo and an anti-Mormon newspaper, called the *Expositor*, was started in the city, but only one

edition thereof was ever issued. This paper was immediately suppressed by Joseph Smith, and by his orders the press and material were immediately destroyed. This created a great furore.

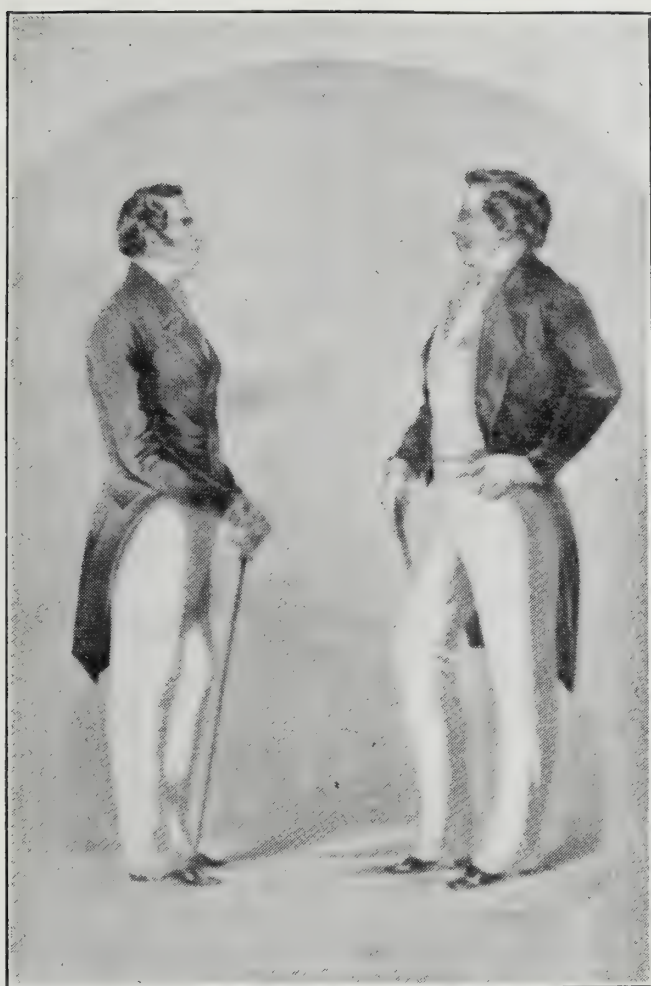
No matter what people may say about the newspapers, and which may not always be complimentary, the right of free speech and a free press guaranteed by the constitution of the United States is inborn in the make-up of the American people and the destruction of this little paper after only one issue created the greatest uproar that had ever taken place in Nauvoo.

The same spirit prevailed in Nauvoo at this time that had prevailed eighteen hundred years before when the people of Ephesus, lashed to a frenzy, rushed through the streets of that city crying out: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

The non-Mormons in Nauvoo met in convention and passed resolutions demanding the immediate expulsion from Illinois of Smith and his associates. Smith had not imagined that the breaking up of this little printing office and the suppression of this little newspaper would create so great an excitement.

Things became so threatening that he ordered out his military legion to defend himself and save his church. In the meantime the governor, recognizing the seriousness of the situation, ordered out the militia of the several counties in the vicinity of Nauvoo and started a march on the city. He met the legion and engaged in battle at rather long range. There were a few casualties, perhaps, but not many fatalities. However, the cloud of war hung over the city.

An armistice was arranged and a compromise effected. Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, agreed to surrender themselves under a warrant that was issued against them, and for their own safety and the good of the community they agreed to be incarcerated in the jail at Carthage, the county seat, twelve miles away. They were promised protection by Thomas Ford, who was then governor of Illinois. In connection with this agreement the governor required Joseph Smith to turn back to the state the arms, consisting of guns and cannons, which had been placed in his custody for the use of his legion.



HYRUM AND JOSEPH SMITH.

Had the governor carried out his agreement and taken the proper precautions to guard the Smiths in the jail, the state of Illinois would have escaped a serious blot that has rested upon its escutcheon ever since. Instead of fulfilling the agreement, by inexcusable neglect he allowed a mob to march on the jail, make an assault thereon and shoot and kill Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, in cold blood. Joseph Smith at the time he was killed was only 41 years old, but in that short span had led a busy life. He was survived by three sons.

The little stone jail where Joseph Smith and his brother were assassinated still stands in the southwest part of Carthage today, and presents about the same appearance now that it did when this lamentable occurrence took place, the only difference being that it is now used as a residence and cultivated vines and flowers grow over and about it and a little grey haired woman welcomes visitors and in a low voice tells of the great tragedy that occurred there in the days so long gone by.

Following the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, a man of great force, became the head of the Mormon church. It was he who led the exodus to Utah which at that time was outside of the United States, being Spanish territory. There he established polygamy, which was not practiced by the Mormons until after they had left Illinois.

Notwithstanding all the disorders, the building of the temple continued and the magnificent structure was finally completed. Soon thereafter a disastrous fire broke out in the temple which resulted in such great damage to the building that it could not be used for the purpose for which it was intended, and it stood thereafter as a mournful wreck.

In the meantime, troubles and crimes in and about Nauvoo continued until the people of western Illinois and eastern Iowa joined and again forcibly demanded that the Mormons must remove from Nauvoo. To hasten their departure the house-burners were organized to destroy the farm houses of the Mormons. They worked quietly and methodically. They would call upon a farmer, state the object of their visit and would then assist the family in removing their household effects to a safe distance. They would then set the

torch to the house and, watching until it burned, they would depart for the next house as quietly as they came. They would leave behind them a bed of glowing embers, a jag of furniture and a weeping family with broken hearts. It was then easy to convince that family that it was time for them to leave Illinois.

Finally the Mormons promised and declared their intention of removing from Illinois, but asked a reasonable time to close up their affairs. They not only had to organize their caravans, but also had to have time to dispose of their properties, among which were hundreds of cultivated farms and some two thousand houses of all descriptions.

Preparation for departure began in earnest early in the winter of 1845. Large numbers of horses, cows and oxen were gathered together and many wagons were constructed or purchased. In the early part of the month of February, 1846, Brigham Young and his great host crossed the Mississippi River, battling through the floating ice, and hardly knowing where their journey would end they started on their way through the wilderness to Utah, then beyond the borders of the United States. But as this paper is only expected to deal with matters in and about Nauvoo, we leave the further history of the Mormon church to others.

THE ICARIANS IN NAUVOO

Following the stormy and tempestuous departure of the Mormons from Nauvoo, they were succeeded by a less religious and at the beginning a more peaceable class of people. These were the Icarians who settled in Nauvoo in the year 1849, about three years after the departure of the Mormons, with the intention of founding a truly altruistic, communistic society.

The Icarian movement was begun in France. It was preceded by a similar movement organized in France by a man by the name of Fourier, several years before the Icarians came to the United States from France. The name Icarian appears to have been taken from a story written by Victor Hugo. The purpose of the society was based on a high plane. The motto was: "From each according to his ability and to each according to his need."

Everything in the way of business and social functions was to be controlled by the community. Everybody was supposed to be moral and industrious and to labor for the common good of the society, and all were to draw from the common fund and live upon an equality. There were to be no saloons, no churches, no gambling dens, nor were there to be thieves, speculators, profiteers or capitalists admitted into the brotherhood. The conditions were to be ideal and idealistic in every particular.

The community was organized by and was under the direction of Etienne Cabet, a very remarkable man. He was born in Dijon, France, in January, 1788. He was the son of a cooper, but was given a good education. He was a great writer and a true sympathizer with the common people. But with all his good intentions, he was autocratic and as absolute in his government of the Icarians as Mussolini appears to be of the people of Italy today.

Cabet wanted to try his experiments in France but could not obtain a charter there. He then concluded to come to America, which he did in 1848. He secured several thousand acres of land in Texas, induced a number of people from France to join him, and inaugurated his community there. He could hardly have selected a worse place. It was not suited to his people or for such an experiment. However, a number of people joined with Cabet in France, and some came to this country with him. Arriving in New Orleans, they went up the Red River into Texas. There were only sixty-nine who came with the first pilgrimage of the Icarians. They left France with high hopes and the best wishes of their friends at home.

In 1848, about the same time the Icarians entered Texas, the French Revolution occurred, the second republic was established, and Cabet became a candidate for president of France, assuming that if he were elected he could perhaps bring his grand ideas into fruition in that country instead of America. He was defeated in the election and calling for further volunteers to come to America he secured twenty-eight persons in addition to the sixty-nine who had come before. The sixty-nine who were then in Texas were having a sad and discouraging time. Other delegates were coming

on but those who had settled there were working under most discouraging circumstances.

Their local leader in Texas proved to be a traitor. The brothers found him guilty, shaved his head and sent him back to France. When June came with its intolerable heat and malarial fevers, thirty of the sixty-nine became ill and nine died.

The company, with new delegates coming in from France, had now reached a total of six hundred. This number was afterwards increased to eighteen hundred, but there were not more than about twelve hundred at Nauvoo at any one time. Cabet took entire charge of affairs. The Icarians decided to abandon Texas and look for a better location. A commission of three members ascended the Mississippi river. Among other places their attention was called to Nauvoo, which they promptly selected and which certainly presented to them a grand opportunity for the experiment of founding an altruistic society.

Here was a well-built but deserted city, in the garden spot of America, with beautiful and healthful surroundings, with residences and store buildings sufficient to accommodate a city of several thousand population and all ready for the new-comers to move into. Hundreds of farms, now deserted, that had been cleared and put in condition to be cultivated by the thrifty workers of the Mormon church, also lay idle and inviting. What more could be asked? Immediately arrangements were made for great purchases of city and farm property at almost gift prices.

Then the Icarians started up the Mississippi river by steamboat travel to take possession of their new Eldorado. Another misfortune overtook them: On the journey, cholera broke out and a number of the members of the society died. The dead were buried and the deaths kept a secret in order that new members who might wish to join the organization might not be discouraged. They finally ascended the river by boats as far as Warsaw, but the river being full of ice at the time they arrived, they had to abandon the steamboat there and tramp through the snow and slush for twenty-nine miles to reach Nauvoo. Again cholera broke out among them and a number died, and still they buried their dead secretly in the dark of night.

Cabet was a determined leader, a courageous and straightforward man and he seemed to his followers to be almost the second Christ and they stood by him with undaunted courage. He had been chosen before leaving France as dictator of the community for the first ten years of the organization and was assisted in his government by four directors elected by the company.

They went to work with a will, bought a flour mill and a distillery and at once commenced the manufacture of the two basic necessities of that country in those days—flour and whiskey. The Icarians, however, as a rule did not drink much whiskey, but sold it for a profit. Evidence appears that being mostly French people they did drink a good deal of wine.

They began the cultivation of vineyards and manufactured great quantities of wine which they stored in their wine cellars in the bluffs in and around Nauvoo and shipped to all parts of the country. Even at the present time there are hundreds of acres of vineyards that were first laid out by the Icarians and are still yielding grapes. They established agencies for the sale of their whiskey and other goods which they manufactured, in Keokuk, St. Louis and other cities.

They had no compulsory religion, no established church. All members were free as to their religious views. Almost all other societies of this nature have been organized on some religious basis, but this was to be an experiment without any sort of religious obligation.

Everything was managed by the dictator or president with the advice of the directors of the community. Even the rearing of the children was managed under this system. They were taken when young and cared for by nurses or teachers and were taught to live and love all persons through entire good will. Each man and wife had a private house or a private room in some lodging house. The children, however, were the common property of all. They lived in school houses or public wards and were only allowed to spend part of their Sundays with their parents in their homes. It was assumed by this sort of education that they would be better communists and love all people of the community as well or perhaps better than they otherwise would have loved their own parents or relatives.

Girls and boys were raised morally and in separate schools. The teachers were of the best people of the community and the children were kept clean and trained to do housework efficiently. Later they learned trades. They ate in great dining rooms, and one immense dining room is said to have had a capacity to care for 1200 people at one sitting, there being 120 tables with 10 persons at each table. Eating, like everything else, was done on a communistic and wholesale plan.

While the whole organization or movement was ideal in theory, somehow in practice it failed to work out, and while each and every one of the community thought he was doing his share, it appeared that all in all they were getting poorer all the time and there was great complaint of their lack of proper nourishment and clothing. Cabet, however, kept up his spirit of optimism. On Sunday he lectured on the beauties of the system under which they were operating and the people joined in moral and innocent amusements.

There was no denying the fact, however, that the community had reached the top and was going down on the sunset side of the hill. As the community grew more and more shiftless Cabet became more and more dictatorial in upholding the rules and the discipline of the community.

The ruins of the old Mormon temple stood as a vast melancholy spectre on the high ground in the center of the city. The roof and some other portions were gone and it was rapidly falling into decay. Cabet and his community bought what was left of the vast structure—which is said to have cost one million dollars—for a consideration of only \$1000, and started to rebuild it on its former magnificent lines.

While the workmen were laboring on the structure there came a great tornado and the huge walls from 60 to 100 feet in height fell with a great crash which is said to have been heard several miles away. The rain fell in great torrents and several houses in the city were destroyed in the tornado.

The rebuilding of the temple was abandoned. Some of the stone was afterward used to construct a school house and the rest was carried away and used in the building of farm houses and other local structures.

At least one of the capitals of the temple was saved from the wreck. This was brought to Springfield about 1870 as a

sample of stone taken from the Sonora quarries in the bluffs of the river four miles south of Nauvoo.

After being exhibited, this capstone was later presented to the Illinois State Historical Society, and it was removed to the state fair grounds for lack of a better place of storage, and its face, representing the sun, now silently looks out over the little duck pond just east of the main entrance of the fair grounds in Springfield as sedate, austere and dignified as the sphinx of Egypt. A great deal of this Sonora stone was used in the building of the new Capitol of Illinois.

As conditions grew worse in the community, there was much dissatisfaction among the followers of Cabet and petty quarrels occurred, leading to serious disturbances. Poverty was increasing and efficiency was decreasing. Some of the members left the community and went forth into the world without money and with few friends. The American inhabitants of Nauvoo assisted some of the Icarians to move to other localities. However, new recruits were coming on to share the fate of the out-going members.

Cabet was summoned to Paris to answer some charges of fraud against him, but returned triumphant to his Icaria. In 1855 Cabet inaugurated a new reign of dictatorship and determined to become the real and entire head of the Icarians and bring success out of failure. He ordered the removal from office of the directors who were his advisors. This produced ill feeling and the community opposing Cabet produced a new candidate for president or dictator, as he might more properly be termed. Thereupon a member by the name of Gerard was chosen president and Cabet's heart was well nigh broken. Gerard through friendship resigned in favor of Cabet. Cabet was then again re-elected as dictator, but for only one year. This peace arrangement, however, lasted only a few months when the assembly elected a new set of directors.

The old directors refused to vacate and the new directors were put into office by main force. At this Cabet and his followers threw down their tools, refused to work, and the community became a divided brotherhood. After a season of idleness the new directors took charge of affairs and there was a war of hatred which continued between the two factions. The

Cabet faction was outnumbered and at the mercy of the new faction and for a time lived on the charity doled out to them by their enemies.

The new faction burned the rules and regulations of Icaria, began the division of the colony, and in the following October expelled Cabet and his followers. Cabet sued for a division of the property and the restoration of his former rights, but the verdict of the court was that he had to submit to the will of the majority.

With 180 of his followers, Cabet then withdrew to Cheltenham, Missouri, a suburb of St. Louis, where he tried to establish a new Icaria. About three years thereafter he died—of a broken heart, as many thought—and the great altruistic society was dissolved, although about eight hundred of the members remained in Nauvoo. The rest of the members scattered to other parts of the country. A number went to Corning, Iowa, where they owned a large tract of land. At that time Corning was forty miles from the nearest white settlement. On leaving Nauvoo they paid off their mortgages, which left them with neither capital nor anything of value to show for their sacrifices and their six years of hard work. The colony that removed to Iowa formed a new society under the laws of Iowa and took in other members. The downfall of Cabet and his experimental community checked the enthusiasm of the movement in France.

Quarrels and disagreements continued in the various branches of the Icarians, but soon thereafter a new gold rush developed. This was followed by the Civil War, and the Icarians as a community disappeared. Some of them went to California and settled in Berkeley, but the Icarian experiment in Nauvoo was over. The play was ended, the curtain was rung down and the lights were extinguished.

Among the Icarians who first settled in Nauvoo were some very remarkable men, and it would appear that the society should have been a greater success than it was, with all of its concentrated wisdom.

One of the notables who made up the community and who was of special interest to the people of Illinois was Alfred H. Piquenard, a civil engineer and architect of great ability, who had a record of many achievements before coming to the United States. Among other things, he had built a rail-

road in France and at one time had enjoyed high political honors in that country. He was assigned to very ordinary work while with the Icarian community. After the dissolution of the organization, he went to St. Louis and engaged in the profession of architecture. Later he formed an association with John C. Cochrane whose designs for the building of the present state house of Illinois had been accepted. Piquenard was appointed the supervising architect and carried out the construction of the magnificent Illinois State Capitol building of which we are proud even to the present day. He died shortly before the completion of this building.

Another character of great interest to the people of Springfield was Jules Cottet who for many years resided in Springfield and was connected with the fire department of the city and engineer of one of the first steam fire engines ever used in the capital city. At the time Napoleon III was declared Emperor of France, Cottet for some reason was arrested without warning and was exiled to a prison in Africa. He escaped from the prison by jumping into the ocean and was picked up by a passing ship. He was conveyed to America and immediately made his way to the Icarian settlement at Nauvoo. He laid out one of the first vineyards at that place. Subsequently he enlisted in the northern army in the Civil War and after being honorably discharged established a machine shop in Springfield and as stated above acted in the capacity of engineer in the fire department. He died several years ago, but I believe some of his relatives still reside in Springfield.

There were other eminent characters among the Icarians but even their names are hardly a memory at this time. Suffice it to say, the Icarian community was established with great hopes, with great hardships and difficulties, had carried on a peculiar and antagonistic existence, and finally demonstrated that a truly altruistic society where every man must work not for his own advancement but for the common good of all, is destined to be a failure until mankind has reached a much higher plane of self-sacrifice than existed then or even now.

NAUVOO OF TODAY

Now let us take a farewell glance at the Nauvoo of today. The town is located on the east side of the Mississippi River

about twelve miles north of Keokuk. It occupies one of the most beautiful locations for the setting of a city in all the length of the great river from New Orleans in the south to St. Paul in the north. There is a graceful bend to the west in the river at this point, so that Nauvoo lies practically within a circle, graced by the broad Mississippi on the north, the west and the south, and by the rolling prairies of Illinois on the east. Starting at the shore line of the river on the north and drawing a line just back of the town directly south and coming to the shore line of the river again, would measure about four miles; while traversing the shore line of the river on the west of the town would require a circuit of about eight or nine miles. The town rests just at the apex of an elevation, with a gentle decline on three sides leading down to the river. It has been said that Nauvoo occupies a site in the center of the union that would have been appropriate for the location of the national capital.

Nauvoo at this time might be referred to as a sleepy little old town. It has a population of only about nine or ten hundred, which is perhaps less than one-twentieth its population over eighty years ago. Most of the houses are of old-time architecture—and yet they are remarkable in their way as being the great houses of the Mormon colony when the city was at its best.

While the Mormons departed a long time ago, the town still has a sort of religious atmosphere, as the Roman Catholics maintain a girls' academy and two large schools for boys. Besides these there are several Protestant churches and grade schools. There is also a modern high school.

Nauvoo has never had either a steam or an electric railway and does not seem to have any prospects ahead in that direction. The steamboats that formerly landed and departed from its levee do not ply on the Mississippi River these days. But no town can escape the presence of automobiles and Nauvoo has its share of these, for many visitors come to Nauvoo in this manner and it has a modern garage—but aside from the noise of automobiles, silence now reigns supreme in Nauvoo.

The state has recently made a survey for one of its fine hard roads along the shore line of the Mississippi from Nauvoo to Hamilton, a distance of about twelve miles down the

river. With the river on one side and the bluffs on the other and with its meandering grades and curves, this highway when completed will make one of the most magnificent drives to be enjoyed anywhere in the state of Illinois.

This sleepy quiet little town of Nauvoo has a peculiar fascination for me which is hard to describe. For many years I have at intervals been a visitor within its borders and I have never tired of its quiet enchantments. How different it is today in its solitude when it is contrasted with the busy scenes of eight decades ago when it was a rushing, noisy, fanatic and quarrelsome religious and business center!

Come with me—let me be your guide and I will point out to you those things that possess such fascinations for me in old Nauvoo. See if they impress you as they do me!

Let us start at the business center. We turn to the west—the great crescent of the Mississippi River encircles three-fourths of the view, even as a wide polished band of silver. In the afternoon as the sun sets beyond the graceful hills of Iowa, its reflection presents a pathway of gold over the waters in the direction of the long pilgrimage which Brigham Young made to Utah.

Now let us turn a short distance to the north. Here stood the great temple of which not a trace now remains. Here in the center of the city is the old Continental Hotel, an old-style house with an old-style porch and with vines and trellises and a yard full of old-fashioned flowers and surrounded by relics of the days long gone.

Here is the school house built from the stone of the temple. Here is Main street—leading up from the river in the foreground and back through the town to the prairies on the east. A few comparatively modern houses are on this street, together with many old buildings that are crumbling with age.

Nauvoo occupies a large area for its limited population, but every foot of its ground has its history. Come with me down to the foothills where most of the people used to live and see those old houses which the leaders of the Mormon church formerly occupied. They were great houses in their day and seemingly large houses for so small a village, in this age. How old they do look!

Here is the house where Joseph Smith, the prophet, first lived—half logs and half brick. Here is the Mansion House—the great central house of the old organization—the official residence of Joseph Smith, the prophet, at the time of his death, and where relics of the old regime are now displayed. Here is the more pretentious house where Smith's successor, Brigham Young, lived. Here is the oldest house in town, built in 1827, long before the Mormons appeared, and here is the old Nauvoo House, the leading tavern of the city in the Mormon days. Here is one of the old apartment houses of the Icarian settlement. Vineyards started by the Icarians, like those of old places in Europe, surround us on all sides. Here is where my old friend, Baxter, had his wine cellar in the hillside when I was a boy so many years ago. Everything is so old now that the community seems to be living in a past and forgotten age.

Now let us stop at the little cemetery, the final resting place of Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, who were shot down in cold blood while still young men. These graves are sacred to the Mormons of all the world and are a matter of great interest to all visitors to the present village of Nauvoo.

But night is coming on. The holy sisters in their sombre garments are looking after the welfare of their wards and are tucking them away for the night in their clean white beds, with a feeling of safety, for now there are no vicious men or violent mobs in Nauvoo as there used to be.

These days all the people go to sleep in Nauvoo with a feeling of assured security. While the town is very quiet in the day time, it becomes even more so during the night. The inhabitants then seem to rest in a holy solitude. The notes of some night bird may float out on the air. The tinkling of a far-off cow bell may be heard, or the bark of a faithful dog may give a lonely assurance of watchfulness—so in these times when the people of old Nauvoo go to rest, they sleep in peace and trust in God.



MARGARET K. SCHNAPP.

HISTORIC CHURCHES IN ILLINOIS

BY MARGARET KATHERINE SCHNAPP.

Prize Essay

On a beautiful October day in 1822, when Rev. John M. Berry and his family from Indiana approached the wooded hill which was to be their home, a great epoch in the history of Rock Creek community began. The trees of elm, oak and maple, interspersed with walnut and hickory, in their dress of autumn colors, to the south and east, and the rolling prairies to the north and west, seemed to say, "Welcome," to this godly man as he thanked God with uplifted hands for his safe journey into the new country.

Just five weeks after his arrival at Rock Creek, during a meeting held at a pioneer home, Mr. Berry organized the Rock Creek Cumberland Presbyterian Church. A copy of the agreement subscribed to by the charter members read as follows:

"We, the undersigned, agree to form ourselves into a society known by the name of Rock Creek Society, being attached to that branch of the church known by the name of Cumberland Presbyterian. Being pleased with the doctrine taught by that body.

"This 24th day of November, 1822.

John Hamilton	Margaret Wood
James Young	Nathan Comton
D. S. Taylor	Margaret Comton
Sally Taylor	Milo Wood
John Wood	Hannah Young
Joseph Young	Polly Hamilton
Polly Ann Taylor	Elizabeth Wood
George Hamilton	

"John Hamilton, James Young, and D. S. Taylor were elected elders.

"Rev. John M. Berry, Moderator."

In a footnote to the minutes of the reorganization of the church in 1856 it is stated that the church was first organized on November 22, 1822.

Camp meetings were held in the grove every year. Close to the camp-meeting house near a spring were the camps made of logs, boards, or cloth. On the first day of the meeting numerous wagons with equipment for camping came c-r-e-a-k-i-n-g, c-r-e-a-k-i-n-g to the place. Before evening the wagons were unloaded and camp was in order. When evening came the grove was lighted with candles and blazing fires.

After supper the people, singing their joyful emotions, gathered from different directions to the shed. A platform for the ministers had been erected in the west part and facing this were seats made of boards for the people.

Rev. Berry was the most prominent preacher. He would give out the hymn, read it, line it, and then in a strong, sincere voice lead the singing himself, the people joining in one after another. Favorite songs were "On Jordan's Stormy Banks I Stand" and "How Firm a Foundation" followed by "There is a Fountain." Then came an earnest prayer and, sometimes, another song. After this he announced the text and out of the fullness of his heart he delivered his message. When he had finished, another minister arose and prayed. Then all lovers of Jesus Christ were invited to come forward and give the ministers their hands, promising to pray for a revival of God's work. The benediction was pronounced and the people scattered to their camps for the night's rest.

Early the next morning there was family worship in the camps and a prayer meeting in the shed for those who could leave their task of preparing breakfast. Later in the morning a sermon intended especially for the sinners was preached by one of the ministers. Rev. Thomas Campbell and also Peter Cartwright, a pioneer Methodist minister, were forcible speakers at these meetings at Rock Creek. At the close of the sermon many would go to the mourners' bench in front of the pulpit, where the ministers and Christians prayed and plead for the salvation of these sinners. Finally they were dismissed for dinner. Great quantities of food were provided at this time. During the day small groups for consultation, prayer or social converse were formed in the grove.



ROCK CREEK CHURCH, TALLULA.

In the evening there was preaching in the shed again. If at any time a chilly atmosphere or deadlock prevailed and the spiritual interest manifested did not satisfy the leaders, they sent for Mrs. Lucy Morgan, a very devout Christian woman living four miles away. She was deeply interested and the deadlock was broken. Some of the services were attended with great interest and often lasted far into the night. People were convicted of their sins with much emotion and excitement, unlike the present manner of getting religion. After ten days or two weeks the meeting came to a close and the campers returned to their homes with the songs, prayers, and wonderful sermons inspiring them for days.

These camp-meetings were a kind of spiritual awakener for a number of years. They were succeeded by revival meetings held in the church.

Rev. Berry ministered to the congregation of this community many years, at first holding services in the different homes. He deeded a small strip of land to the congregation for church and camp-meeting purposes. On this, a few years later, a large shed was erected for holding the camp-meetings. These yearly meetings, together with the weekly meetings in the homes, soon established Rock Creek as a religious center.

This first church was built in 1842 on other land given by Mr. Berry adjoining the camp-meeting ground. This meeting house was erected at a cost of only sixty dollars in money, most of the material and labor being donated. The weather-boarding was black walnut, whip-sawed and hand-planed. Rev. James White, a member of the congregation, lathed and plastered the first church as his part in its construction. The building, in firmness like the character of its constructors, lasted for a half century.

Here every Sunday morning the community assembled for Sunday School and Church services. The minister would preach long sermons, but the audience never once glanced at the clock on the side wall to see how long it was his custom to continue. Singing was also an important part of the worship. In early times the leader of the music was the minister or some devout Christian elder, who, although he did not understand the theory of music, sang the grand old hymns with sincere praises from his heart. The song was pitched by means of a tuning fork. The organ and piano were next

in use and still play an impressive part. Congregational singing has always been a helpful part of the services.

“The minister had preached his best;
The singers lent their strongest aid;
Yet in the church were those oppressed
By heavy burdens sin had laid
Upon their hearts. They found no rest;
Then Uncle Billy knelt and prayed.”

God seemed to draw near when Uncle Billy Hill prayed and the sinners knelt in child-like faith.

In early days communion elements were served on a long table around which the communicants gathered. Later they were served in the pews from a plate and cup.

In the first church there were three rows of pews or benches. The women sat on one side of the church and the men on the other. In the winter time a heating stove was set up on each side of the church. In the front of the church was the pulpit. On the one side of the pulpit was the “amen corner” and on the other side was a space curtained off from the rest to be used as a place for the primary class to recite. The organ sat in the front a little to one side of the pulpit. The church had just the one room, with a north entrance and four windows on each side.

The early church government was very different from that of today. The idea prevailed that every little offense should be brought before the church, so a church trial was a common affair. Such a small matter as a disagreement over the loaning of a veil was brought before the session. Witnesses were called, the community took sides causing hard feelings, and peace was absent because of such little disputes.

Several years after the departure of Rev. Berry the lack of a leader was felt, spirituality was at low ebb, and the outlook was discouraging. Accordingly in 1856 Sangamon Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church commissioned Rev. Alner W. Lansden to reorganize the Rock Creek Church.

With fifty-eight spiritual and influential members the church took on new life. Much instruction, much charity, much prayer enabled this little gray church on the wooded hill to become more active in the cause of Christ and the spread of His Kingdom.

As a result of evangelistic services conducted in 1906 in an adjoining community by Wiley Lin Hurie, a son of Rock Creek and now President of the Ozark College, the parish increased in size and now covers a territory four miles by ten miles in extent. Services are held in the chapel erected on the east side of the parish for the accommodation of those living there.

The second church was built in 1892 on the ground where the first one stood. Again most of the work was donated, an outlay of about two thousand dollars being made this time. The foundation rock of the old church was taken out and relaid by Henry Colby and J. S. Primm.

Since 1860 the community has had a resident pastor. In this way the pastor identifies himself with the community's interests and so the community's moral and spiritual life is built up.

In 1906 when the Cumberland Presbyterian and Presbyterian U. S. A. churches were united, the Rock Creek congregation, abiding by the decision of the General Assembly, entered the union.

In addition to a permanent Sabbath School the church has had various other organizations. For a number of years a flourishing Christian Endeavor Society trained the young people. A men's Brotherhood was maintained with much interest. Teacher Training classes prepared some to teach and gave them a better knowledge of the Bible. The Woman's Missionary Society for Home and Foreign Missions was organized in 1902. The society studies Home Missions six months and studies Foreign Missions six months. Red Cross activities were carried on vigorously during the World War.

Annual congregational meetings are held in the winter, when church and community reports are given and plans are discussed for the coming year. This is also an all day social affair and dinner is served.

Fourth of July gatherings used to be real homecomings to former residents of Rock Creek. And now every few years a homecoming is enjoyed.

On November 23 and 24, 1922 the Rock Creek Church celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. Interesting greetings were given from Synod, Presbytery, former pastors and

neighboring churches. Two addresses much enjoyed were "Progress of Christianity for the Past One Hundred Years" by Rev. Thomas of Springfield, and "Reminiscences of the Church and Community" by Mr. David Bone of Kansas. "Voices of the Past" gave a review of many incidents when former residents lived in Rock Creek. The meeting started on Thursday evening, November 23 and continued through Friday, November 24. Lunch and dinner were served to the large assembly on Friday. About seven hundred enjoyed this excellent program together.

The fire upon the altar at Rock Creek has sometimes burned low but it never has gone out. A few of God's humble servants kept God's commands, feeding the feeble flame until it again burst forth in a glowing fire. Each succeeding generation has built upon the foundation first established by a few faithful residents along Rock Creek a few years after Illinois was admitted to the union.

**REMARKS OF MRS. WILLIAM JACKSON SWEENEY,
STATE D. A. R. REGENT OF ILLINOIS, ON PRE-
SENTING THE GOLD MEDAL, STATE PRIZE.**

Throughout the ages boys and girls, the poets, the tellers of stories have ever thrilled with the desire to emulate the adventures of the old Greek Ulysses as he fought before the gates of Troy, as he craftily built the wooden horse to gain entrance to the city; in those marvelous experiences on his return voyage to Ithaca at the Isles of the Hesperides where he met with the Cyclops, with the Sirens, with Circe, before he was to be reunited with his faithful, loving Penelope who confidently awaited his coming while weaving and unweaving her web.

The great English poet, Tennyson, wrote a poem about Ulysses and made the old hero say to his followers who had lost their courage and were despairing of ever again seeing their homeland: "You must ever work to be strong in will—to strive—to seek—to find—and not to yield."

And so I say to you, my dear young friend, now facing the port of life, as your vessel puffs its sails with your dreams of noble work to be done that will inevitably bring to you both successes and joys, failures and sorrows, that you keep as your guiding star those words of Ulysses to his men: "I must ever work to be strong in will—to strive—to seek—to find—and not to yield."

Life is like a landscape. The uneventful, monotonous, daily routine and grind is the great stretch of the level plain of our lives. There are, now and then, here and there, unusual events that mark a crisis, a turning point in their varying influences in determining the course of our lives. These influences may be likened to the hill tops and the mountain peaks that give to the scene its beauty, its effectiveness, its character.

Your success in winning this gold medal that I am presenting to you tonight, in the 8th annual Historical essay contest for boys and girls, conducted by the Illinois Daugh-

ters of the American Revolution, and the Illinois State Historical Society, will be one of the hill tops of your life. I sincerely believe that this work that you have done in preparing your essay will have a very deep and lasting influence in helping to form your character. "You have been strong in will—to strive—to seek—to find"—and you have not yielded. In writing your essay you have had to do much research work into the early history of Illinois. You have had to assemble and organize your facts, compare them, evaluate their influence in making history. All of this work has given you a knowledge of the great influence of the church in forming, not alone the character of pioneer Illinois, but also that of the Illinois of today. The present never goes farther than the ideals of the past that come down to it.

When the time comes for you to assume the duties of citizenship and to enjoy its privileges, I trust that this task, which you have so successfully performed, will have made a very deep and lasting impression in helping to form the basis of your ideas of the kind of government that is best for our country. That you will be a strong force in your community in helping to perpetuate the ideals that have been a most potent factor in not only making the character of Illinois but also that of the great nation of which it is a part. That with the years your interest and firm convictions for right and truth and the influence for good of the church will grow stronger; that in the coming struggle to perpetuate true Americanism you will always be loyal to the ideals inherited from their forefathers by the Daughters of the American Revolution, that each and all must be for God, for Home, for Country.

Most fitting it is that this gold medal should be presented to you on this, the one hundred tenth anniversary of the admission of Illinois as the 21st state to be admitted into the Union of the States.

Again I say to you in all that you do in your life remember, "that you must ever work to be strong in will—to strive—to seek—to find—and not to yield." It isn't what life brings to you that matters. The important thing is the courage that you bring to life.

In the name of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution and the Illinois State Historical Society, I now take great pleasure in presenting to you this gold medal. May it ever be a symbol of your loyalty and your love for our beloved America.

STATUE OF THE MADONNA OF THE TRAIL UN- VEILED AT VANDALIA BY DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY MRS. BESS D. MOSS

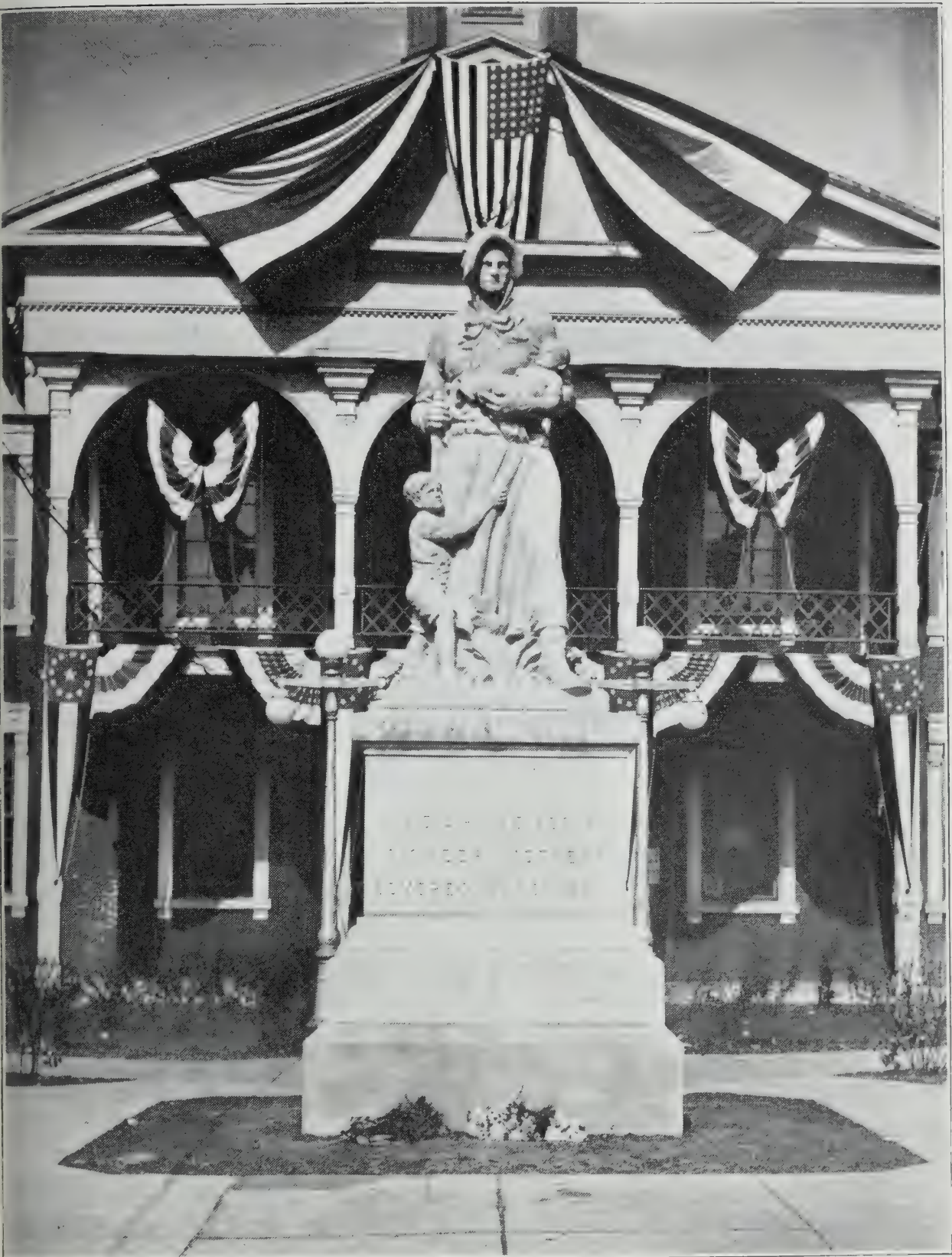
Vandalia, replete with history, turned backward for a day in its march of progress Friday, October 26th, paid tribute to the blazers of the trail of civilization westward, when Illinois' monument, erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the National Old Trails Committee, was unveiled and presented to the city of Vandalia.

In the shadow of the old capitol building, where Lincoln and Douglas, and other early state dignitaries, fought over the problems of state, on soil early dedicated to the conduct of state affairs, where the music of the creaking of covered wagons and the lowing of oxen filled the days of a century ago, stands the "Madonna of the Trail," dedicated to the mothers of covered-wagon days, who forged westward, standing resolutely beside their husbands, who sought and builded homes along the "homing trail" to a new country.

A crowd of 10,000 people filled the streets of Vandalia, that historic old town, and fair weather smiled on the scene. The Vandalia Chamber of Commerce, headed by J. C. Burt-schi, planned and executed a most colorful parade, pageant, and dedication ceremonies.

Once more the old covered wagons of pioneer days rumbled up from the eastern river bottoms and across the bridge over the old Kaskaskia into the city, bearing the immigrants leaving tidewater, to meet the Indian trappers, hunters and frontiersmen who rode in from the west to greet them. An old stage coach in which Lincoln and Douglas rode helped make up the parade and to make the affair more realistic was "held-up and robbed" in view of the thousands of helpless spectators.

Realistic indeed was the parade at 1:45 p. m., when colonies of immigrants met the Indian chieftain traders. Wam-



MADONNA OF THE TRAIL

pum and buckskin, knee buckles and wigs were greatly in evidence, as Vandalia men and women and school children decked themselves in the habiliments of another day. Patriots of '76 with fife and drum and statesmen with silk hats and puritan maidens helped make up the picture.

During Friday morning entertainment was provided for the visitors in the way of band concerts, and various acrobats and performers. The Greenville Municipal Band played a concert at 10 a. m., after which free moving pictures, "We Americans," were shown at the Liberty Theater. The Comedy Acrobats, Slack Wire Performers, educated canines, with more concerts by the Greenville band, as well as the Manion Band of Vandalia, consumed the time of the morning.

Following the parade after noon, the pioneer children of the city led in song by Miss Zilpha Young, music director of the Vandalia schools, with Mrs. Paul Bolman at the piano, sang and then the Indian children sang.

The selection of Vandalia as the city in Illinois in which a monument would be placed, was made by the National Old Trails Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution and a committee of the National Old Trails association, in view of the early state history surrounding Vandalia. Mrs. Chas. E. Davidson, of Greenville, was a member of the committee. It was regrettable indeed that Mrs. Davidson was ill at her home Friday and was unable to see the realization of her dream as to the erection of this monument in Illinois. Mrs. John Trigg Moss of St. Louis, chairman of the National Trails Committee of the D. A. R., was present and presented the statue to the state and it was received by Mrs. Bess C. Sweeney of Rock Island, state president of the D. A. R.

Other dignitaries of the D. A. R. present were Mrs. Samuel Earl of Washington, D. C., Recording Secretary General of the D. A. R., who read a telegram of greetings from Mrs. Alfred J. Brosseau of Washington, President General of the D. A. R., Mrs. James B. Cranshaw of Fort Wayne, state regent of Indiana, Mrs. Lon Sanders of Webster Groves, Mo., state vice regent of Missouri, and Miss Georgia L. Osborne, secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Frank A. Davis of Rosedale, Kans., secretary of the National Old Trails Association, was present and he made

an address, taking the place of Judge Harry S. Truman, president of the organization. John H. Hauberg, Vice President of the Illinois State Historical Society, was among the number.

Many others filling high offices in the state D. A. R. were present.

Decorators from St. Louis put a new dress on Vandalia for the day and draped with flags and bunting, the city was in gala attire. A platform erected directly in front of the veiled statue was provided for the speakers and amplifiers in front of the speakers afforded the thousands of spectators a chance to hear. Moving pictures were taken of the scene.

Joseph C. Burtschi, president of the Vandalia Chamber of Commerce presided at the dedicatory ceremony. He said that the General Assembly at Kaskaskia in July, 1818, appointed five commissioners to select and designate a site for the state capitol of Illinois, in conformity with an act of congress which gave land for that purpose, providing the capitol be located between Kaskaskia and the third principal meridian. The five commissioners so delegated maneuvered along the west bank of the Okaw river until they reached the site of the present Vandalia. Here a deer was shot by one of the commissioners and it is said the state capitol was erected on that spot. The next year Fred Holman arrived there and built the first cabin in the city, 16 feet long by 14 feet wide. In the fall of 1820 the state officers and their families came and the records and all state papers were moved there from Kaskaskia by ox caravans and the man who received the contract for moving the state papers received the magnificent sum of \$25.

The Ernst colony, German immigrants, a high type of refined people, then arrived with three wagons bearing the women, children and chattels, and 70 men in the colony on foot, wended their way into the little city, and decided to settle there. After having traveled 1400 weary miles, they thought they had reached their paradise. Cholera, chills and fever wiped out many of the colony, but a daughter of one of that colony, still living in Vandalia, Mrs. Olivia White-

mann,* a daughter of John Leidig, was given the honor of unveiling the statue Friday.

Mr. Davis, secretary of the Old Trails Association, in his address gave a history of the idea of linking the old trails roads of the nations, declaring each marked an epoch of another day. He spoke of the erection of the monuments in twelve states through which the Old Trail passes, declaring the one at Vandalia to be the eighth dedicated. He praised the Daughters of the American Revolution for their idea of preserving old historic roads and sites, and declared that while the pioneer had passed away, he believed the spirit of the pioneer yet abides in the hearts of the people.

Mrs. John Trigg Moss, of St. Louis, was next introduced, and presented the statue.

She declared the object of the D. A. R. society is to perpetuate and protect the memory and the spirit of the men and women who achieved American independence, by the location of historic spots or the erection of monuments. Wholly in keeping with the first sentence designating the object of the society, the national organization in 1911 established a national committee known as the National Old Trails Road committee, of which she is the head.

The work of the committee primarily was to definitely establish the Old Trails road as a great national memorial highway, the memorial to be of national scope. To that end the national committee went about its work untiringly to present the matter to the nation at large, to awaken interest, to locate, to advertise, and to influence the new automobile roads in course of construction at that time to be made and built upon the old National Trail.

During this early work, the National Old Trails Roads association came into being, with its object also to perpetuate the old trails roads, and the two organizations have worked together and are now seeing a realization of their dreams.

As Mrs. Moss declared, "Like wise men of old, we have followed the same bright star together and it has been a long, long trail a winding to the land of our dreams, but that day is over and the long night of nights is spent and we are

* Mrs. Olive Whitemann passed on December 28th, 1928, at Vandalia, Illinois.

here to realize the vision we caught of that thing divine—the spirit of the early pioneer.

“And while is gone the last of the frontier, the last stage coach, the last wagon trail, that spirit in the heart of the trail blazer lives and will ever live in our heart of hearts, for the trail he took led him to the glorious west, which was a trail to home. It was the homing trail, the trail to a young nation.

“From the east, from the Alleghany mountains, came young men to build their homes in the great wilderness. This road was not built or laid out by engineers but was marked by the Indian and buffalo whose choice by instinct was always the quickest and best line of travel.

“And through the days and nights, year after year, was heard the music of the creaking axle and the low of the oxen. Just why this mighty host of pioneers left their comfortable homes to plunge into the great unknown we do not know, and we never shall know. But no doubt that restless spirit of adventure gripped the hearts of those men as it does those of today. After the heat of warfare and the strife of Revolutionary days they seemed to have had but one desire in their souls and that was to establish their own homes and live in peace and happiness the rest of their days. To come into this possession they were willing to forsake home and friends, to travel an unknown trail through the land of mystery, danger, hardship and romance. They brought not ammunition and shot and shell, but brought their cattle, farm implements and household necessities, and under a canopy of boughs there sprung permanent settlements and the peace of American homes.

“All over our country these trails are being located and memorialized. The Natchez trail, the Lincoln Highway, the Dixie Trail, the Old Boston Post road and many others are linked in a complete chain from ocean to ocean. This is not a matter of chance. We are told each link represents an epoch in this republic. As one has said, ‘It is the autograph of a nation written across the face of a continent.’ And truly these sacred names shall not perish.

“These old trails tell a story of hardship we shall never know. They tell the story of the prairie schooner, the tent of boughs, the blazing sun, of biting winters, of dust laden breasts and brows.

“And they tell the story of another group, that long horde of the pioneer mothers, who blazed the trail with an abiding trust, that great host of unknown mothers, who went forward with mother love in their hearts, with a mother’s song on their lips, who represent the great spirits of service, sacrifice and adventure. These trails tell the story of the mother of covered-wagon days, who followed her man along the foot-paths of poverty, whose constant companion was privation. For these pioneer mothers had clothed themselves with those sterling qualities of duty, sympathy, stern reality, romance, gentleness and severity, justice and mercy, and faith in God Almighty. With these attributes the Madonnas of the Trail entered the threshold of their new-found homes and erected therein an altar to God, and dedicated it with the song, ‘My Soul Doth Magnify the Lord.’

“Our pioneer mothers have passed into sacred history but as the years roll by we catch the echo of another refrain, growing stronger with the passing years, ‘Praise the Lord, O My Soul,’ and in this spirit we, the Daughters of the American Revolution, present to the nation our tribute of love and veneration in a great national shrine, reaching from ocean to ocean, and as we unfold the veil that hangs over her and reveal to the world the outward beauty and majesty of our monument may we feel the great benediction of that great anthem, ‘Lord God of Hosts, Be With Us Yet, Lest We Forget, Lest We Forget.’ Let us dedicate ourselves to the great ideals of the past, to an abiding faith in our nation, to steadfastly upholding our institutions, as we dedicate this, our eighth link in our national shrine, we dedicate it to the honor and glory of our pioneer mothers of the past, in the name of God, Amen.”

Following Mrs. Moss’ presentation of the monument, Mrs. Bess C. Sweeney, state regent, accepted the gift in the name of Illinois.

Miss Hattie Neill, a native of Vandalia, now a teacher in the Mattoon schools, then sang very beautifully “Illinois.” The statue was then unveiled by Mrs. Olivia Whitemann, while the Greenville band played “America” and the entire assembly sang.

Following the dedication, moving pictures were taken of the crowd.

Following the ceremonies, Benjamin Mills Chapter of Greenville was hostess to the visiting D. A. R., at a reception on the roof garden of the Evans hotel. Mrs. E. E. Schnepf, regent of Benjamin Mills Chapter, and her committee had charge of the reception. Three Vandalia members of the Greenville chapter, Mrs. B. W. Perkins, Mrs. George Houston and Mrs. H. J. Gochenour, ably assisted in all details.

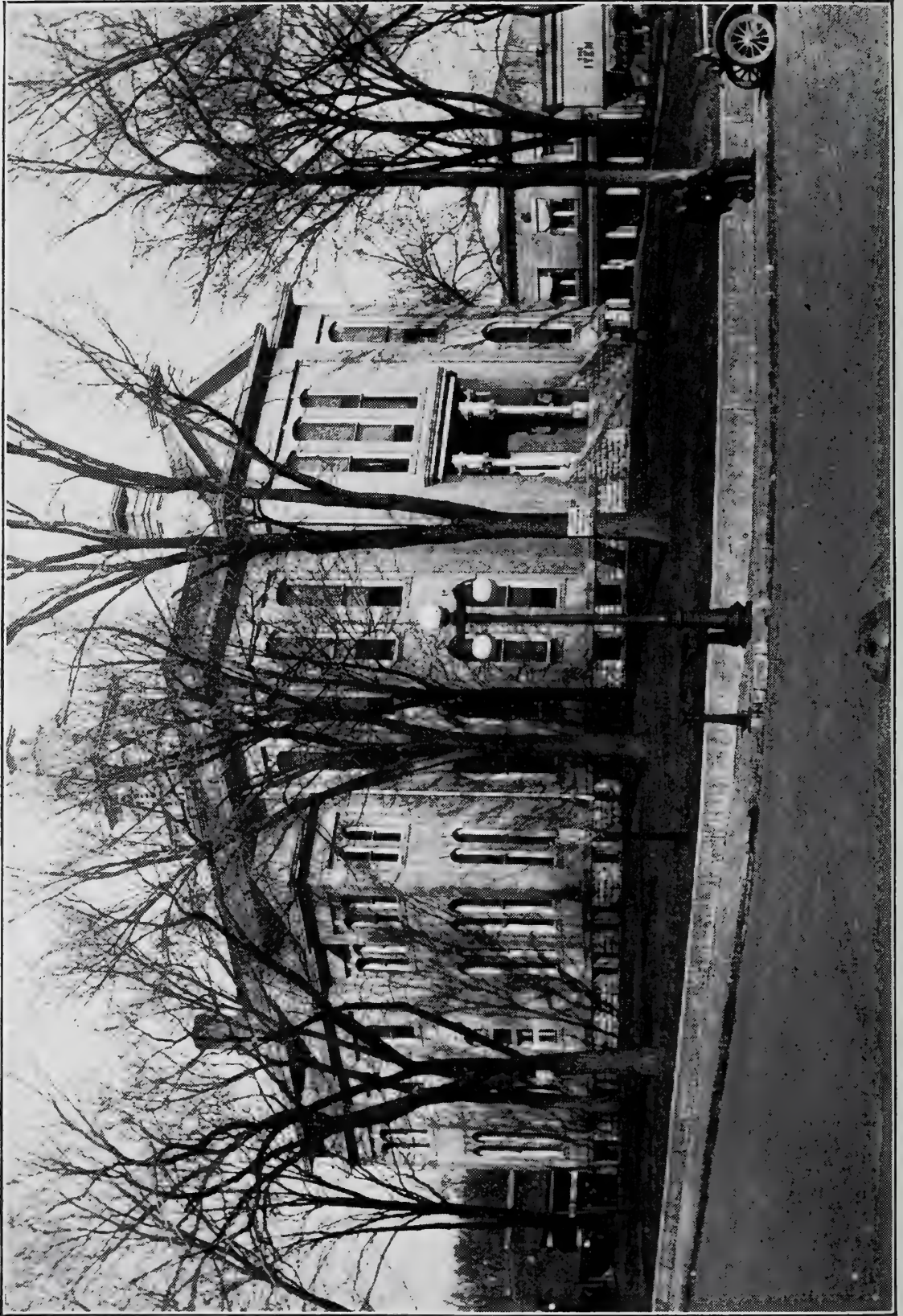
Representatives of the women's clubs of Vandalia were present and members of the Chamber of Commerce and Vandalia business men saw that everything was in perfect accord.

In passing, it may be said that Vandalia left no stone unturned in staging one of the finest patriotic celebrations in a day and generation.

The statue represents a pioneer mother with a babe in her arms and an older child at her side. It stands on a base which on one side bears this inscription: "At Vandalia, Abraham Lincoln, member of the Illinois legislature, first formulated those high principles of freedom and justice which gave the slaves a liberator and the Union a savior."

Another side carries this inscription: "The Cumberland Road built by the Federal Government, was authorized by Congress and approved by Thomas Jefferson in 1806. Vandalia marks the western terminus."

The south side, facing the trail, carries these words: "The Madonna of the Trail." Beneath is the emblem of the D. A. R. and under, the words, "N. S. D. A. R. Memorial to The Pioneer Mothers of the Covered Wagon Days."



BOND COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

**BRONZE MEMORIAL TABLET TO SOLDIERS OF 1812
BURIED IN BOND CO., ERECTED BY KASKASKIA
CHAPTER, UNITED STATES DAUGHTERS OF
1812, AT GREENVILLE, ILLINOIS**

BY MRS. CHARLES E. DAVIDSON

On Sunday, Nov. 11, 1928, the Kaskaskia Chapter, U. S. Daughters of 1812, unveiled a bronze tablet at the North entrance to the Court House in Greenville, Illinois, in memory of all the Soldiers of the 1812 War, who are buried in Bond Co. Twenty-five names appear on this tablet.

Kaskaskia Chapter had anticipated the erection of this memorial for several years, and the dream was realized on Armistice Day.

It was a perfect autumn day, which brought to mind Margaret Sangster's beautiful words—

“Earth is all in splendor drest;
Queenly fair, she sits at rest,
While the deep, delicious day,
Dreams its happy life away.”

At 2 P. M., the Greenville Municipal Band called the large assembly together at the north entrance of the Court House. Two ceremonials occurred, one out doors by the tablet and the other in the Court Room.

OUT DOOR PROGRAM

Music..... Greenville Municipal Band
Salute and Taps... American Legion, Greenville Post No. 282
Three Minute Silence in Memory of the Dead.

Invocation..... Rev. J. G. Wright
Salute to the Flag.

Unveiling of Tablet by Mrs. H. E. Sapp, a “Real Daughter”
of 1812, while the Band played “America.”

Placing of Wreath and Presentation of Bronze Tablet to
Bond County, by Mrs. Charles E. Davidson, Regent and
Organizer of Kaskaskia Chapter.

Acceptance..... Mr. Harry C. Hall, Supervisor of Bond Co.

PROGRAM IN COURT ROOM

Ushers.....Boy Scouts
 Music.....Band
 1812 Ritual.....By Kaskaskia Chapter, led by Mrs. Thomas Biggs, Chaplain.
 Greetings from Heads of all Patriotic Organizations in Greenville.
 Daughters of the American Revolution..Mrs. E. E. Schnepf
 Grand Army of the Republic.....Mr. J. S. Wheeler
 Sons of Veterans.....Mr. Harry McLain
 American Legion.....Mr. Therman Johnston
 Ladies Auxiliary of American Legion.....
Mrs. Floyd McCracken
 Boy Scouts.....Mr. Arthur E. Coates
 Address.....Mrs. James A. Ostrom,
 Chicago, National Curator of U. S. D. 1812.
 Greetings.....Miss Alta Mae Speulda,
 Springfield, Regent "Sangamo Chapter."
 Greetings.....Mrs. Wm. E. Knox, Springfield.
 Address.....Senator Norman G. Flagg, Moro, Ill.
 "The Soldiers of 1812".....A Poem
 written for the occasion by Mr. W. W. Willeford,
 our Bond Co. Poet. Delivered by Miss Juanita File.
 Benediction.

In presenting the tablet to Bond County, Mrs. Davidson said—

"As Regent of Kaskaskia Chapter, United States Daughters of 1812, I am authorized to present to Bond County today, this beautiful bronze tablet containing the names of 25 soldiers who served in the War of 1812, and who now lie sleeping in our County.

These men represented the best pioneer spirit of our community.

When all of us who are present today, have passed to the great Beyond, these names will still remain in enduring bronze—

"Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
 Lest we forget, lest we forget."

Mrs. Davidson then placed a laurel wreath below the tablet, saying



WAR 1812 TABLET, BOND COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

“Soldier citizens of yesterday, we lay at your feet this wreath of living green. The circle typifies unending memory; the green, life; the laurel, victory.”

Mr. Harry C. Hall responded in a very pleasing speech of acceptance for Bond County...

“Madam Regent, Kaskaskia Chapter, U. S. Daughters of 1812: As a member of the Board of Supervisors, it gives me great pleasure to accept this beautiful tablet in the name of Bond County, not because of its intrinsic worth, but for the historical and inspirational value to the young people of all generations. These names are all that’s left of those who won for us our second independence.

Daughters of the War of 1812, this is a noble work of yours. You have given this matter much of your valuable time, and erected this tablet at no small cost to you. You have told these boys who are here today and the boys who will pass this way tomorrow, that their patriotic deeds will never be forgotten.

And now, in the name of Bond County, we accept this beautiful tablet, and I place thereon these twenty-five white flowers, one to the memory of each name engraved. And now I take this opportunity to thank you patriotic women for this tablet—the noble example of your patriotism.”

Mrs. James A. Ostrom, National Curator, of Chicago, praised the ladies of Bond County for their work in protecting patriotic sentiment. She said the unveiling of a memorial tablet was quite sacred to her, and that it represented three things. A loving memory, achievement and progress, and futurity. She told of the unveiling of a tablet in Princetown, England, in a cemetery where 119 war prisoners of the War of 1812 lay sleeping.

Miss Alta Mae Speulda, Regent of Sangamo Chapter, Springfield, brought splendid greetings from her membership. Proof of her leadership has already been established in 1812 work.

Mrs. William E. Knox, Vice Regent of Sangamo Chapter also extended greetings.

A beautiful poem was written for the occasion by Mr. W. W. Willeford, Bond County’s Poet, entitled “The Soldiers of 1812.” This was rendered by his granddaughter, Miss Juanita File.

Excerpts from Senator Flagg's address are given below.

* * * *

We meet this afternoon to pay tribute to the twenty-five patriots whose names adorn the beautiful bronze tablet on the wall of this Courthouse. Their graves lie in Bond County's soil. They were soldiers of the War of 1812, the second War for our Independence. Through the thoughtfulness of these ladies, the deeds and the names of these heroes will be kept constantly before us, so long as this tablet endures. And so, all of us present today, as American citizens and as your grateful guests, Madame Regent, feel it a privilege to join with you on this happy occasion.

We must not let our landmarks in history slip from us. We must teach our local history, we must inform ourselves on our local history. For in exact proportion as we keep fresh these stirring memories of the past, so will our patriotic instincts be encouraged and aroused, our flag revered, and our national stability assured.

Few communities in Illinois are so rich in historic lore as is this good old County of Bond, and in the early days her pioneers played an important role in the States history. * * *

So far as Illinois Territory was concerned, this War of 1812 between England and the United States was entirely a frontier warfare between the savage Indian tribes hereabouts and our early Illinois settlers. No British troops in any number were at any time in Illinois Territory; but the British commanders, staying at a safe distance, incited their Indian allies to wage their characteristically cruel warfare upon the well-nigh defenseless pioneers here. Those years were years of constant suspense and agony to our forefathers in this vicinity.

In June, 1811, a short distance north of Pocahontas, occurred the Cox massacre, the spot being marked in 1900 by a monument. Shortly after occurred another Indian massacre south of this city of Greenville. Hill's Fort and Jones' Fort were hastily built, as places of refuge and as headquarters for the Rangers, who constituted the militia of that day. It was just outside of Hill's Fort, on Aug. 31, 1814, eight miles south of this city, that Tom Higgins had his awful battle with three Indians. Then 25 years of age, strong and sturdy, he

survived the four bullets and the stabs, though unconscious for days; later moved to Fayette Co., was Asst. Doorkeeper in the Illinois Legislature, and died in 1829. But it was through the supreme exhibition of bravery, on the part of a *woman*, Mrs. Pursley, that Tom Higgins was rescued from the Indians. Mrs. Pursley, seeing that the men in the Fort were afraid to venture forth, seized her husband's gun, and in the face of almost certain torture and death, hurried to the rescue; the soldiers in the Fort, ashamed to stay behind, followed her, the savages speedily retired, and Higgins was safe.

So I would respectfully suggest to the patriotic and gallant men of Bond County that they in turn erect, on the site of Hill's Fort, a suitable tablet in honor of the woman, Mrs. Pursley, whose exhibition of real courage equals anything found in all the pages of history.

* * * *

This day has many lessons for us. Patriotism, patriotic endeavor, forms the basic thought of such an occasion. Devotion to our American ideals, reverence for our institutions, observance of law, all these are lessons of the day. (Quoted A. Lincoln on reverence for the law.)

Another lesson which we should keep in mind is that real Patriotism is not confined to Wartime activities. Not all of our greatest battles are fought on battlefields, with shot and shell. There is a Patriotism of Peace and its struggles are no less important, its contests demand no less courage and skill. I refer to the daily contests of civil life, contests between right and wrong, between integrity and dishonesty, between sincerity and sham, contests of principle. And no one of us need await the sounding of a bugle call to arms, if we really desire to do patriotic work and to fight the battles of our country. There are openings, everywhere, every day, of every description, for our patriotic energies.

* * * *

And finally, we of today must not forget that it is up to us, if we would be worthy descendants of these patriotic ancestors, to lead useful and patriotic lives ourselves. We **MUST NOT DEPEND** on the **RECORDS** of our ancestors to make good citizens of ourselves. A long genealogical record, a splendid family tree, while very nice in itself, does not carry

any passport to superior patriotic endeavor or a better citizenship. The past may be of great interest to us, but the present and the future are of greater importance. There comes to my mind a sentiment written in an old autograph album, to this effect: "The question is not, Art thou of the Nobility, but is there Nobility in thee?" And this sentiment is well worth keeping in mind, as a stimulus to the higher and better things in Life. So let us resolve this day to prove ourselves, by our lives and our deeds, to be worthy descendants of our patriotic ancestors.

Regrets were expressed over the inability of our State President, Mrs. Franklin M. Miller, to be present.

At the close of the program, numerous personal belongings of soldiers of the War of 1812 were exhibited. Among them, a flint-lock gun, the property of the late Archibald Mitchell, now owned by Harry and Miss Ada Mitchell; as well as a half dollar bearing the date of 1809, and carried during the War by Archibald Mitchell.

A Bible printed in 1817 which was the property of Amos Balch; and a certificate of appointment of Ansel Birge as Paymaster of the 12th Regiment.

At the close of the service the descendants of the soldiers whose names are on the tablet were asked to register, giving their relationship to the soldiers.

Two Real Daughters were present, Mrs. Henry E. Sapp, daughter of Amos P. Balch, and Miss Alice Birge, daughter of Ansel Birge.

NAMES OF SOLDIERS ON TABLET

Amos Balch	Nicholas Koonce
Ansel Birge	Joseph McAdams
Welshier Buchanan	Archibald Mitchell
William Burgess	Elza Newby
Allen Comer	Stringer Potts
John Etzler	David Price
Daniel Ferguson	William Pursley
John Floyd	Isham Reavis
Boling Grigg	Bennet Seagraves
Bonham Harlan	Allen Thacker
Peter Hubbard	William Vollentine
Joseph Hunter	David White
Francis Jett	



PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, VANDALIA.

ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF VANDALIA, ILLINOIS

BY N. C. GOCHENOUR, VANDALIA, ILLINOIS

The General Board of this Church decided that the centennial of the organizing of this Church should not pass by without an appropriate ceremony to celebrate the event.

It is altogether fitting that an occasion of such importance should be memorialized.

Perhaps what is contained in the sketch of history that I have prepared may not be new to you. I hope it may be somewhat interesting.

Why I have been selected to do this, I have no idea. The committee has simply foisted me on you, and when I tried to remonstrate with the chairman, I was politely but quite firmly reminded that it was not for me to reason why, but my duty was, but to do and—you may complete the couplet. If you survive the effort, I will try to.

Dr. Rugh has appropriated much of my material, but being conscious of the fact that his sermon this morning was an excellent one, is the only reason that I am not jealous of his effort. Couched, as it was, in such beautiful language, and clothed with his sparkling similes and metaphors, you will not likely recognize the repetitions in my homely and colloquial diction. I must admit, however, that his conciseness has somewhat cramped my style.

For a proper realization of the conditions existing in Illinois on July 5th, 1828, it is necessary to recall the difficulties of transportation, the lack of roads and vehicles, and that a journey of a few miles was not completed with the ease that it is today.

In 1828 William Lee D. Ewing, the Government Receiver of the Vandalia land district reported 1100 legal electors in the district, and total sales of land since the organizing of the district of 17,586 acres. The length of Fayette County was then more than 200 miles, as the records of the Circuit

Court show that the sheriff served a summons on a defendant who resided near Galena, now in Jo Daviess County. In fact, the northern boundary of the county was the present Wisconsin state line.

The pioneers were not all poor people. Many of the early settlers were men of education and business capacity. The desire to make money and gain political preferment actuating many of them to settle in a location that was of much promise in 1828.

The organization of this Church occurred less than fifty years after the close of the Revolutionary War. Speculation in lands was the popular business of the time. From a writer of the period I quote what he says of the changes taking place at that time: "During the years from 1820 to 1830 a great change took place in the appearance and modes of dress of the people. The coon-skin cap, the hunting shirt and leather breeches, the moccasins and belt around the waist, to which the butcher knife and tomahawk were appended, had entirely disappeared before the modern clothing apparel. The women had exchanged their cotton and woolen frocks, manufactured and striped with blue dye by themselves, for modern dresses of silk and calico; they had laid aside the cotton handkerchiefs which formerly covered their heads, and adopted bonnets instead; they would not, as formerly, walk barefooted to church, but would often be seen riding on fine horses. The desire for fine dresses also superinduced a similar desire for polite society and knowledge, so that the older people, who would have much preferred remaining undisturbed in their sluggish tranquillity and repose, thoroughly taken by surprise, everywhere uttered loud complaints that the prodigalities, luxuries and innovations of the young, would speedily cause the ruin of the country."

Our neighboring city of Hillsboro had organized their church in the year 1828, a few months before this church was founded; their date was March 10th, 1828.

From histories that I have reviewed of the early Presbyterian Church in Illinois I find that in 1825 there were but three Presbyterian Churches in the State. The first one at Sharon (White County), the second at Shoal Creek in Bond County, and one at Edwardsville, Illinois. The one at Sharon

was soon divided by dissension, through apparent meddling by missionaries of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

Vandalia was a gathering place for Presbyterian Ministers before the organization of this Church, which occurred on July 5th, 1828. A young minister had been preaching here for some time, Rev. Thomas A. Spillman, and evidently prepared the way for an organization, and became the first stated supply. At this time the American Home Missionary Society sent the Rev. Solomon P. Hardy here to organize a Presbyterian Church, which was accomplished with seven members, Jeremiah Abbott, Betsey Abbott, Mrs. Ruth Russell, Mrs. Amy Davidson, Martha Gorin, Samuel Russell and Miss Ruth Russell, two men and five women. The first entry of the Session Record is a most interesting one. I quote it: "The Session Book of the Church at Vandalia was lost in consequence of Mr. Abbott, the former Elder, having his saddle bags exchanged while attending Presbytery. Before he removed from this place he left the following statement." Signed, W. H. Moore, Clerk. Then follows the history of this Church from July 5th, 1828, to January 9th, 1833. The first frame church was dedicated on June 23d, 1830, and was used jointly by the Presbyterian and Methodist congregations. The lot belonged to the Presbyterians and the building was erected by the people of the community. The first building was a one story, frame structure about 45x60, and had two front doors, and no porch or covering for the doors of any kind, and was surrounded by a straight up and down high board fence about 5 or 6 feet high. The first church building served the congregation until 1865 when the building was sold to the Christian denomination, and moved on the lot between 5th and 6th Streets near the Perkins home. This building has been torn down.

It is interesting to note that Presbytery met at Carmi, Illinois, in April, 1832. What a trip this was for an elder to attend. In May, 1832, Rev. Stewart was installed by Rev. Lippincott and Rev. Messenger. On December 5th, 1829, Mr. and Mrs. James Hall joined the church. No doubt this was James Hall who was editor of the Illinois Monthly Magazine published in Vandalia from 1830 to 1832, and from whose pen we have the full history of our famous bell, which I will read later. On August 17th, 1834, the session met at the home of

R. H. Peebles, whose name is most familiar to all title examiners of lots in Vandalia. The minutes recite the fact that the Moderator was ill, and the Rev. Gideon Blackburn acted as Moderator of the meeting. This famous minister, the founder of Blackburn College, was a zealous worker, and owned thousands of acres of land in this state, entry of these lands having been made for the purpose of founding an endowment for a religious university. Gideon Blackburn is the only minister of early Illinois Presbyterian history comparable to the beloved Peter Cartwright of the Methodist faith.

Rev. Thomas Baldwin was the second pastor, his call was extended in 1830 and his pastorate lasted one year, and ten converts were added to the church roll. In April, 1831, Rev. William K. Stewart received a call as stated supply, and in 1832 was regularly installed. During his pastorate of five years there were 32 additions to the church. He resigned in 1836 and it does not appear another pastor was called until 1844. Charges appear in the Session Record in 1835 where a member of the Church was charged by common fame with the sin of drunkenness. At a later meeting of the Session an entry appears showing that the accused was suspended from all privileges of the Presbyterian Church until, I quote, "he give evidence of repentance."

During this time the capital was moved to Springfield; the community was discouraged, and everything of a business and spiritual nature was at a low ebb. On October 1st, 1844, Rev. D. D. McKee was called for 3/4 of his time. Rev. N. H. Hall, of Lexington, Kentucky, visited the church during this period, and held what was then known as a protracted meeting, which resulted in 19 additions to the church. The church at this time was under the care of the Kaskaskia Presbytery, the Presbytery having been organized at Vandalia in 1831.

There are no meetings of record between April 24th, 1836, and October 30th, 1840. A page is shown in the Session record endorsed as follows: "Record of the First Presbyterian Church in Vandalia, New School." Then follows the meeting of December, 1848.

In 1848 Rev. Joseph Gordon, a Home Missionary sent out by the Alton Presbytery, was in the vicinity of Vandalia, preaching from house to house. In December, 1848, he came to Vandalia, and upon the unanimous request of the discour-

aged members, called the membership together and they decided to transfer the church from the Kaskaskia Presbytery to the Alton Presbytery. Rev. James Stafford was requested to attend the meeting of Presbytery at Belleville on August 3d, 1851. The organization was completed with 11 members. Father Gordon, as he was familiarly called, was pastor of the church for eight years. He began serving the church by preaching once a month, later every two weeks and during the last two years of his ministry the church was given his full time. Eighty persons were added to the church during his ministry. In June, 1856, Rev. W. H. Bird succeeded Father Gordon, and Rev. M. P. Ormsby followed him. On December 4th, 1859, Rev. G. W. Goodale was called and served two years. Up to this time the church had been receiving aid from the Home Missionary Society, but was now put on a basis of self support. Rev. Goodale's salary was fixed at \$500.00 per year. Rev. E. G. Bryant took charge in 1861 and was followed by Rev. J. Gibson. Rev. Caleb J. Pitkin began his services September 1st, 1863. Rev. R. L. Matthews was called as stated supply on October 15th, 1865. It was during his pastorate that the present building was erected. The first service was held in the basement on the last Sunday of December, 1866. Dedication of this building occurred September 1st, 1867. In Volume I of Norton's History of the Presbyterian Church the information is given that the present building cost \$15,000.00, and among the subscribers for its building are given the following names: M. Fehren, \$4,000.00, Frederick Remann, \$3,000.00, and Dr. J. N. and Calvin McCord, \$1,500.00. Matthias Fehren and wife joined this Church by letter from the Van Burensburg church. Mr. Fehren proved to be one of the most active and energetic officers this church has ever known, giving freely of his time and money for its best interests.

Rev. W. W. Wills followed Rev. Matthews. Rev. J. Johnson took charge December 20th, 1868, and served four years. On January 1st, 1873, Rev. John Stewart was installed and served three years. On August 27th, 1876, Rev. Hugh W. Todd began his services, his ministry being the longest of any pastor who has served this church, extending over a period of 20½ years. He resigned March 1st, 1897. This record is perhaps unequalled by any minister in Mat-

toon Presbytery. Following Rev. Todd came Rev. Henry Grubb of Pittsburg. Rev. J. H. Hawk was called March 1st, 1899. Rev. Montgomery May began his services May 1st, 1900, and served 6½ years, and on account of broken health resigned September 1st, 1906. Rev. William T. Angus preached his first sermon on October 1st, 1906. His pastorate was for a period of four years. Rev. George A. Pflug preached his first sermon April 1st, 1911. After Rev. Pflug's resignation was accepted the Elders requested Presbytery to allow the church to supply its own pulpit until the spring meeting. During this period Rev. Samuel Brooks Murray began his pastorate, having been called as stated supply on January 1st, 1914, and was installed April 29th, 1915. During his pastorate the church building was much improved, the organ rebuilt, the church redecorated and refurnished at a cost of \$4,000.00. Mr. Murray's resignation took effect September 1st, 1917. Rev. J. G. Reynolds was called as pastor on April 22nd, 1918, and resigned September 15th, 1919, to accept a call to the Greenville Church. On June 2nd, 1920, Rev. Benjamin C. Kelly was called as stated supply. On February 23d, 1921, Rev. John D. Rugh of Taylorville was called as pastor, and has served this church faithfully since that time. During his pastorate the Sunday school room has been beautified, a modern kitchen installed and a new furnace put in the manse.

Many of the members of this church have been prominently identified with the business and social life of the community. In the 40's we find the name of Colonel James Berry and Colonel Robert Blackwell, and later the name of Fehren, Remann, Pitkins, McCord, Reed, Higgins, Whitemann and many others of prominence. Mrs. Sarah Jerauld has been a member of this church since January 5th, 1862, and Mrs. Olivia Whitemann is the next oldest member, having joined the Church on January 6th, 1866.

The History of this church would not be complete without a history of our famous bell.* A few weeks ago I had the pleasure of spending several hours in the Chicago Historical Society Library. I was trying to secure a more intimate sketch of Romulus Riggs, who presented this now fam-

* Article on The Church Bell at Vandalia. In Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society. Vol. 8, No. 3, Oct., 1915, pp. 466-468.

ous bell to this church, or rather to his daughter, Illinois Riggs. This is perhaps familiar to most of you, but I feel will not be out of place to repeat it. In that period a monthly magazine was published in Vandalia known as the Illinois Monthly Magazine, edited by James B. Hall. I inquired of the Librarian as to whether their catalogue showed any copies of that publication, and to my utter amazement the fully bound file of the magazine was produced, and in excellent condition. I will quote the article from it. You may see how prophetic one sentence in it is. This is taken from the December 1830 number. "During the last month the town of Vandalia received a valuable acquisition in the donation of a fine toned bell for the cupola of its meeting house. The bell was presented to the Presbyterian congregation of Vandalia by Romulus Riggs, a merchant of Philadelphia, by his daughter, Illinois Riggs. The bell was hung November 5th, 1830, and announced its own arrival in joyous tones. This event is interesting, inasmuch as it is the first public bell introduced in the State by the American inhabitants. The French had one or more bells in their villages along the Mississippi, but the Public Buildings erected by the American settlers have been destitute of this useful appendage. Ours therefore will, at some future period, be looked upon as a valuable relic of early times. (This is the prophetic sentence.) The cheerful sound of a bell gives a sprightliness to the dull monotony of village life, where it serves a variety of useful purposes, and is, in fact, a substantial addition to the comforts of life. This bell was the pioneer, if we may so express it, the very Daniel Boone of church bells in this region." Norton's History discloses a fact unknown to me when it states that "when the frame meeting house was moved to make way for the present structure, the bell was donated to the Brownstown Church, and now hangs in the cupola of their house of worship. This disposition was most appropriate, for the Brownstown Church was a daughter of the Vandalia Church." The Brownstown Church returned the bell to this church. It occupies a prominent place in the history of Presbyterianism in Illinois, and of this Church.

It is the purpose of this sketch to have dealt with personalities of members who lived before the present generation. Many members who have given of their time, talent,

and of themselves, and those still active in the life of the church and now make it a living force, both men and women are omitted as the part of modesty. Their lives will be as much revered in the future as are those of the past.

Legacies and bequests have been left this church and Sunday School by the following persons:

Frederick Remann	\$1,000.00
Matthias Fehren	1,000.00
Charles Wagner	1,000.00
Miss Jennie Ernst	500.00
Mrs. Higgins for Clifford Higgins.....	1,000.00
Miss Mayme Quinn.....	500.00
Miss Mary L. Sonnemann.....	500.00
Mrs. Jennie R. Higgins.....	4,000.00

A careful search of the minutes of the Church shows not a word concerning the great conflicts undergone by this nation in the Mexican and Civil Wars. This seems strange, but it is really an indication of the fact that in our own lives we are passing through historical periods, and we are not impressed with them at the time nearly as much as posterity, many years afterwards. There is nothing in the Church records to show that the present Church building was being erected until it was almost finished. There is no complete list of the contributors, and what little is contained in this sketch as to who made the church possible, was obtained from Norton's History of the Presbyterian Church. Men and women of this community have labored earnestly and faithfully to establish a Presbyterian Church in this community, and we have a noble heritage. Let us here and now resolve to go forward in the work of this congregation that it may maintain the high place it has occupied in the past.

I ask permission, in closing to reverently call the roll of the Elders of this church: Jeremiah Abbott, William H. Moore, William H. Brown, Joseph T. Eccles, Samuel Russell, Henry C. Remann, Frederick Remann, Robert White, Matthias Fehren, David A. McCord, Joseph Stevenson, J. N. McCord, E. Cheeney, William Reed, E. L. Wahl, F. Remann, Jr., Dr. R. T. Higgins, David C. McCord, Thomas N. Pitkin, Walter C. White, Joseph A. Gordon, William H. West, Fred G. Remann, A. S. McKellar, J. K. Smith, H. J. Belknap, R. M.

Craig, Carl Dieckmann. The session at present is composed of William Henry, H. J. Gochenour, George B. Capps, J. L. Lakin, O. F. Barkley and C. D. Stewart. As Kipling has so beautifully said,

“Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!”

BENJAMIN DANN WALSH

BY L. H. PAMMEL,

Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa

Benjamin Dann Walsh was one of the most distinguished residents of the city of Rock Island. In a letter published in the Rock Island Argus of January 4, 1928, I said, "Nothing that you can do for education is more worthy than a commemoration of this branch library to such a distinguished person as Benjamin D. Walsh." Dr. L. O. Howard, the distinguished Entomologist of the Bureau of Entomology of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, in the same connection wrote me as follows: "I doubt if any citizen of Rock Island has ever done more in a quiet way for the ultimate benefit of humanity than Walsh did in his day. Walsh was a great man. He was far ahead of his time." (Rock Island Argus, same date.)

My earliest recollections when I studied entomology at the University of Wisconsin under Dr. William Trelease was the mention of Benjamin D. Walsh. Where he lived in Illinois I did not remember but when my good friend, Mr. E. H. Guyer, mentioned Benjamin D. Walsh to me and that he knew him, I at once became interested and started to get information about his life. Mr. Guyer says "His daily activities in collecting insects and butterflies, of which he made a vast and famous collection, made him known to all the then inhabitants of the city. Every boy, as I then was, delighted in assisting him.

"In such pursuit he was run over by a locomotive on our levee" November 12, 1869.—"and died November 18, 1869, age sixty-one (61) years. He left no descendants; but he had an adopted daughter who became Mrs. William Pettit of Rock Island. His home was on the southwest corner of Ninth street and Fourth avenue; adjoining which he built two rows of dwellings, one on each street, still known as Walsh's Row."



BENJAMIN D. WALSH.

Mr. Guyer in the Rock Island Argus of January 4, 1928, states: "The records of the Chippiannock cemetery show that he died November 18, 1869, from injuries received when he was run down by a Rock Island Lines train on November 12, and was buried in lot number 1141 in Chippiannock, on November 20, 1869."

The following appears on his tombstone:

Benjamin D. Walsh
State Entomologist of
Illinois
Died
November 18, 1869
Aged
61 yrs. 2 mos. 6 Days.
Science mourns one of her most
Devoted and Successful Students.

In the Rock Island Argus of November 18, 1927, this statement is made by Frank E. Brandt: "Within the last few weeks there has been a revival of interest manifested on the part of a number of Rock Island residents in the life story of the late Benjamin Dann Walsh, first State Entomologist of Illinois, who made his home here for nearly twenty years prior to his death in 1869, and who became internationally known for his achievements in his own department of science. The sentiment exists here that in some suitable way public recognition should be extended in tangible form, to the memory of this distinguished scientist because of the important services he performed.

"Recently The Argus printed in its Peoples' Pulpit a communication from Mrs. C. L. Silvis, of Rock Island, suggesting that perhaps it would be fitting to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Walsh by naming a school building here in his honor. The fact that the new school building in south Rock Island, by the action recently taken by the board of education, is to be known as the Edison school removes that building from consideration in this connection. The Argus is informed that more than a few citizens of Rock Island would like to see the new high school, when it eventually comes into being, bear the name of Mr. Walsh. In any case,

there is no question but that a feeling is in evidence in the community that Mr. Walsh's services to science should be commemorated in some lasting and permanent memorial.

"It is quite possible that some civic societies will manifest an interest in this proposal and that a movement, having for its object the suitable commemoration of this eminent citizen of Rock Island, will take definite form.

"It is known that Professor L. H. Pammel, Ph. D., Head of the department of botany of Iowa State College at Ames, is most heartily in sympathy with naming some public building in Rock Island after Mr. Walsh and has expressed his sentiments in this regard to Rock Island friends. He is of the opinion that there should be a memorial of some kind to Mr. Walsh in Rock Island.

"Recently he wrote to a friend here: 'What a splendid suggestion that one of the great scientists of the country can be appropriately remembered through one of your school buildings. What a fine thing it would be to name one of the school buildings the "Walsh" building for one of the men who contributed so much to the economic entomology of this country and did his great scientific work in Rock Island. It would be a credit to Rock Island to name a building after him.' Professor Pammel is a frequent visitor here. He has spoken before the Tri-City Garden Club and has recently named the trees in Chippiannock cemetery and has made suggestions to the trustees in regard to an arboretum at Chippiannock."

Benjamin Dann Walsh, the modest and unassuming scientist, was born in Frome, Worcestershire, England, on September 21, 1808. The same year gave birth to a number of famous men. Some of his contemporary scientists were Asa Gray, Charles Darwin and Louis Agassiz.

Walsh came from a very respectable lineage. The brothers of Walsh became well known in England. One was a clergyman, one editor of *London Field* and one of them wrote a treatise on the horse.

His parents intended him for the ministry. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving his Master's degree and at twenty-five years of age became a Fellow.

Benjamin Walsh married Rebecca Finn in England and came to this country in 1838 when he was thirty years old.

He settled in Cambridge, Illinois, Henry county, on a 300 acre farm and moved to Rock Island in 1850. Mr. Walsh had intended to move to Chicago but Mrs. E. A. Tucker surmises he did not care to live in Chicago because of the swamp area and "his love for unqualified freedom and philosophical trend of mind."

He journeyed West by ox team to the Red Oak neighborhood in Henry county, near Cambridge, the county seat. This is where he wanted to return and lead the life of a philosopher. On the farm he led a very secluded life, associated but little with his neighbors, perhaps because few of the men in his neighborhood had the training or appreciated the work of literary men.

Farm work was not agreeable to him; in fact, there was much sickness in the vicinity which was thought due to the damming up of the water at Bishop Hill. It was on the suggestion of M. B. Osborn that he moved to Rock Island in 1851. There he opened a lumber yard at Exchange and Orleans street. After a dozen years of commercial life in the lumber business, he built a row of buildings on Orleans and Exchange streets which is known as "Walsh Row." The residence where he lived is still standing, as pointed out to me by Mr. Guyer. The location and building have, however, been changed.

About the time he retired from the lumber business (1858), he also retired as city alderman, a position to which he was elected largely because he wanted to investigate the frauds perpetrated by unscrupulous politicians.

Mrs. Edna Armstrong Tucker, in her sketch of his life, (*Transactions Ills. State Hist. Soc. for 1920*) says: "The newspaper files of those days are filled with his trenchant thought on the welfare of the town. Something of his activities showing in his public spirit and unbridled hatred of all forms of cheaterly" were manifested. "Having cause to suspect that the council was mulcting the city, he ran for alderman for the express purpose of getting at the facts and publishing them. After exposing the fraud, he resigned satisfied with having performed a duty and proven that he knew dangerous human bugs and knew where to stick the pin. He was waylaid and his life threatened because of the ex-

posure. This he considered a compliment to the truth of his findings."

During the time he was in the lumber business he published much in the local press on political matters. He was a radical republican; came to this country because it was a land where he found freedom of expression. He hated all forms of oppression and wanted to help free the slaves. He had no longing to go back to England.

Dr. C. V. Riley in the *American Entomologist* (2:65-68) says: "In politics he was a radical republican, hating all forms of slavery and oppression. As late as Grant's campaign he was a member of the 'Tanners' Club of Rock Island; and we can never forget the enjoyable hours we spent with him at some of the meetings of the club, where one forgot his real age in contemplating his unusual good spirits, activity and vigor."

Mr. Walsh was a student in every sense of the word. Early in his life he started out on a literary career; in the early thirties publishing a pamphlet on university reform in which he suggested many changes along educational lines. He lived to see the day that his suggestions were adopted. His largest venture was the publication of "Walsh's Comedies of Aristophanes," a remarkable volume, critics state. Mrs. E. A. Tucker states that this is a remarkable literary production. This work was to have been completed in three volumes but owing to some difficulties about the publication the other material never appeared. He was a voluminous writer on many subjects.

The entomological background of Mr. Walsh was set in Cambridge, England, where he was a schoolmate of the illustrious Charles Darwin. Dr. C. V. Riley tells us: "Though he took up the latter's (Darwin's) work on the Origin of Species with great prejudices against the development hypothesis, yet he became a thorough convert to Darwinism after he had studied it." He wrote much on this subject in the Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History and in the Philadelphia Entomological Society. Dr. Riley says: "Throughout these pages he consequently brings forward a great number of facts in support of this theory, and his remarks on phytophagic varieties and phytophagic species bear

directly on this subject and have done much to help us to a clear understanding of the term species.”

Dr. L. O. Howard, in the *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture* made this statement concerning Benjamin Walsh: “Walsh’s entomological career lasted only twelve years, from 1858-1870, but in this short period he made for himself a name which will live forever in the annals of American science. On Economic entomology alone he published 850 notes and papers and many others on the systematic aspects of the science. He became a regular contributor to the *Prairie Farmer*, and in 1865 he became the editor of the *Practical Entomologist*, the first journal devoted to economic entomology ever published. Writing and lecturing in his own state, he awoke the people to a sense of the importance of economic entomology, and the state legislature in the winter of 1866-67 passed a bill authorizing the appointment of a State Entomologist. The Governor immediately appointed Mr. Walsh to this position, but for some reason the senate did not act on the nomination, and his first and only report was published as Acting State Entomologist at the expense of the State Horticultural Society. In 1868, with Prof. Riley, he started the *American Entomologist*, which, together, they made a most important and entertaining periodical. The popular ideas concerning insects were mainly erroneous. Quack remedies abounded, and into the fight for truth and enlightenment Walsh ran with a will. The caustic manner with which he showed up the pretentious utterances of quacks had a great effect upon intelligent farming classes of the country.”

When Walsh did his entomological work there were only a few economic entomologists in the country. One of these was Charles V. Riley, well known for his great work in economic entomology and who became closely associated with Benjamin Walsh and many joint papers were published with him.

Both of these men saw service as State Entomologists. Both of these men made early contributions to the *Prairie Farmer*, then the leading agricultural paper in the West. Mrs. E. A. Tucker says: (Trans. Illinois State Historical Society, 1920: 59-60) “Although not a naturalist by training,

his work showed extraordinary powers of observation and his published writings, as well as the statements of his contemporaries, indicate that he possessed a remarkable mind. In this connection, however, we have occasion to speak only of his official work as indicated in his report. In this report which is now unfortunately very rare, he treated particularly of the insects affecting the grape, the apple and the plum and to this added, under the head of 'Insects affecting garden groups generally'; a chapter on the so-called 'hateful grasshopper', or migratory locust (*Caloptenus spretus*). His treatment of the other insects is very thorough and his work in large part remains standard today."

The first article on entomology published by him was given by Mr. Samuel Henshaw in his splendid bibliography of American entomology (Division of Entomology, Parts I and II—Washington Government Printing Office, 1889). It was published in the Western Rural and the subject was bark lice. The following journals and scientific societies are some in which articles were published by him: Illinois Farmer published at Springfield, Ill., St. Louis Valley Farmer (1862); Prairie Farmer (1860); Rural New Yorker; Cultivator and Country Gentleman; Colman's Rural World; The Western Rural; Iowa Homestead; Illinois State Horticultural Society; Illinois Natural History Society; Illinois State Agricultural Society; Transactions Academy of Science, St. Louis; Boston Society of Natural History; Philadelphia Entomological Society.

He made a very notable address before the State Horticultural Society which met at Bloomington, Ill. in 1860 in which he made a plea for attention to the economic insects because of their importance to agriculture and horticulture. He wanted to have established in Illinois the office of State Entomologist. Dr. Riley tells us: "He there spoke extemporaneously for two hours, displaying that rare faculty he possessed of conveying his ideas in such a manner as to please and hold the popular ear. The reporter of this lecture, whom we take to be Mr. C. D. Bragdon, at the present time one of the editors of Moore's Rural New Yorker, states that he became so intensely interested that his hand refused to move the pencil." In all of his lectures and talks Walsh impressed upon his hearers the importance of insects in con-

nection with our agricultural crops and the immense losses that they sustained from the depredations of injurious insects.

From 1862 to 1866 he published a number of important papers in the Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History and in the Philadelphia Entomological Society. Dr. Riley says: "These papers are all characterized by great freshness, originality and accuracy and they will forever redound to his honor and in our minds will be more and more appreciated as the true workings of nature are better understood."

Quite early in his career as an entomologist, he felt the necessity of a journal devoted to the subject of entomology and thus he was instrumental in 1865 in helping establish the Practical Entomologist. "The editors of this journal were E. T. Cresson, Augustus R. Grote and J. W. McAllister. Mr. Walsh was admitted to this list soon after its initial publication and became sole editor of the second volume. The publication was discontinued in September, 1867."

By this time Walsh had so impressed the people of the State of Illinois of the importance of economic entomology that the State Horticultural Society petitioned the legislature to appoint a State Entomologist and during the biennial session of 1866-7 the bill was passed, creating such an office with a salary of \$2,000 per annum. The Governor was to make the appointment. The senate failed to act in confirmation of the appointment of the Governor, who suggested the name of Mr. Walsh, until 1868-9 when the session acted, confirming the appointment of Mr. Walsh. At the earnest solicitation of the leading agriculturists and horticulturists of the State of Illinois, he acted as State Entomologist, trusting that future legislation would reimburse him for his services.

William Le Baron succeeded Walsh as State Entomologist. The State of Illinois purchased the Walsh collection of insects for \$2500. Because of inadequate facilities at Springfield for taking care of the great Walsh collection, it was sent to the Chicago Academy of science. The collection was rich in Hymenoptera, Lepidoptera and Homoptera. It went up in smoke in the Chicago fire.

In regard to his death, we find the following in the Rock Island Argus of November 18, 1927: "His death was due to an accident. On the morning of Friday, November 12, 1869," he walked up the Rock Island railroad track toward Moline, reading a letter. "Above the roundhouse Mr. Walsh was run down by a Chicago bound train and his left foot was crushed. In attempting to throw himself from before the engine he fell heavily on his right side and received internal injuries from the effects of which he died. Even in his affliction he made jest of his injury, saying, 'Why, don't you see what an advantage a cork leg would be to me? When I am hunting bugs I can make an excellent pincushion of it, and if I lose a cork from my bottle I can carve one out of my foot.' "

"On the day of his amputation he wrote to the local press exonerating the railroad company and the engine crew from all blame. On being told about twenty-four hours before the end that he could not recover, he replied calmly and mildly, and with no signs of bravado, that he had not lived 61 years for nothing. 'I am as well prepared to die now as I ever will be. I fear neither death, nor man.' He passed away on the morning of November 18, 1869 about ten o'clock while a blizzard was raging." Services were held in the First Baptist Church two days later. The Argus tells us "In spite of the bitter cold a long train of friends went from the church to Chippiannock cemetery, where friends of many years, David Hawes, H. Hakes, Thomas Lighton, D. Lingle, P. L. Mitchell and Serene Powers, lowered the body to its last resting place."

On his death the Illinois State Horticultural Society passed the following resolution:

"Resolved: that in view of his scientific acquirement which had secured for him a national reputation; his zeal in investigation, and his practical mode of communicating his discoveries, we consider his death in the vigor of his intellect, as a loss to the people and not likely soon to be repaired."

THE EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC WORK OF MR. WALSH

Dr. C. V. Riley says, speaking of his editorial work in the American Entomologist: "In September, 1868, in con-

junction with the writer, he started the *American Entomologist*. We shall so miss his ripe experience, and his help, that the task of continuing this journal will be trebly hard. Indeed, so well satisfied are we that his place can never be entirely filled, that did we consult our own pleasure we should not undertake the task alone, for we have other pressing duties. But in memory to our departed friend, and in justice to our numerous readers, we shall continue our labors, and though the *Entomologist* may never be edited so ably, yet with the assistance and sympathy of its patrons, we may hope to make it as useful in the future as it has been in the past."

Mr. Walsh did an enormous amount of work. Samuel Henshaw in the bibliography referred to, lists 385 papers of his own and with Dr. C. V. Riley, 478 more. The first paper (published 1860) had to do with bark lice; the second entomological notes, published in 1860; the third on cutworms and the fourth paper was on insect life. The economic phase was stressed in many papers like *Insects injurious to vegetation—Illinois*, the army worm, the grain weevil, Two apple tree borers, Fire blight which he attributed to an insect *Chloroneura*. He defines fire blight. This was in 1862. Grasshoppers and locusts also received his attention in 1862. A more technical paper on "The Genera *Aphidae* found in the United States"—1862; "Insect friends and insect foes." An evolutionary paper on phytophagic varieties and phytophagic species was published in 1864 and a subsequent paper on phytophagic varieties and phytophagic species with remarks on the unity of coloration in insects (*Ann. & Mag. Nat. Hist.* 1865) argues for the origin of species by phytophagic isolation. Imported insects had his attention when he discovered the gooseberry saw fly in 1866. The migration of the 17 year locust (*Prac. Entomol.* 2: 1-5); the confusion arising about the use of common names were other papers. He states that fire blight is not caused by *Scolytus pyri* (*Prac. Entomol.* 2:7) and the cause is unknown. Certainly a good observation. He discussed galls on golden-rod (*Prac. Entomol.* 2:21) showing his wide interest.

The first annual report as State Entomologist is a most comprehensive one. (*Tran. Ill. State Hort. Soc.* 1867. N. S. No. 1: App. of 1868.) Such subjects as plum curculio, apple-

root plant louse, oyster shell bark, plum moth; the hateful grasshoppers have an adequate discussion.

The joint papers with Dr. C. V. Riley are numerous and splendid, such as Salutory to the agriculturists and horticulturists of the United States, 1868; Fungoid growth on insects, discussion of galls, tent caterpillar, etc.

Walsh's name is commemorated through *Walshia amorphella* which produces a gall on Wild Indigo (*Amorpha fruticosa*) and also on loco weed.

The Illinois State Horticultural Society at their meeting held at South Pass on September 3, 4, 5 & 6, passed the following resolution:

“Resolved, that the Executive Committee of the Illinois State Horticultural Society, in view of the immense damage now daily done by the ravages of injurious insects, respectfully and urgently request the Governor that he will, if consistent with his own views of duty in the matter, appoint Dr. Benj. D. Walsh, State Entomologist, under the act of the 27th of February, 1867, that he may immediately enter upon the duties of that office.”

“It was further resolved, that the President of the Society be authorized to engage Dr. Benj. D. Walsh to immediately commence entomological investigations in relation to Horticulture; and be empowered to pay out for that purpose a sum not exceeding \$500, from the Legislative appropriation.”

In the address he made at a meeting held at Cobden, Illinois, some very trenchant statements, were made. This too shows his literary style.

“Some three or four thousand years ago it was a distinctive axiom among the old philosophers, that it was degrading science to apply it to practical purposes, and that it was necessary to apologize to the scientific world for doing so. You may think I am joking, but to prove to you that I am not, I will call your attention to a fact illustrating the truth of my assertion. Three or four hundred years before Christ, Syracuse was besieged. I am quite sure the wisest of Americans would have felt themselves honored had they been able to apply their knowledge in defense of their city and their own lives. Archimedes, the great philosopher, was in the city, and exerted himself as other men would have done, to save

Syracuse. By means of powerful lenses he concentrated the rays of the sun, and set the enemy's ships on fire, and others he caught up by means of levers and strong grappling hooks, and then, letting them fall *kerchunk*, sunk them in the sea. What did Archimedes do? Instead of holding up his head as he ought, he apologized to the scientific world this plebian use of his learning. He could not rest till in his published works he had apologized for turning science to such account! It was regarded degrading to science to serve the common needs of life, not only by Aristotle, but by all the ancient men of science. We owe much to modern science; and yet some modern scientific men have this fear of utilizing science, but they are not consistent with themselves. For instance, our great Agassiz, in an early chapter of one of his works, says that the man of science who studies out useful inventions, is false to science; but later in the same book, I believe, he eulogizes Prof. Bache—now unfortunately dead—founding his eulogy upon the labors of Prof. Bache in the Coast Survey, which has proved of great utility to our marine.

"I do not regret to say that I belong to the modern school of science, and think it no degradation, so far as my specialty is concerned, to bring science to the aid of practical men in the related departments of human industry. And I need not tell you, for you know, that insects pick your pockets, and that to fight them successfully it is necessary to know their habits and how to distinguish friends from foes. I will, in the time given me, proceed to talk of some insects I have found in this neighborhood, and shall be glad to answer questions or receive information concerning them, or any other insect."

In looking up the life of Benjamin Dann Walsh I am more than ever impressed with the greatness of the man and his great contribution to the science of entomology. His name has been indelibly fixed in American entomology and the world at large. A keen observer, a forceful writer, a lovable man; honest and tactful, the greatest man, at least scientist, who has ever lived in the city of Rock Island and no doubt one of the most distinguished men who have ever lived here.

It is indeed fitting that the city of Rock Island should dedicate one of its fine libraries to this man. This honest,

patient citizen who contributed greatly to the welfare of the state and nation.

I want, therefore, to congratulate the people who have interested themselves in the life and work of Benjamin Walsh. You have done a public service and for this should be highly commended.

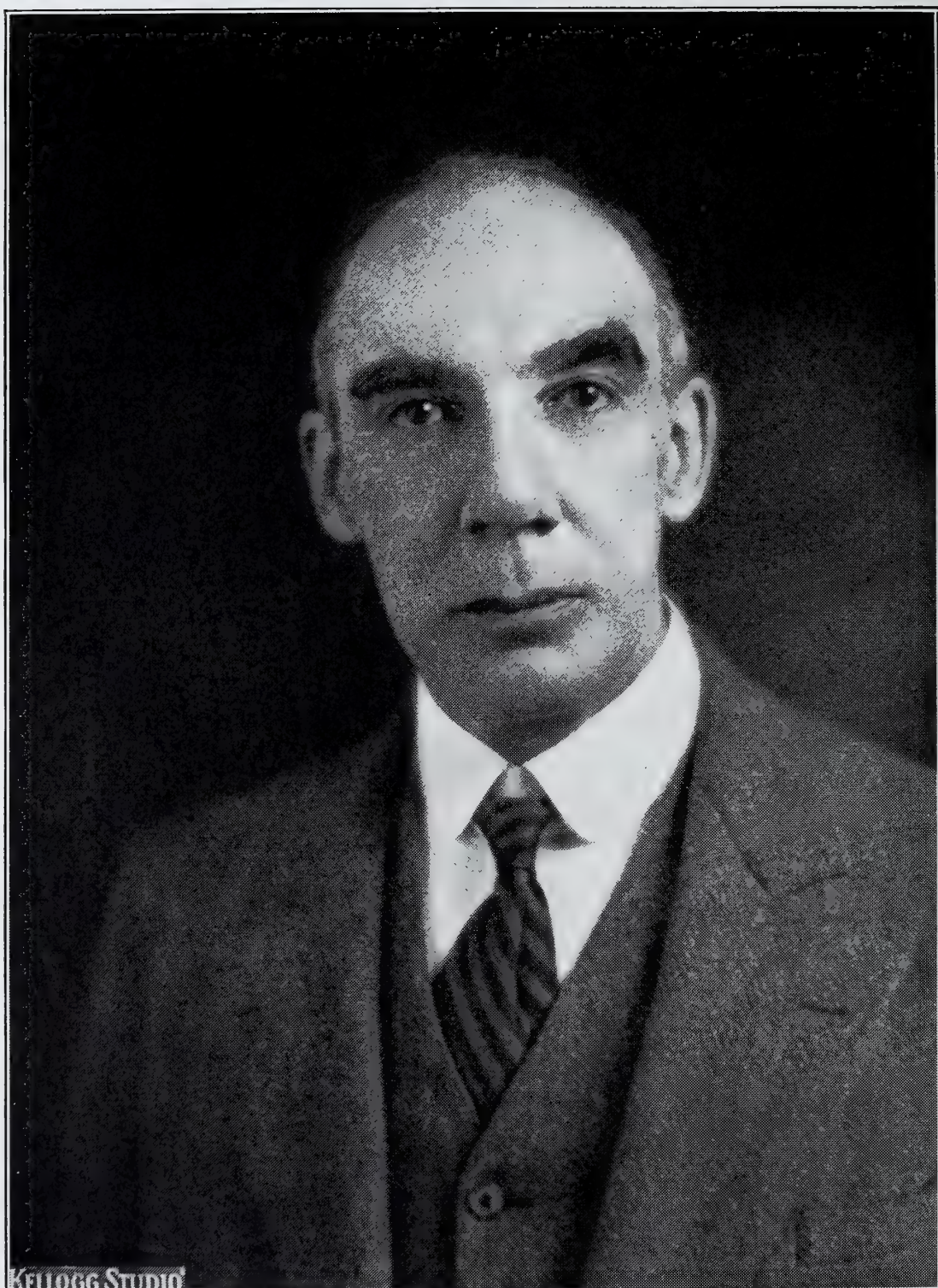
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Some fine sketches have been published of Benjamin Dann Walsh. Mention may be made of the sketch by Dr. L. O. Howard in the *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*; a sketch by Dr. C. V. Riley; Mrs. E. A. Tucker and others published in the *American Entomologist*, *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* and *Entomological News*. Mr. Frank E. Brandt has published a fine biographical sketch in the *Argus*. There will be a fine sketch of Mr. Walsh in the *American Encyclopedia of Biography* by Dr. L. O. Howard.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. E. H. Guyer of Rock Island for the interest he has taken in the life of Mr. Walsh; to Mr. Louis Kohn of the same city for sending me some valuable data on his life; to Mr. Vogeles for the Chippianock cemetery (Rock Island) records. I am also indebted to Ellen Gale, librarian of the Rock Island City Library for furnishing material to me, as well as the Iowa State College Library.



OTHO FRANCIS JAMES.



HENRY R. RATHBONE.

THE ILLINOIS STATE SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY O. F. JAMES, *Secretary*

The Society was organized April 30, 1919, with a membership of eight. It is non-political and the object of the Society is to foster and encourage a social and fraternal spirit among the Illinoisans of the National Capitol. At the first meeting held in the Carnegie Public Library on the above date, the following officers were elected:

President, Herbert W. Rutledge.
First Vice President, Miss Mary Loar.
Secretary, Robert F. Brown.
Treasurer, Miss Estella Grisson.

The next meeting was held in the Wilson Normal School on July 16, 1919, and subsequent meetings were held here until Dec., 1923, when transfer was made to the Washington Club.

In 1925, the following officers were elected:

President, Victor V. Martin.
Vice President, Judge Jessie Tull.
Secretary, O. F. James.
Treasurer, Mrs. Nora Bailey.
Historian, Mrs. Henry T. Rainey.

From 1925 the Society has grown rapidly and it was necessary to move to larger quarters in 1927. The New Willard Hotel is now the meeting place of the society and during the winter months many brilliant and successful meetings, entertainments and dances are held in the Willard room.

In 1927 the following officers were elected:

President, Rep. Henry R. Rathbone.*
Vice President, Leslie J. Johnston.
Secretary, O. F. James.
Treasurer, Gertrude Van Riper.
Historian, Mrs. Henry T. Rainey.

* Deceased July 15, 1928.

During the past two years many prominent Congressional members have spoken at these meetings which include Senator Chas. S. Deneen; Representatives, Allen, Adkins, Chindblom, Dennison, Hull, Morton, Rainey and Yates.

Many Illinoisans are in the Diplomatic, Insular, army and navy service and many of them bring to the meetings Ambassadors of foreign countries.

Our Society has grown from a membership of eight in 1919 to nearly 1,200 in 1927. We also have been able to secure one of the two seals issued by our great State. The other is held by the Illinois State Historical Society of Springfield in whose Journal this is published.

We are indeed sorry to announce the death of our popular and brilliant President, the Hon. Henry R. Rathbone, Congressman at Large. He was in his prime when called by death in July, 1928, and would have gone far in the political field of our great country. His father was Captain in the Army and Aid to Pres. Lincoln when our beloved President was shot by Booth, in the Ford theatre in Washington. Captain Rathbone was wounded by Booth when making his escape.

All Illinoisans visiting the National Capitol during the winter are invited to attend these meetings. The Secretary will be glad to give you information as to dates, etc., if you will call Decatur 300, or inquire of the manager of the Willard hotel.



MRS. H. T. RAINEY.

ILLINOIS DAY MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Illinois State Historical Society observed the one hundred and tenth birthday of the State on the evening of December 3, 1928, in the auditorium of the Centennial Memorial Building, followed by a reception in the Illinois State Historical Library. A fine address on George Rogers Clark, "The Man of Courage and Vision—An Appreciation," was given by Dr. John Timothy Stone, President of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary and Pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Chicago. Doctor Stone was greeted by a very large and most appreciative audience. While not claiming to be an historian, Doctor Stone is a most earnest and enthusiastic student of Illinois history and has the happy faculty of so placing his subject before his audience that they too become interested and enthusiastic in Illinois history.

The Sangamo Octet, composed of a group of men under the direction of Mr. R. Albert Guest, furnished very delightful and beautiful music for the occasion. The awarding of the gold medal in a competition among the school children of the State held under the auspices of the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, was made to Miss Margaret Katherine Schnapp of Tallula, Menard County, Illinois, the subject being "Historic Churches in Illinois." Miss Schnapp, for her essay, chose Rock Creek Presbyterian Church which celebrated its one hundredth birthday in 1922 and is still in existence. The prize was presented to the young lady by Mrs. William Jackson Sweeney, State Regent of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution.

**RING GIVEN BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO JOSEPH
MEDILL NOW OWNED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE
HISTORICAL LIBRARY**

Through the influence of Mr. Walter Scott Stout, Head of the Canadian-Pacific Express Company, Toronto, Canada, a ring owned by Joseph Medill, former owner of *The Chicago Tribune*, and given him by Abraham Lincoln, has been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library by Mrs. George W. McAvity of St. John, New Brunswick, Canada. Mr. Medill gave the ring to his cousin, Mr. George E. Armstrong (one of Lincoln's Guard of Honor) of New York, uncle of Mrs. McAvity and at Mr. Armstrong's death, the ring was given to his niece Mrs. McAvity, who in turn presents it to the Illinois State Historical Library.*

Joseph Medill and Abraham Lincoln were life-long friends. The Library and Society are most appreciative of Mr. Stout's thoughtfulness in having this ring, with its history, presented to the Library, and it will be a valuable addition to the Lincolniana of the Library. Mr. Stout, who was a former Havana, Illinois, boy, is an old friend of the Librarian, Miss Georgia L. Osborne, and much interested in Lincoln and the history of his native state. While visiting Mr. George W. McAvity this summer, Mr. Stout learned the ring's history and thought it should have a place in the library where it could be seen and appreciated.

(Signed) GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Librarian, Illinois State Historical
Library.
Secretary, Illinois State Historical
Society.

* Mrs. McAvity passed away September 8th, 1928.
Mr. McAvity presented the ring to the library in memory of his wife, Dec., 1928.



MRS. TALITHA C. DARRT.

MRS. TALITHA CATHERINE DARTT, ILLINOIS' ONLY REAL DAUGHTER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Mrs. T. Catherine Harrell Dartt, of Maunie, Illinois, the daughter of Joel Harrell, a Revolutionary soldier, is the only living "Real Daughter of the American Revolution in Illinois." There are but fourteen now living, in the United States.

In 1918, Mrs. Harriet J. Walker published a contribution to the unwritten history of the State of Illinois under the title of "Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Illinois." There were about 668 names with their service and authentic record. A few years later Mrs. Walker published a supplement list in the Illinois State Historical Journal and in this list will be found under "White County,"—

Joel Harrell was born in Bertie County, North Carolina, in 1748. He enlisted in Martin County, North Carolina, serving three months in Captain May's Company. He removed to Botetourt County, Virginia, and in August, 1781, served two months under Major Lochard and was at the siege of Yorktown. He came to White County, Illinois, and there, April 3, 1843, applied for a pension, but not having served six months it was not granted. He died June 30, 1846.

Bureau of Pensions.

Through the suggestion of Mrs. Chalon T. Land of Enfield, White County, Illinois, a non-resident member of the Springfield Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, an effort was made to have the grave of Joel Harrell officially marked. It was then urged that Mrs. Dartt become a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, whereby she might receive the pension granted to a "Real Daughter" by the National Society.

Joel Harrell lies buried in the Enfield Cemetery, Enfield, Illinois. The grave is marked by a crumbling field stone, upon which is rudely carved

R. V. Solger.
Joel Harrell
Died June 30
1846.

Mrs. Dartt had no papers to prove her descent and her father's discharge had been destroyed by fire. As the Society refuses to accept claims based on tradition only, the first task was to find where these papers were recorded. Mrs. Land wrote to the county clerk of Trigg County, Kentucky, to obtain the record of Joel Harrell's marriage in 1813, and then to all the county clerks of the counties into which the original Trigg County had been divided. Next, letters were written to the Secretary of State of North Carolina and to the North Carolina State Historical Society for the record of his service. This was finally found at the State Historical Library at Springfield, in Mrs. Walker's supplement list, by Mrs. George M. Spangler, State Consulting Registrar of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mrs. Dartt had a very old memorandum of the children of Joel Harrell and this, with an affidavit signed by John C. Wilson of Enfield, was accepted as proof. At the October, 1926, meeting of the National Board, the papers were verified and Catherine Harrell Dartt was made a member, without initial cost or annual dues. A pension of \$25 a month was granted her by the National Society and she was given a beautiful D. A. R. souvenir spoon. She is a member of Pierre Menard Chapter, Petersburg, Illinois.

Joel Harrell, the father of Catherine Harrell Dartt, was married three times. The first wife was Polly Foster, and after her death, he married Betsey Shoulders. From Virginia he emigrated to Kentucky, where he met Arcadia Smith, his third wife, whom he had known as a little child when he was running a ferry on the Roanoke River. He married Arcadia Smith in Trigg County, Kentucky, and Mrs. Dartt still treasures the tea-plates her father gave her mother, on their wedding day. In relating the days of her courtship, she spoke of herself as "only a girl of eighteen" and of her husband, "Joel's hair was half black and half white." In those days a large family was the rule, but even at that Joel Harrell's family was exceptional. Talitha Catherine was the youngest of thirty-three children. She had eleven own brothers and sisters, and can remember six of her half brothers and sisters. Theophilus Harrell, the oldest of these, was married before his father's third marriage.

Joel Harrell was an old man when Catherine was born. He had reached the age when a man likes to sit before the fire and recall the adventures of his youth. Joseph Hawthorne, who lived on a nearby farm, was an old friend and comrade in arms during the Revolution. These two aged veterans spent many hours together, talking over the days when they served under General Washington and had marched, leaving the stains from their bleeding feet upon the snow. Little Catherine listened, entranced, to these reminiscences, and when he died June 30, 1846, these stories were so deeply graven upon her memory, that she has never forgotten them, and for her grand-children, she still weaves enchanting tales of when their "Great-grand Pappy" was a Revolutioneer.

Joel Harrell and his family came to Illinois from Kentucky in 1817. Among the very earliest land grants recorded in White County is,—Joel Harrell, S. W. quarter of section 2 T. 5 R. 8 East, November 25, 1817. After the father's death, the family continued to live on this farm, near Enfield. From the log cabin, the sons and daughters were married, Dolly to James Patterson, Clara to Thomas Cameron, Betsy to James Cameron, Josiah to Melissa Patterson, Jeremiah to Polly Childers, Sally to James Smith, Rebecca Jane to Joseph W. Markley, Kiddy Todd (named for her paternal grandmother) to James Sweetin, Peter to Sally Weeks, (their romance was short-lived for Peter answered President Lincoln's call for volunteers and died after the Battle of Shiloh) and Talitha Catherine the youngest child and subject of our sketch, married to John Parnell Dartt.

Autobiography of Catherine Harrell Dartt as told to Mrs. Chalon T. Land on a recent visit to "Aunt Cassie" as she is affectionately called by all who know her.

Talitha Catherine Harrell was born near where the village of Enfield, Ill., now stands, August 16, 1836, the year of Van Buren's election. Her father died when she was ten years old, but the mother kept the family together until the year after Catherine's marriage.

Catherine was married to John Parnell Dartt on May 19, 1853. They had planned to marry on Thursday the 23d, but fearing a charivari they ran away to McLeansboro in an ox cart and were quietly married there to outwit their many friends. The wedding dress was of lawn with alternate

stripes of green and white. Through the white stripes ran two rows of tiny red roses. The waist was high with a loose bodice, made in the empire style. The skirt was full and swept the ground, for as Mrs. Dartt says "Gals in them days was ashamed to show their feet let alone their knees." With this flowered frock, the bride wore a deep leghorn bonnet. Everyone wore a bonnet in those days. Shaker bonnets made of straw could be bought from the stores, but many of the bonnets were made at home. The tails were so long that they formed a shoulder cape, and some extended even to the waist line.

For a year after their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Dartt continued to live with old Mrs. Harrell. Then the old farm was sold to Harrison Robinson and the family, including Mrs. Harrell, the mother, and a brother, Joel, moved to the new home not far away. The old home had had two rooms of hewn logs, with a hall through the center. The floor of this hall was of dirt and a log was lain from the door of one cabin to the other for passage. The new home at first had only one room, but another room was added when the family grew larger. Mrs. Harrell lived with her daughter for many years. Her death followed soon after the birth of the youngest of the Dartt children.

The brother, Joel, was somewhat of a miser. Since the nearest bank was at Shawneetown, Ill., he kept his gold in a sack—Just before his death, he went to the orchard with his store of gold, and returned without it. Mrs. Dartt still thinks that somewhere on the farm this buried treasure will be found.

Life in those days was made up mostly of hard work—Mrs. Dartt worked in the field many a day—She plowed, hoed corn and cared for a garden, looked after the chickens, milked and churned. All this besides the work in the house. Ten children were born to John and Catherine Dartt, and five of them were grown before a sewing machine was even used in the house. All the clothes for boys and girls were laboriously stitched by hand. In fact Mrs. Dartt had even made her husband's wedding suit. They had two spinning wheels and raised their own cotton, flax and wool. The loom was kept busy weaving cloth. Candles were made from beef tallow, the cotton was carded and spun for the wicks. Deer

tallow, too, was used, though it had to be mixed with lard, for the deer tallow was too hard, used alone, and would "shiver off" in the cold weather. The flax had to be broken before it was ready for the hackle. Mrs. Dartt can explain every step, from the planting of the flax, to the taking of the woven cloth from the loom and making it into clothing.

Until after the Civil War there were lots of game in the woods. After night they would call the old "Houn Dog," and with a gun start off on a coon hunt. Many a time has she sat all night by a fire waiting for daylight to shoot the treed coon. She also went deer hunting. Her husband would sometimes kill four or five in a day. They would bend down the nearest suitable sapling, tie the deer's hind legs together and tie it to the top of the sapling. Then when they turned it loose, the deer would hang high out of the reach of marauding animals. When a big snow was on, they would take the sled and a team of oxen and go after their game. Quite often they would have as many as ten pairs of venison hams hanging in the smoke house at one time.

When Mrs. Dartt's children started to school they had to "sign" and "pay" \$1.25 a year for each child. Often, instead of money, the teacher would accept other things worth that amount.

Mrs. Dartt now lives with her daughter, Mrs. Robert Lamar in Maunie, Ill., on the banks of the Wabash River. She is able to get around the house in a wonderful way for a woman of her advanced years. She finds her way around the yard, though her eyesight is too dim for sewing of any kind. Her tall figure is stooped from work and age.

She loves to talk and takes a lively interest in everything that concerns her family today.

She has always been an ardent Democrat, and has voted ever since the women have been given the franchise, and she says she thinks she had some influence on the way her husband voted even before they thought women were smart enough to vote. But this year, 1928, in November, she voted for Mr. Hoover. Mrs. Dartt knows from experience what "hard liquor" does and she hopes to cast a vote against it.

There is no religious tolerance in her decision, for her husband was a Catholic and is buried in the Catholic cemetery. The children, however, embraced the Protestant faith.

The children of John and Catherine Dartt

Cornelia Dartt Varner,	(Deceased).
Arcadia Dartt,	(Deceased).
John Dartt,	Lives in Enfield, Ill.
Augustine Dartt,	Lives in Maunie, Ill.
Luke Dartt,	Lives in Maunie, Ill.
Mark Dartt,	(Deceased).
Anna Dartt,	(Deceased).
Robert Dartt,	Lives in Maunie, Ill.
Lucinda Rose Dartt,	Lives in Maunie, Ill.
Carrie Dartt Lamar,	Lives in Maunie, Ill.

On last Memorial Day Mrs. Dartt came to Enfield, Ill., as is her custom, to visit her father's grave. For almost a hundred years this grave has been marked by a field stone, but now a bronze tablet surmounts the old field stone. This tablet was presented by Mrs. Isaac D. Rawlings, Regent of the Springfield, Ill., Chapter of the D. A. R. Dedication services were held on Memorial Day. The program was very impressive. Patriotic songs were sung by a group of school children, a biography of Joel Harrell was read by Rev. John Newman of Enfield, and an address was given by Judge J. M. Endicott of Carmi, Ill. Mrs. Dartt shared the honors of the day with four Civil War veterans.

It was touching to see the joy with which she greeted old friends whom she had not met for years. Their faces were indistinct because of her failing sight, but many she could name when she heard their voices. After the services she and her son visited the grave of the Revolutionary hero. It was just at sunset, the flags were drooping, and it was pitiful, the grief of the old, old woman for the father who had died when she was only a child, but whose memory is yet so vivid to her.

Through the efforts of the Springfield Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, a beautiful white marble headstone, a gift of the United States Government, will replace the crumbling one, which has stood so many years. It was to have been delivered October first, 1928, but has been delayed. The application goes through a long routine, but we can safely say that it will be placed at the grave of Joel Harrell before next Memorial Day.

NECROLOGY

ERASTUS HOWARD SCOTT, 1855-1928

Erastus Howard Scott, educational publisher, was born near Hirambsburg, Noble County, Ohio, on June 6, 1855; son of John W. and Miriam Thompson Scott. His first American ancestor had landed in Virginia in 1792 or 1793, the Ohio homestead being settled by his grandfather Francis Scott in (about 1816—in what was then Morgan Co.) A graduate of Cambridge Academy, he taught school for several years, and then attended Adrian College, where he received his A. B. degree in 1878.

After brief pastorates in Cambridge and Fostoria he located in Columbus, Ohio, serving as a clerk in Smythe's Book Store, and preaching in a mission church on Sundays. Becoming deeply interested in book selling and publishing, in 1887 he moved to Chicago, where there was larger opportunity in this field. He first associated with S. C. Griggs & Company as a clerk, but after a year decided to go into business for himself, starting the short-lived American Book Mart, a one-man book jobbing concern. In 1889 he learned of a promising manuscript in beginning Latin, and persuaded C. J. Albert to lend his financial support in forming the partnership of Albert and Scott to publish his first book, Lowe's *Bellum Helveticum*. The unique and influential book was followed by several other high school Latin texts, which gradually won a place in the schools; and in subsequent revisions enjoyed a long and useful life.

During these first years, in addition to carrying on the business, he personally selected and edited in the evenings two important contributions to the literature of American political science: *Madison's Journal of the Constitutional Convention* and *The Federalist Papers*.

In 1894 Mr. Hugh A. Foresman came into the business, and with the entrance of Mr. W. C. Foresman in 1896, the firm became Scott, Foresman and Company, Mr. Scott assuming the presidency, which he retained to his death. In 1895 the business of George Sherwood, a local publisher, had

been purchased, and in 1896 Scott, Foresman and Company purchased the plates and copyrights of S. C. Griggs & Co., including the famous Robert's *Rules of Order*, which became the standard guide to parliamentary usage. While the purchase of these two businesses severely strained the resources of the infant concern, it brought to it a list of texts with which the company was able to bid successfully in Kansas for the state text book contracts awarded in 1897. With the fruits of this first success, Mr. Scott and his partners began a policy of investing profits back into the business that expanded the company before his death to one of the leading houses in America.

The series of Latin texts begun in 1889 developed under the supervision of Dr. Harold W. Johnston, one of the leading Latin scholars of his day. In 1898 Mr. Scott conceived the idea of the Lake High School series of English texts, and secured the services, as general editor, of Lindsay Todd Damon, a keen scholar and literary critic.

With the appearance of the Myers *Arithmetics* in 1898 the firm entered the field of grade school tests. The books represented the progressive ideas of Dr. George W. Myers, an outstanding student of the pedagogy of mathematics. While they sold fairly well, they were too far in advance of current practice to achieve a real success. But with characteristic persistence, Mr. Scott continued to plan for a revision that would make available the progressive features of the Myers *Arithmetics* in a form that would be teachable and practical. Retaining the loyal cooperation of Dr. Myers, he brought new authors into the scheme—till over twenty-five years after the publication of the first Myers *Arithmetics* the *Standard Service Arithmetics* appeared as the heirs of a long process of revision, research, and experimentation in the preparation of arithmetic materials.

In 19— Mr. Scott conceived the idea of publishing grammar school readers that would substitute an organized course in literature for the haphazard and chaotic reading materials then used in the upper grades. Enlisting the services of William H. Elson as author, he began the publication of the Elson Readers. With typical persistence and consecration, he devoted the services of the company to building up and strengthening this reading program till it became the famous

Elson Reading Program that was to rival in its day the prestige and influence of the McGuffey Readers of the previous century. The same vision, courage, and persistence which brought these two textbook programs to positions commanding influence marked his activities in other lines. Other significant contributions by which he influenced the curriculum of American schools were: the Ward Program for teaching high school English composition, the Greenlaw *Literature and Life* series, and the Scott-Sanford-Beeson Latin Program—the culmination of a long process of adapting the Latin course more nearly to the needs and capacities of American high school students. In all of these, he centered his activities and those of the firm entirely on programs which seemed to him to render a needed contribution to the cause of American education. He saw in his chosen career a challenge to public service worthy of his best efforts.

But his untiring energy and zeal for service found expression in many activities outside the sphere of his business. A Congregationalist, he not only carried heavy responsibilities in his local church, but took an active part in denominational affairs in Chicago and in the nation. In 1922-3 he served as president of the Congregational Club of Chicago. In 1915 he was chosen Moderator of the Chicago Association, and attended a number of national meetings of the denomination as delegate. In 1914 he became interested in the work of the Travelers Aid Society, being elected as its president in 1915. His unfailing financial support, and his constructive leadership carried the struggling society through a trying period of organization and development. A member of the Union League Club, the City Club of Chicago, and of the Chicago Association of Commerce, he served on various committees having to do with vocational education and the Americanization of foreign-born citizens.

A modest, unassuming man, his personal wants were few and his life extremely simple. His chief diversions were reading, golf, and travel. In 1921 a trip to the Far East, combining business and rest, bore fruit in a volume of travel reminiscences entitled *Letters from the Orient*. Subsequent trips to Alaska and around the Panama Canal resulted in *Alaska Days* and *Panama, Yosemite, Yellowstone*.

He was married twice, his first wife, Fannie Bradley Scott, dying in 1884. In 1886 he married Felicia Hiatt of Wheaton, who survived him, as did his three sons, Addison, John and Willis. He died peacefully on October 3, 1928 from heart trouble. Personal qualities which contributed largely to his success as business man and citizen were his consecrated idealism, a winning personality that commanded the respect and loyalty of all his associates, an ability to recognize talent and inspire it to its utmost capacity, a resourcefulness that seldom failed to find a solution to the knottiest problem, and a broad vision that resulted from an ever alert and intelligent interest in all forward movements.



PHIL MITCHELL

PHIL MITCHELL, 1846-1928

Phil Mitchell was born in Georgetown, Scott county, Ky., on November 30, 1846, the son of Philemon Libby and Catherine Norris (Hall) Mitchell. Having come to Rock Island with his parents in the autumn of 1856, when he was less than ten years old, he attended the public schools of the city. Later, going abroad, he studied at Dresden, Germany.

In 1877, Phil Mitchell married Miss Ella Judd, a daughter of Dr. F. H. and Harriet J. Judd, pioneer residents of Rock Island. Their marriage took place at the residence of the bride's father, then in Janesville, Wisconsin. Six sons were born to this union, namely, Philemon Leon, who died in infancy, and Ben. J., Leon W., Ardo W., Robert C. and Frederick L., who survive.

Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell celebrated their golden wedding anniversary at their home on October 24, 1927, with an open house in the afternoon and a family dinner in the evening.

At the age of 80 years Mr. Mitchell retired from the presidency of the State bank of Rock Island, his resignation going before the Board of Directors of the bank, January 12, 1927. At that time he had served longer than any bank president or cashier in Illinois who was still in active service, having been president of the State bank since 1905.

Always interested in historical collections and facts, Mr. Mitchell was for many years active in the Rock Island County Historical Society, at one time serving as president of the organization. He was also a prominent member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

One of his fondest recollections was while he was still a boy, of seeing Abraham Lincoln and hearing him speak when the latter paid a visit to Rock Island and was at the County court house.

Funeral services for Mr. Mitchell were held at 3 o'clock, November 8, at his home, 720 Twentieth street, Rock Island. They were in charge of Rev. Edward Williams, pastor of

Broadway Presbyterian church. Interment was in the family lot in Chippiannock cemetery.

The following is an editorial from the Rock Island Argus of November 7, 1928:

PHIL MITCHELL

In the death of Phil Mitchell Rock Island loses one of its grand old men.

His residence here dates back to the late "fifties," before the outbreak of the Civil war. His life in this community has been honorably lived from the time of his advent, a Kentucky youth entering upon a new environment.

His career has been devoted to banking, and the bankers of this community and indeed of this state looked upon him as the "dean" of their calling and paid him the honor that was his due.

Perhaps his outstanding characteristic was his whole hearted devotion and loyalty to Rock Island. As a financier, associated for a long period of years with Rock Island's oldest banking institution, his connection being traceable to the days of his boyhood when he swept the counting room and performed other humble tasks, he was intimately acquainted with actual business conditions here, and it is greatly to his credit that on many occasions when the future of some important Rock Island mercantile or industrial enterprise was at stake, he would go as far as a conservative banker could in extending financial help in time of need. There was never any question where Mr. Mitchell stood in such times of crisis.

Many a Rock Island merchant and manufacturer has had cause to be grateful to Mr. Mitchell for carrying them through difficult situations. In his capacity as a banker Phil Mitchell possessed the entire confidence of the people. They had a genuine respect not only for his high character, but for his judgment, and frequently had resort to him for advice and guidance in the conduct of their business affairs. His knowledge of banking was acquired in the school of experience like his father before him, and what he thus came to know was at the disposal of all who consulted him.

Ardently attached to Rock Island, he made himself familiar with its rich historical background. In this field of investigation he was supreme, and as the years passed he assembled a most valuable collection of historical data having to do with Rock Island's pioneer period. He was fond of discussing the events and personages of a by-gone day and was recognized as an authority in this domain. He experienced much pleasure in attending the annual gatherings of the Old Settlers' association of this county, an organization which he served as president. He was instrumental in restoring the home of Colonel George Davenport,

noted pioneer of this locality, located on the Rock Island arsenal island, and did much to encourage and assist those who interested themselves in preserving for the benefit of posterity the facts about Rock Island's past.

Before old age descended upon him, Mr. Mitchell was a lover of such sports as hunting and fishing, and he was directly responsible for the provision in the law creating a game refuge on the upper Mississippi extending to the north as far as Wabasha, Minn., that the southern terminus of this stretch of river should be established at Rock Island.

To the end Mr. Mitchell displayed those qualities of optimism and fortitude which had always distinguished him. He ever faced life bravely, and faltered not as his steps drew near the goal of mortal existence. He had risen by his own exertions from boy of all work around a bank to be the honored head of the institution, and to fill executive posts also in other business concerns of considerable magnitude. His sound common sense and his habits of industry and attention to the details of his business made him what he was in the world of finance.

It was inevitable that such a man would bind to himself many sincere friends. Those who were his intimates valued their privileges very highly.

The name of Phil Mitchell is indelibly impressed upon the City of Rock Island, and that name is the synonym for a character that was unsullied, and for qualities which entitled him to eminent standing as a citizen and as a leader in the business life of Rock Island for many years.

He has now become a part of the history of this community to which he was always so much attached, and the example of loyalty to the interests of his home city which he set will be long remembered by the people of Rock Island.

MRS. RICHARD J. OGLESBY, 1845-1928

Funeral services for Mrs. Emma Gillett Oglesby, widow of Richard J. Oglesby, former governor of Illinois, and United States senator, were held at 2:30 p. m., Wednesday, November 28th, 1928, at St. John's Memorial chapel at Oglehurst, the historic family estate near Elkhart. Rev. Edward Haughton, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal church of Springfield, officiated. Interment was made in the mausoleum at the Elkhart cemetery.

Mrs. Oglesby died at 5:20 p. m., Sunday, at the family estate. She had been seriously ill for some months. All her children were at her bedside when death came.

For years Mrs. Oglesby was a prominent figure in the life of Illinois and of the nation. Her years as first lady of the state, as a member of the Washington official set, as a social leader and as a member of the board of directors of the World's Columbian exposition, her acquaintance abroad gained through travel, made her a nationally known figure.

Hospitality at Oglehurst is widely known. Many celebrities of the nation and the world have been entertained there. It has been a long established custom to entertain the tenants of the estate each Christmas, at which time Mrs. Oglesby took personal charge of the dinners.

Oglehurst exemplified the broad culture of its owner. Works of art from all parts of the world are contained in it.

Mrs. Oglesby was born Feb. 11, 1845 at Cornland, a daughter of John Dean and Lemira Parke Gillett. She was married to Hiram David Keays of Bloomington in November, 1864, and he died in 1868. She was married to Governor Oglesby in November, 1873, at her father's house in Elkhart, Illinois. Seven children were born to them.

Mrs. Emma Gillett Oglesby had preserved to the last much of the beauty and dignity which gave her the reputation of being the best looking woman that ever occupied the executive mansion at Springfield. Her last days had been spent



MRS. RICHARD J. OGLESBY.

at Oglehurst, the family estate, with her son, John G. Oglesby, former lieutenant governor.

Her husband was first elected governor of Illinois in 1864. He was chosen again in 1872 but resigned to serve a term as United States senator. He was elected governor for the last time in 1884 and after serving out his term retired from public life. After his death in 1899, Mrs. Oglesby went back to live at Elkhart amid the scenes of her girlhood days.

Mrs. Oglesby was prominent in society during her years as the first lady of the state during her husband's three terms, her life in Washington while Richard J. Oglesby was United States senator from Illinois, and several trips abroad. It was during one of the trips to Italy that she saw her daughter Felicite married to Count Allessandre Cenci Bolognetti.

Of recent years she had outlived most of the friends she knew when she was prominent in Springfield society and had taken recourse to books for companionship. Although the passing of more than eighty years had told on her, she was said to be as witty and mentally active as during her earlier years.

Her father terminated her school days in New Haven, Conn., when she was sixteen years old and placed her under the tutelage of his cousin, a classical scholar who laid out a course of reading for her. Beginning with the Bible it included Shakespeare, Plutarch, Rollin, Gibbon, Robertson, D'Aubigny, Guizot, Motley, Parkman, and Bancroft.

The walls of the library of Oglehurst presented a nearly unbroken array of much worn classics—history, fiction, biography, philosophy, and travel. Situated on the peak of Elkhart hill, the home overlooked the village of Elkhart. Its spacious rooms contained many art objects and curios significant of past associations.

Mrs. Oglesby is survived by four children: Hiram Gillett Keays, Elkhart; Mrs. Felicite Oglesby Cenci Bolognetti, John Gillett Oglesby and Jasper Oglesby at home. Richard James Oglesby, Jr., died in 1913. Decedent also is survived by the following sisters: Miss Nina Gillett, Paris, France; Miss Jessie Dean Gillett, Elkhart; Mrs. Katharine Gillett Hill, Lincoln; and Mrs. William Barnes, Decatur.

MRS. RICHARD J. OGLESBY.

EDITORIAL ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL, NOVEMBER 28, 1928.

Mrs. Richard J. Oglesby will be laid away in her eternal home this afternoon, with simple ceremonies in the village church near which she was born and about which revolved her life.

She was 28 years of age when she married Richard J. Oglesby in 1873. Even before the war, Richard J. Oglesby had placed his stamp upon the destinies of this state and nation. An early partisan of Lincoln, he had taken part in the organization of the Republican party in Illinois. At the Decatur convention in 1856, he had urged the name of Lincoln as the party's candidate for the presidency. When the war broke he went forward, soon rose to high command and suffered what were regarded as mortal wounds.

Easily he holds the proud position as Illinois' most respected and most popular leader. Lincoln went to the White house and never returned. He had not made the contacts nor established the personal relations among the people of this state that in later years raised "Uncle Dick" to such high place in popular affection.

To this life, Mrs. Oglesby made remarkable contributions. The two, husband and wife, were as unlike as two persons could be, yet they made an admirable success of life. "Uncle Dick" possessed rare qualities. Under any circumstances they would have elevated him to distinction but, in any appraisal of his life, it would be a fatal mistake to omit or to minimize in the slightest degree the constructive influence and power of this wonderful woman in the development of her great husband.

When the story of the Oglesby era shall have been completely assembled and properly adjusted to the events in which it formed a part, Illinois will have one of its most absorbing chapters.

Mrs. Oglesby lived to be 83 years old. From her circle death had taken one by one all her friends and companions save one, Mrs. Caroline Lutz, who is still older in years. Mrs. Lutz's tribute to the memory of her friend of more than half a century appeared in The State Journal Monday morning. And we were reminded of Tom Moore's tragic song, "The Last Rose of Summer," the dramatic figure of the aged person left alone in a world in which once his name was heralded and sung.

DEATH OF MRS. OGLESBY.

EDITORIAL ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER, NOVEMBER 26, 1928.

The death yesterday at Oglehurst, near Elkhart, Illinois, of Mrs. Emma Gillett Oglesby, aged 83 years, fills the hearts of the people of Illinois with sincere sorrow. They realize that because of her ad-

vancing age and lingering ill health, death was to be expected, but a deep sorrow comes with the thought that this distinguished former "first lady of the state" has passed.

Of remarkable personality, poise and intellectuality, Mrs. Oglesby represented American gentility and nobility to a superlative degree. Wedded to the late Richard J. Oglesby in 1873, while he was serving his second term as governor and shortly before he proceeded to Washington as United States senator, Mrs. Oglesby has been a conspicuous figure in state and national affairs. Springfield became more distinctively her official home when Senator Oglesby was elected governor for a third term, occupying the mansion in January, 1885.

Because of her distinguished abilities, Mrs. Oglesby shared the great honors bestowed so generously upon her deserving and illustrious husband.

Assuaging the sorrow that floods our hearts today as we think of the passing of these distinguished personages who have added so much to the fame of this state is solace to be found in meditation upon their graciousness, goodness and the service they have rendered for the human family.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Maps, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-34. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1927. (Nos. 6-26 out of print.)

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. civ and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. xxxiii and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 1 and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. civ and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. cxviii and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. clxvii and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. lvii and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

* Out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Régime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xxviii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. cxli and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. xxxiii and 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole. xxx and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Governor Edward Coles by Elihu B. Washburne. Reprint with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. viii and 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1920.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVI. British Series, Vol. III. Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. xviii and 760 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1921.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVII. Law series, Vol. I. The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1800. Edited with introduction by Theodore Calvin Pease. xxxvi and 591 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII. Statistical Series, Vol. I. Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease. lxxviii and 598 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1923.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. Virginia Series, Vol. IV. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Ph. D., LL. D. lxxv and 572 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1926.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XX. Lincoln Series, Vol. II. The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall. xxxii and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1925.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

*Circular, Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1905. An Outline for the Study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

*Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 161 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 182 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. XXI, No. 4, Jan., 1929.

Journals out of print: Volumes I to X, inclusive.

* Out of print.

INDEX TO VOL. XXI

Nos. 1-4

April, 1928, to January, 1929

—A—

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|---|---------------|
| Abbott, Betsey | 549 | Allen, agent for the abolitionist.. | 39 |
| Abbott, Emma | 139 | Allen, (Capt.) of Decatur, Ill..... | 239 |
| Abbott, Henry | 139 | Allen, (Miss) | 79 |
| Abbott, Jeremiah | 549, 554 | Allen, (Mrs.) | 27 |
| Abbott, John | 139 | Allen, (Rev.) | 85 |
| Abolition societies | 8 | Allen, John C..... | 570 |
| Abolitionists | 453 | Allen, Sarah | 79 |
| Academy at Bethel, Bond Co., Ill... | 195 | Allerton Place at Monticello, Piatt | |
| Academy at Elmwood. Early one | 253 | Co., Ill. | 253 |
| Academy of Science..... | 562 | Alliot, Paul (footnote)..... | 329 |
| Adams, Elizabeth | 157 | Alton, Ill. | 96, 198 |
| Adams, (Miss) (Emily or Phoebe) | | Alton, Ill. Ninian Edwards Chap- | |
| 25, 30, 47, 50, 52, 64, 75 | | ter, D. A. R..... | 252 |
| Adams, John | 27 | Alton, Ill. Presbytery..... | 550, 551 |
| Adams, (Mrs.) John..... | 27, 36, 53 | Alvord, Clarence Walworth..... | |
| Adams, (Dr.) Stall..... | 38, 71, 82 | 287, 288, 321, 450, 451, 592, 593 | |
| Adams Co., Pa..... | 446 | Alvord, Clarence Walworth. Ca- | |
| Address of James R. Doolittle, | | hokia Records (footnote) | 331 |
| which was not delivered 4th of | | Alvord, Clarence Walworth. Kas- | |
| July | 224-232 | kaskia Records (footnote)..... | 331 |
| Adet, ———. French minister to | | Alvord, Clarence Walworth. Miss- | |
| the United States..... | 362 | issippi Valley in British politics | 292 |
| Adkins, Charles | 570 | (footnote) | 292 |
| Adrian College | 581 | America, Song | 254 |
| Adventurous pathfinders | 257, 258 | America the Beautiful, Song..... | 254 |
| Agassiz, Louis | 558, 567 | American Army | 201, 209 |
| Agua Nueva, Mex. | 100 | American Bar Association..... | 443 |
| Agua Nueva, Mex. Camp Taylor | | American Bible Society..... | 276 |
| | 101, 102 | American Book Mart..... | 581 |
| Aguas Frias | 305 | American Creed | 228, 230, 231 |
| Aird, James | 323 | American Dominion over land | |
| Alabama State (footnote)..... | 476 | North and West from the Ohio | |
| Alaska Days. By Erastus H. | | River | 268 |
| Scott | 583 | American Encyclopedia, (The). | |
| Albarez, Eugenio | 323 | Vol. VII. Secondary works.... | 379 |
| Albert, C. J. | 581 | American Encyclopedia of Biog- | |
| Alexander, (Mrs.) | 30 | raphy | 568 |
| Alexander, (Gen.) E. P..... | 214 | American Entomologist | |
| Algonquin Indians | 239 | 560, 561, 564, 565, 568 | |
| Allegheny Mts. | | American Flag | 254, 261 |
| 186, 257, 260, 263, 382, 426 | | American Historical Association | |
| Allegheny River | 425 | Reports, 1896, 1903..... | 380 |
| | | American Historical Review, Vol. | |
| | | II, III and X..... | 380 |

- American Home Missionary Society184, 185, 396, 549
 American Legion, Illinois 542
 American Legion, Illinois. Greenville Post 541
 American Legion, Ladies Auxiliary. Illinois, Greenville 542
 American Literature 257
 American People 200
 American State Papers. Foreign Relations, Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous 380
 American State Papers. Foreign Relations. I Spanish Protest (footnote) 377
 Americans202, 263, 363
 Ames, Ia.556, 558
 Amherst, Mass. 283
 Anderson, (Mrs.) K. T. "Some reminiscences" 167
 Anderson, (Maj. Gen.) Robert U.. 202
 Anderson, (Maj. Gen.) Robert U., at Fort Sumter 202
 Anderson, S. S. 445
 Andras, Eliza W. 124
 Andras, Mary Sophia126, 151
 Andrus, Mary Sophia 153
 Angle, Paul M. 2
 Angle, Paul M. The Peoria Truce500-505
 The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois County during the American Revolution. By A. P. Nasatir291-358
 Angus, (Rev.) Wm. T..... 552
 Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Medical Dept. 438
 Annapolis, Md., Naval Academy.. 413
 Ann Arundel Co., Md..... 421
 Antietam, battle of, War of the Rebellion210, 214
 Appeal to the Historical Society and general public.....XI-XII
 Aquanock, N. J. 22
 Archives des affaires Etrangeres. Etat Unis; Vols. Louisiana Florides et L. Espagne (footnotes)361, 362, 363
 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 371, 375, 376
 Archives des Affaires Etrangeres, Vols. Louisiana, Espagne and Etats, Unis 380
 Arenzville, Ill. 129
 Argenta, (Macon County) Ill..... 241
 Arizona State, Petrified Forests in 265
 Arizona State, Red Rock, Arizona. 279
 Arkansas River 293
 (footnote) 291
 Arkansas State 202
 Armitage, Felix 150
 Armitage, (Mrs.) Sarah Ann.... 150
 Armstrong, (Mrs.) Blair — Member of "The Elmwood-Taft Sculpture Committee" 254
 Armstrong, Duff 500
 Armstrong, George E. 572
 Armstrong, John L. Early pioneer of Macon Co., Ill..... 238
 Army of Northern Virginia, brilliant operations of..... 208
 Army of the Potomac 213
 Arnze, Francis (should be Arenze) 129
 Art Association of Jacksonville, Ill. 286
 Art Extension Committee253, 255
 Art Extension Pilgrimages..... 253
 Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States 384-386
 Associated Press, Illinois 255
 Athens, Sangamon Co., Illinois... 192
 Atlantic Ocean 425
 Atlas Moore Cemetery..... 278
 Atwater, Susie 134
 Atyea, John 125
 Aulard, F. A., Recueil des Actes du Comite de Salut Public, Vol. I, Paris, 1910 380
 Austin, Benjamin R. Surveyed and platted city of Decatur..... 239
 Austin, J. D. 127
 Austin, Joshua D. 126
 Austin, Macon Co., Ill., formerly called Montgomery 238
 Austin, (Macon) Co., Ill. Named for Benjamin R. Austin 239
 Austin, (Mrs.) Sarah B..... 127
 Austin Township, Macon Co., Illinois 241
 Ava, Illinois 270
 Ayers42, 43, 46, 78
 Ayers, (Miss) 61
 Ayers, (Mrs.) David27, 32
 35, 36, 41, 44, 52, 61, 65, 66, 74, 78, 84
 Ayers, David 84
- B—
- Bache, Alexander Dallas 567
 Bacon, Samuel117, 122, 141
 Badger Ward, Macon Co., Ill..... 237
 Baher, ———119, 149
 Baher, Lavinia Grace 149
 Bailey, Francis Katie 156
 Bailey, (Mrs.) Nora 569
 Baker, ——— 131
 Baker, (Mrs.) Ann L..... 126
 Baker, (Col.) E. D..... 94
 Baker, Mary 125

- Baker, (Sec.) Newton D., Secretary of War, United States..203, 204
 Balch, Amos 546
 Baldwin, Theron ...395, 396, 401, 406
 Baldwin, Theron, Letter to J. M. Sturtevant, dated Monticello, May 16 and 30, 1843. Footnote. 401
 Baldwin, Theron. Sturtevant J. M. Letters to Theron Baldwin, April 23, 1856, June 2, 1856, June 11, 1856. Footnote 406
 Baldwin, Theron, Letter to J. M. Sturtevant, dated June 1, 1858. Footnote 407
 Baldwin, (Rev.) Thomas 550
 Bale, Florence Gratiot. Galena's Memories of General Ulysses S. Grant409-418
 Ballard, (Gen.) Colin R. The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln 216
 Bancroft, George. History of the United States. Footnote 308
 Banks, Illinois 585
 Baptist Church194, 271, 276, 277
 Baptist Church, New Design. Monroe Co., Illinois first Baptist Church in Illinois 271
 Barker, Jeremiah 114
 Barker, Mary P. 122
 Barkley, O. F. 555
 Barnes, (Mrs.) Wm. 589
 Barnett, Susan M. 125
 Barton, (Mrs.) ——— ..35, 36, 48, 65
 Barton, Dr. William E..... 502
 Bartram, Elizabeth 422
 Bartram, (Rev.) William 421
 Bascom, Flavel 190
 Bashfortts, John 118
 Batchelder, Hannah 136
 Batchelder, (Rev.) John
113, 114, 115, 116, 121, 126, 136
 Batchelder, (Rev.) John. Baptisms 135-136
 Batchelder, (Rev.) John. Marriages 121
 Batchelder, Matthew 136
 Batchelder, Robert 136
 Bateaux, (Boats) 364
 Bates Brockett 255
 Battle of Antietam, War of the Rebellion 205
 Battle of Armageddon, reference to 230
 Battle of Chickamauga, War of the Rebellion 205
 Baxter, ——— 524
 Baxter, (Dr.) A. C. 446
 Bearsdale, (Macon Co.) Illinois.. 241
 Beavers, Nancy 126
 Beckwith, H. W.287, 450, 592
 Beecher, Edward, President of Illinois College25-37, 39-44, 46, 48, 49, 65, 66, 397, 399, 400
 Beecher, (Mrs.) Edward 36
 Beecher, Henry Ward84, 397
 Beilby, ——— 135
 Beilby, Mary Ann 135
 Belestre, (M.) De. Footnote..... 322
 Belknap, H. J. 554
 Bell. "Liberty Bell of the Old Northwest." Bell given to Kaskaskia by King Louis of France, so-called 262
 Bell—Old Kaskaskia Bell brought from France to Kaskaskia in 1773 264
 Bell, Sen. John 465
 Footnote 476
 Belleville, Illinois
267, 272, 277, 279, 280, 551
 Belleville, Illinois. Chamber of Commerce 272
 Belleville, Illinois. Walnut Hill Cemetery 280
 Belle, Riviere 326
 Bells, First public bell in American Illinois 553
 Beloit College 396
 Belville 22
 Bement, (Piatt Co.) Ill..... 253
 Bennett, Ann Elizabeth 121
 Bennett, Dr. John C.509, 510
 Bennett, (Mrs.) ——— 120
 Bennington, Vt. 169
 Benton, (Sen.) Thomas H.....
463, 464, 476, 477, 487, 488, 496
 Footnote 464
 Berdan, (Mrs.) James
144, 146, 147, 155, 156
 Berdan, James
117, 122, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150
 Berdan, Jane P. 145
 Berdan, May Kingsley 147
 Bergen, (Mrs.) N. S..... 176
 Bergen, (Mrs.) Nellie S..... 174
 Berkeley, California 520
 Berrien, (Sen.) John M. 486
 Footnote476, 486
 Berry, (Col.) James 552
 Berry, (Rev.) John M.
525, 526, 527, 528
 Bertie Co., N. C. 573
 Bethel, (Bond Co.) Illinois
195, 196, 197, 198
 Bethel, (Bond Co.) Illinois, Academy at 195
 Bethune ——— 80
 Bethune, (Mrs.) ——— 80

- Bevan, Nancy (Mrs.) James Baxter Caldwell 92
- Bibliography on Genet's Mission in general 379-381
- Big Creek Ward, Macon Co., Illinois 237
- Big Horn, Battle of 135
- Big Osage Indians 294, 301, 302
- Biggs, Joseph 124
- Biggs, (Mrs.) Thomas 542
- Biloxi, Miss 440, 441
- Binghamton, N. Y. 283
- Bird, (Capt.) Henry 312, 321
Footnote 312
- Bird, (Rev.) W. H. 551
- Birge, Alice 546
- Birge, Ansel 546
- Birmham, Charles 119
- Bishop Hill, Illinois 559
- Bissell, (Col.) William H. In the Mexican War 274
- Black, John D. 445
- Black, Maggie Ella 158
- Blackburn, Ann 125
- Blackburn College 550
- Blackburn, (Rev.) Gideon 550
- Blackburn, Matthew 118, 130
- Blackburn, (Mrs.) Matthew 120
- Blackburn, Sarah 124
- Black Hawk 162, 275
- Black Hawk Hiking Club..... 167, 168
- Black Hawk War 88, 161, 275
- Blackwell, (Col.) Robt. 552
- Blair, Francis G., Supt. of Public Instruction, State of Illinois... 255
- Bliss, W. W. S. 102, 103, 106
- Block-House built on Dosa Creek, St. Clair Co., Ill. 276
- Bloomington, Illinois 191, 255, 256, 562
- Bloomington, Ill. Early Seminary established in Waynesville by Rev. Lemuel Foster..... 193, 194
- Bloomington, Ill. Laid out in the Summer of 1833 184, 192
- Bloomington, Ind. 263
- Blount. Letter to Gov. Robertson dated at Knoxville, Jan. 18, 1794, quoted 378, 379
- Blue Mound, Macon Co., Ill. 241
- Blue Mound, Macon Co., Ill., formerly called Madison..... 238
- Blue Mound, Macon Co., Ill. Naming of 239
- Blue Mound Township, Macon Co., Ill. 241
- Bohn, Fredk. W. E. 125
- Bohnsen, Charlotte 148
- Bolognetti, (Count) Allesandre Cenci 589
- Bolman, (Mrs.) Paul 535
- Bolton, ——— 129
Footnote 315
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene. Footnote 291
- Bonaparte, Madam Patterson 422
- Bonaparte, Napoleon 216, 360
- Bond Co., Illinois ... 195, 235, 279, 438
- Bond Co., Ill., Poet..... 542, 543
- Bond Co., Ill. Soldiers of 1812, buried in 541-546
- Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach 265
- Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Bill of appraisement in estate of Gov. Bond, 1832 265
- Bond, (Mrs.) Shadrach 265
- Bond, William 134
- Bone, David 530
- Bone, (Mrs.) Eliza 144
- Bone, Wm. Henry 144
- Bones ——— 40
- Bonfils, Monsieur 87
- Bonn, Mary 148
- Bonn, Sarah Jane 148
- Bonn, Thomas 148
- "Book of Capitouls" 424
- Boone, Daniel 553
- Booth, Cathe. Jane 144
- Booth, John 118, 144
- Booth, John Edwin 144
- Booth, John Wilkes 570
- Booth, Thomas 125
- Booth, (Mrs.) Thomas (Mary Louisa Warren). Footnote..... 109
- Bordman, Isaac S. Early pioneer of Macon Co., Ill. 238
- Bosoleal, (Eugene Pouree) 323
- "Bostonians" 297, 301, 302
Footnote 322
- Boston Post Road 538
- Boston Society of Natural History 560, 562, 563
- Botetourt Co., Va. 573
- Bourgoin, J. P. 255
- Bourn, Geo. Thomas 154
- Bourn, Mary 131, 153, 154
- Bourn, Robert 131
- Bourn, Thomas 131, 153, 154
- Bourn, Thomas John. Son of Thos. 153
- Bourns, Ann 151
- Bourns, Joseph 152
- Bourns, Mary 130, 151, 152
- Bourns, Robert 130, 151
- Bourns, Thos. 152
- Bourns, Wm. 152
- Bouther, (Mr.) 106
- Bowers, ——— 43
- Bowers, (Mr.) from Island Grove 23, 84
- Bowers, (Mrs.) from Island Grove 84
- Bowers, Fanny 38

- Bowers, (Mrs.) Julia..26, 75, 43, 47, 50
 Bowman, (Capt.) John 271
 Bowman, Joseph299, 300
 Boyd, Elizabeth (Mrs. Elias B. Caldwell 92
 Boyd, Linn 473
 Boy Scouts, Illinois. Greenville.. 542
 Boy Scouts of America243, 244
 Boystain, Mary 123
 Bracken, W. K. 445
 Bradbury, Arthur132, 156
 Bradbury, J. W.488, 490
 Bradbury, Robert 156
 Bradbury, Susannah 156
 Braddock Defeat, 1755 425
 Braden, J. Y. Early pioneer of Macon Co., Ill..... 238
 Bradford, Henry W. 129
 Bragdon, C. D. 562
 Bragg, (Gen.) Braxton 96
 Braidwood, Elizabeth 127
 Braidwood, Wm.117, 127
 Brainerd, Ben H.173, 176, 177
 Brainerd, (Mrs.) Ben H. (Ella W.) 173-177
 Brainerd, (Rev.) Eleazer 176
 Brainerd, Ella W. Home in Lincoln, Ill. 173
 Brandt, Frank E.557, 568
 Breckenridge, (Dr.) of Louisville, Ky. 78
 Breckenridge, W. C. Footnote... 325
 Breckenridge. Letter to Governor Shelby, Jan. 10, 1794, quoted... 378
 Brehm, (Capt.) Diedrick 310
 Footnote 310
 Bright, Jesse D. Footnote..... 476
 Brinkerhoff, Bessie W. 448
 Brinkerhoff, Cornelia 446
 Brinkerhoff, George M. Biographical Sketch446-449
 Brinkerhoff, George M. Springfield, Ill. Newspapers tribute 448-449
 Brinkerhoff, George M., Jr..... 448
 Brinkerhoff, Henry 448
 Brinkerhoff, James W. 448
 Brinkerhoff, John H. 448
 Brinkerhoff, Marian B. 448
 Brisbois, B. W. Traditions and recollections of Prairie du Chien. Footnote 323
 British activity on the Spanish border 306-309
 British Flag 261
 British Illinois Country. Footnote 291
 British traders invade Spanish territory293, 294, 295, 296, 306
 Footnote 294
 Britton, Wm. 132
 Brockenbrough, Austin 114
 Brockenbrough, (Mrs.) Austin ... 137
 Brockenbrough, Brown 137
 Brockenbrough, Columbus 137
 Brockenbrough, Eliza 137
 Brockenbrough, John Champe.... 137
 Brockenbrough, Lucy Pamela ... 137
 Brockenbrough, Mary (Mrs. Austin Brockenbrough) 137
 Brockenbrough, Mary Brown 137
 Bronze Memorial Tablet to soldiers of 1812 buried in Bond Co. By Mrs. Charles E. Davidson 541-546
 Brooks, Isabelle 126
 Brosseau, (Mrs.) Alfred J..... 535
 Brother, Alexander117, 138
 Brother, Howard January..... 138
 Brother, Louisa Frances 138
 Brother, Sidney 138
 Brothers, (Mrs.) ———— 46
 Brown, (Miss) of Cincinnati..... 80
 Brown (Misses) 32
 Brown, (Mrs.) Clara B. ..133, 154, 157
 Brown, (Miss) E. 61
 Brown, Elisha119, 154
 Brown, Elizabeth 125
 Brown, Emma 154
 Brown, E. L.253, 255
 Brown, E. L. Contributes toward Taft's pioneer group 254
 Brown, Mrs. E. L. 255
 Brown, (Mrs.) E. L. Contributor toward Taft's pioneer group... 255
 Brown, I. 54
 Brown, J. 23
 Brown, (Mrs.) J. 23
 Brown, J. B. 415
 Brown, Lloyd Warfield 157
 Brown, Mary 154
 Brown, (Mrs.) Mary 154
 Brown, Mary Brent 154
 Brown, (Mrs.) Mary D. 176
 Brown, Mary Kate 154
 Brown, Mary Maxwell 154
 Brown, Pope 132
 Brown, Robert F. 569
 Brown, Thomas 79
 Brown, W. G. Footnote 454
 Brown, Washington Adams 154
 Brown, William 30, 48, 71, 72, 84, 120, 125, 154, 157
 Footnote 315
 Brown, (Mrs.) William (Susan Finley)
27, 30, 31, 34, 37, 39, 40, 42, 48, 49, 51, 54, 58, 62, 64, 74, 79, 84
 Brown, William H. To Conn. L. Vandalia, Chicago, 1796-1869 84, 554
 Brown, (Mrs.) William H..... 84
 Browning, Orville Hickman..... 451

- Browning, Orville Hickman.
 Diary of 288
 Footnote 504
 Brownstown, (Ill.) Presbyterian Church 553
 Bryan, William Jennings.....271, 447
 Bryant, John H. Footnote 503
 Bryant, William Cullen, poem, "The Forest Hymn," reference to 233
 Bryant, William Cullen. Quest of Alexander Chartres at Hazelwood on the bluffs of the Rock River 233
 Bryant, (Rev.) E. G. 551
 Bryce, (Mrs.) Thomas Gerald.... 179
 Buchanan, (Pres.) James. Home in Pennsylvania named Wheatland 240
 Buchanan, (Pres.) James 468
 Buchanan, Welshier 546
 Buck, Solon Justus288, 451-592
 Buckley, (Mrs.) ——— 82
 Bucklin, (Mr.) ——— 38
 Bucklin, (Mrs.) ———29, 30, 38
 Bucklin, James M. 137
 Bucklin, Mary 137
 Buckner, Aylett H. 114
 Buena Vista 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107
 Buena Vista. Battle of 1847.....84, 97, 98, 100, 107
 Footnote 102
 Buffalo Gap Marker 269
 Buffalo, N. Y. 196
 Bull, (Ole) the Violinist, guest at Alexander Chartres Estate at Hazelwood on the bluffs of Rock River 233
 Bull Point, Ill. (Macon Co.) Hickory (formerly called Bull Point)238, 239
 Bull Run—Battle of, War of the Rebellion201, 204, 210
 Buntain, C. M. 445
 Bureau Co. Illinois Centennial.... 440
 Bureau Co. Illinois Republican, Aug. 9, 1928..... 441
 Burgess, William 546
 Burgoyne, After Defeat of..... 308
 Burkhamsted, Litchfield Co. Conn. 183
 Burns, Robert—Verse from poem on, quoted 277
 Burnside, Ambrose E. Union Maj.-Gen., War of the Rebellion..... 204
 Burr, Aaron 373
 Burtis, (Mr.) 126
 Burton, C. M. Augustine Mottin de la Balme. Footnote..... 331
 Burton, (Rev.) Charles 198
 Burtschi, Joseph C.534, 536
 Bush, Caroline 144
 Bush, Robert Wallace 144
 Bush, Robert Wasson 144
 Busher, John 122
 Butler, (Sen.) A. P.....463, 487
 Butler, (Maj. General) 100
 Butler, Mann. History of Kentucky 380
 Butler, Rush C. 445
 Butler, Wm.147, 501
- C—
- Cabel, William L. Governor of Virginia 273
 Cabet, Etienne515-520
 Cabet, Etienne. Icarian experiment in Texas 515
 Cabin, Pioneer Cabin of Rev. Lemuel Foster described188-189
 Cahokia, Illinois260, 320, 321, 322, 330
 Footnote321, 322, 331, 345
 Cahokia, Ill. French inhabitants of 263
 Cahokia, Ill. George Rogers Clark in the Indian Council at Cahokia263, 272
 Cahokia, Ill. Indian Treaty 272
 Cahokia, Ill. Mound Chapter, Illinois. Daughters American Revolution 272
 Cahokia, Illinois. Settlements in. 264
 Cahokia Room of the Hotel Broadview, East St. Louis 271
 Caldwell, (Aunt) 18
 Caldwell, A. 83
 Caldwell, (Mr.) and family..... 120
 Caldwell, Anna Maria (Mrs. Samuel Hamilton)25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 35, 84, 88
 Caldwell, Elias Bondinot 92
 Caldwell, Elias Bondinot, one of the founders of Colonization Society 84
 Caldwell, (Mrs.) Elias Bondinot, (Ann Ling Ligan) 92
 Caldwell, (Mrs.) Elias Bondinot, (Elizabeth Boyd) 92
 Caldwell, Esther (Mrs. Robert S. Finley)84, 92
 Caldwell, family1, 84, 86, 90
 Caldwell, Hannah Ray (Mrs. James R. Smith)1, 3, 21, 77, 84, 86, 92
 Caldwell, (Rev.) James....1, 3, 84, 92
 Caldwell, James Baxter 92
 Caldwell, (Mrs.) James Baxter (Henrietta Gill) 92
 Caldwell, John Dickinson 92

- Caldwell, John Edward 92
 Caldwell, Josiah Flint 92
 Caldwell, (Mrs.) Josiah Flint
 (Margaret H. Magruder) 92
 Caldwell, Margaret (Mrs. Isaac
 Canfield) 84, 92
 Caldwell, Maria (Mrs. Robert S.
 Robertson) 92
 Caldwell, Sarah (Mrs. John S.
 Vredenburgh) 92
 Calhoun, (Sen.) John C.
 458, 465, 467-470, 476
 California Bill
 456-458, 460, 477, 478, 490-494
 California State 256, 286, 448
 California State, Berkeley 520
 California, State Constitution
 464-465, 472-473
 California State, Glendale, Cal. 442
 California State, Los Angeles, Cal. 442
 California Territory
 ... 455-480, 486, 487, 490, 494, 496-499
 Callonage, (Mrs.) ——— 134
 Calve, Joseph 320, 323
 Footnote 315
 Camargo, Mex. 106, 107
 Cambridge, England 560
 Cambridge, Ill. 559
 Cambridge, Ohio 581
 Cambridge, O., Academy 581
 Camel 45
 Camel, (Mrs.) 30, 37
 Cameron, Frank 134
 Cameron, James 575
 Cameron, M. G. Early pioneer of
 Macon, Co., Ill. 237
 Cameron, Thomas 575
 Campbell, Annie 414
 Campbell, Benjamin H., U. S. Mar-
 shal, Northern District of Illi-
 nois. Grant administration ... 413
 Campbell Hill 270
 Campbell, (Rev.) Thomas 526
 Campbell, (Gen.) Wm. 310
 Camp Butler 253, 447
 Camp Butler, National Cemetery. 253
 Camp Point, Ill. 253
 Camp Taylor 101-103
 Canada 277, 297, 374
 Canada Province 383
 Canadian Archives, 1890-1894, Ver-
 mont Episode 380
 Canadian Pacific Express Co. 572
 Canadians 312, 317
 Cane, (Mr.) ——— 119, 129, 149
 Cane, Elecia 146
 Cane, Holbert Clare 129
 Cane, John Robert 146
 Cane, Sachavil 126, 146
 Canfield, (Mrs.) ——— 45
 Canfield, Henry 44
 Canfield, Luse 45
 Canfield, (Mrs.) (Margaret Cald-
 well) 84
 Canfield, Robert. Cousin—Son of
 Margaret Caldwell 43, 84
 Canton and Henderson Mission... 162
 Cantrell, William. Early pioneer,
 Macon Co. 237
 Cape Horn 263
 Capps, George B. 555
 Carleton, Guy 306
 Carlin, (Gov.) Thomas 274, 510
 Carmi, Illinois 549, 578
 Carolinas, (The) 195
 Carondelet Sig 372, 373
 Carr, Clarissa, wife of John B.
 Halbert 277, 279
 Carr, Jacob 277, 279
 Carr, Nancy (Nancy Cox) 279
 Carriel, Arthur 285
 Carriel, (Dr.) F. H. Supt. of the
 State Hospital for the Insane,
 Jacksonville 285
 Carriel, Fred Clifford 285
 Carriel, Howard 285
 Carriel, Mary Turner. Biographi-
 cal Sketch 285-286
 Carriel, Mary Turner, chosen as
 the "Queen Mother," Jackson-
 ville, Ill., Centennial Celebra-
 tion 286
 Carriel, Mary Turner. Life of
 Jonathan Baldwin Turner 286
 Carroll, William T. 5
 Carson, Catherine C. 132
 Cartabona, (Lieut.) Francisco....
 317, 319, 325, 327-329
 Footnote 322, 327, 328
 Carter, Allen J. 442
 Carter, Clarence Edwin
 288, 451, 592, 593
 Carter, Clarence Edwin. Great
 Britain and the Illinois country.
 Footnote 292, 294
 Carter, Orrin N. An appreciation,
 Illinois State Bar Association..
 443-445
 Carter, Orrin N. Biographical
 Sketch 442-445
 Carter, Ruth 442
 Carthage, Ill. 94, 95, 512, 513
 Cartwright, Peter ... 162, 397, 526, 550
 Cartwright, Peter. Autobiography
 quoted. Footnote 397
 Carver, J. 295
 Footnote 295
 Casey, Elizabeth Moore Morris, by
 Ella Morris Casey Kretschmar.
 419-436

- Casey, Elizabeth Moore Morris,
Description of 435
- Casey Family 419
- Casey, John Wanton 419, 421
- Casey, John Wanton. Biographical
Sketch, Journal of the Illi-
nois State Historical Society,
Oct., 1921 419
- Casey, (Mrs.) John Wanton.. 419, 420
- Casey, (Mrs.) John Wanton. Saves
a boat from fire on the Illinois
River 432
- Casner, (Macon Co.) Illinois 241
- Cass, (Sen.) Lewis.. 461, 468, 477, 496
Footnote 476
- Cass, (Sen.) Lewis, of Michigan.
Nominated for President on the
Democratic ticket 461
- Cassell, (Dr.) 128, 129
- Cassell, (Mrs.) 118, 128, 129
- Catholics 25, 32
- Census of 1840, Illinois 274, 275
- Centennial Memorial Building,
Springfield, Ill. 253
- Centralia, Illinois 278
- Central Illinois Public Service
Company 243, 249, 250, 252
- Cerre, Gabriel 297, 303
Footnote 297
- Chamberlain, B. B. 117
- Champaign, Illinois 252
- Champaign Co., Illinois, Critten-
den Township 438
- Champaign Co., Illinois, Medical
Society 438
- Chancellor, Luis 313
- Chapin, Jeannie (Mrs. John M.
Glen) 179
- Charleston Harbor 202
- Charleston, S. C. 380
- Charlton, Delia 133
- Charnwood, (Lord) Godfrey Rath-
bone Benson 502
- Charnwood, (Lord) quoted on
Lincoln and his methods, effects
of discipline upon his mind and
character 211, 212
- Charters, (Judge) only son of
Alexander Charters 233
- Charters, Alexander. By Blanche
S. Charters 233, 234
- Charters, Alexander. Called by his
friends "The Governor." 233
- Charters, Alexander. Purchases
Hazelwood Estate on the bluffs
of Rock River 233-234
- Charters, Blanche S. Sketch of
Alexander Charters 233-234
- Chase, (Bishop) Philander
..... 115, 136, 138, 139
- Chase, Salmon P. 150
- Chase, Wm. E. 150
- Chase, William Prescott 150
- Chatham, Illinois 438
- Chattanooga, Battle of, War of the
Rebellion 205
- Cheaney, E. 554
- Chenille 41
- Cherrill, Adolphus 117, 137
- Cherrill, Mary Elizabeth 137
- Chesapeake Bay 204
- Chester, Illinois 266, 278
- Chester, Illinois, Bank of Chester. 265
- Chester, Ill. Mississippi Valley
Band of Chester, Illinois 266
- Chester, Ill. Wegener, E. H.—
Mayor of 261, 264
- Chicago, Illinois
..... 7, 8, 312, 322, 326, 401, 495, 498,
504, 552, 553, 559, 563, 571, 572, 583
Footnote 504
- Chicago, Ill. Academy of Science 563
- Chicago, (Ill.) and Eastern Illi-
nois R. R. 269
- Chicago, Ill. Association of Com-
merce 583
- Chicago, Ill. Bar Association 443
- Chicago, Ill. City Club 583
- Chicago, Ill. Civil Service Com-
mission 178
- Chicago, Ill. Congregational Club 583
- Chicago, Ill. Daily Journal. Foot-
note 504
- Chicago, Ill. Daily Journal, Oct.
27, 1854. Quoted 219-220
- Chicago, Ill. Daily Journal for
Oct. 30, 1854. Speech of Lin-
coln's in 220
- Chicago, Ill. Democrat Newspaper 220
- Chicago, Ill. Great Fire..... 563
- Chicago, Ill. Historical Society..
..... 552, 553
- Chicago, Ill. Lakeside Cemetery. 436
- Chicago, Ill. Law Institute..... 443
- Chicago, Ill. Lincoln speaks in
Chicago for Zachary Taylor,
1848 220
- Chicago, Ill. Lincoln's Speech in
Oct. 27, 1854. 219
- Chicago, Ill. Masons. Wm. B.
Warren Lodge. Footnote 95
- Chicago, Ill. North Market Hall.
Lincoln Speech of October 27,
1854 in 219, 220, 221
- Chicago, Ill. Presbyterian Theo-
logical Seminary 571
- Chicago, Ill. Theological Seminary 184
- Chicago, Ill. Times
Chicago, Ill. Times-Herald, Her-
man H. Kohlsaas, Editor..... 417

- Chicago, Ill. Tribune220, 572
Chicago, Ill. Union League Club. 583
Chicago, Ill. University of Chicago 255
Chicago, Ill. World's Columbian Exposition held in 1893224, 225
Chickamauga, Battle of. War of the Rebellion 205
Chickering, (Mr.)41, 42, 43
Chickering, (Mrs.) Martha, sister of Mrs. Bowers
.....38, 40, 41, 43, 57, 62, 84
Chihuahua, Mex.99, 100
Childers, Polly 575
Children of the American Revolution 244
Childs, Mary 43
Chindblom, Carl R. 570
Chinn, (Mrs.) 38
Cholera in Jacksonville 88
Cholera in Washington 88
Chouteau, August313, 323
Footnote 327
Chouteau, (Pierre). Footnote.... 310
Christ Church, Upper Merion, Pa.. 424
Christian Endeavor Society 529
Chubbuck, (Mrs.) H. Eugene. National Chairman on Preservation of Historic Spots, D. A. R. 252
Church Bells. First in American Illinois 553
Churches. Baptist Church.....
.....194, 276, 277
Churches, Baptist. New Design, Illinois 271
Churches. Congregational Church 187
Churches. Congregational Church, Elmwood, Ill..... 254
Churches. Donegal Church Scotland 422
Churches. Episcopal Church..... 276
Churches, Illinois.....
.....506, 516, 525-530, 547-555
Churches, Methodist Church.....
.....190, 191, 440, 441
Churches, Mormon.....506-516
Churches, Ill. Mormon. Fayette, New York..... 508
Churches. Plan of Union in an early day with the Presbyterian and Congregational Church..399-400
Churches, Presbyterian Church..
.....190, 192
Churches, Presbyterian and Congregationalists Plan of Union..
.....190, 191
Footnote 190
Churches, Presbyterian Church.
First New School Presbyterian Church 191
Churches. Presbyterian Church, Galena, Illinois..... 416
Churches. Presbyterian. Illinois547, 555
Churches. Presbyterian Church, Jacksonville 286
Churches. Presbyterian Church, Kentucky 188
Churches. Presbyterian Church, Springfield, Ill.....446, 447
Churches. Roman Catholic..... 522
Cincinnati, Ohio..... 380
Cincinnati, O. Ohio Medical College, located in..... 438
Civil War.....96,
200, 201, 204, 417, 438, 521, 554, 577
Civil War, Comparison of events in, with the World War....204, 205
Civil War, Contrast between Civil War and World War..... 209
Civil War, History of, shows that soldiers can be trained for effective fighting..... 209
Civil War, Lincoln, Abraham, criticized with interfering with his generals in the Civil War..... 204
Clairborne, J. F. H. Mississippi, Jackson, 1880..... 380
Clark, Eleanor F..... 129
Clark, Elijah of Georgia..... 360
Clark, George Rogers
.....297, 299, 304, 305,
307, 309, 314, 321, 326, 359, 360, 571
Footnote..299, 301, 303, 305, 307,
310, 312, 314, 315, 322, 331, 337, 342
Clark, (George Rogers) and the Spaniards 302-304
Clark, George Rogers. Army, given land grants in Illinois..... 262
Clark, George Rogers. Becomes embittered because of Virginia's neglect to his claims for services in the Revolution 361
Clark, George Rogers. Captures Kaskaskia 260
Clark, George Rogers. Conqueror of the Old Northwest..... 267
Clark, George Rogers. Conquest of the Illinois Country..... 368
Clark, George Rogers. Conquest of the Northwest.....268-272
Clark, George Rogers. Corr Paul Benjamin, Sesqui-Centennial Observances—Trail from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia268-272

- Clark, George Rogers. Draper collection, Clark manuscripts 361
- Clark, George Rogers. Fort Gage Sesqui-Centennial Observance of Clark's Conquest of the Northwest. By Paul Benjamin Corr 260-267
- Clark, George Rogers. Hero of the Revolution 368
- Clark, George Rogers. In the Indian Council at Cahokia 272
- Clark, George Rogers. Letters to Genet 368-372
- Clark, George Rogers. Lockridge, Ross F., biographer of George Rogers Clark 271
- Clark, George Rogers. Lockridge, Ross F., recent biographer of Clark, quoted 263
- Clark, George Rogers. "Long Knives," Clark's men so called. 268
- Clark, George Rogers. March to Vincennes 263
- Clark, George Rogers. Memorial Commission of Indiana 261
- Clark, George Rogers. Memorial Commission of Ohio 261
- Clark, George Rogers. Offers his services to Spain in return for a land grant 361
- Clark, George Rogers. Papers 287, 288
- Clark, George Rogers. Project fails, lack of support of the French government 361
- Clark, George Rogers. Proposal for the whole of Louisiana for France 368-379
- Clark, George Rogers. Ready to expatriate himself from France... 361
- Clark, George Rogers. Relations with De Leyba 300, 301
- Clark, George Rogers. Thanked by the Virginia House of Delegates Nov. 23, 1778 272
- Clark, George Rogers. Trail across Southern Illinois 263
- Clark, George Rogers. Trail Indian Point marker placed by D. A. R. 269
- Clarke, (Mr.) ——— 119
- Clarke, (Mrs.) ——— 39
- Clarke, E. M. M. 117
- Clarke, (Mrs.) Emily E. 132
- Clarke, George Augustus 78
- Clarke, (Mrs.) John X. (Jeanette Smith) 77-78, 92
- Clarke, Matthew St. Clair..... 78
- Clarke, (Mrs.) Matthew St. Clair. (Anna Smith) ...5, 77, 86, 87, 89, 92
- Clarke, Reuben 133
- Clarke, Ruth 133
- Clausewitz, (Von) Treaties on the fundamental Nature of War. Quoted 211, 212, 213
- Clay, (Mr.) 81
- Clay, Henry 5
- Clay, (Sen.) Henry.....
-464, 465, 467, 471
- 472, 475-480, 486, 487, 492, 494-497
- Footnote476, 486
- Clay, (Sen.) Henry, called The Great Pacificator464, 465
- Clay, (Mrs.) Porter. (Mrs. Martin D. Hardin)
-26, 31, 41, 51, 56, 57, 61, 75, 84
- Claybrough, Harriet 124
- Clayton Compromise455, 456, 483
- Clayton, J. Paul. Vice-President Central Illinois Public Service Co.243, 244, 249
- Clayton, John M. United States Senator from Delaware.108, 455, 456
- Clement, (Mr.) 119
- Clendenin, J. W. 445
- Clifton, Josiah. Home of, in Salt Creek District, Macon Co., Ill. Voting place 236
- Cline, (Mrs.) Angie 265
- Clinton, Ill. 283
- Coahuila, Mex. Footnote 97
- Coates, Arthur E. 542
- Cobb, Howell 473
- Footnote 473
- Cobden, Ill. 566
- Cochran, (Mr.) 136
- Cochran, Sophronia126, 136
- Cochrane, John C. 521
- Cockin, George 124
- Coddington, Joseph 114
- Coddington, Joseph Randolph 136
- Coddington, Mary 136
- Coe, (Mrs.) Frances Spindel. Great-great-grand-daughter of John Kelley 252
- Coe, Louis. Great-great-grandson of John Kelley 252
- Coffin, (Mr.) ——— 33
- Coggeshal, John. First governor of Rhode Island 419
- Colby, Henry 529
- Cole, Arthur Charles.....288, 451, 593
- Cole, (Gov.) Edward 89
- Colen, James 124
- Coles, (Gov.) Edward 451
- Coles, (Gov.) Edward, Life..... 288
- Collins, Augustus 126
- Collins, H. C.156, 157
- Collins, Henry Talmadge
-117, 119, 146, 151, 155
- Collins, John Robertson 151

- Collins, (Mrs.) Julia M...133, 146, 151
 Collins, Maria Jane 126
 Collins, Mary Charlotte 146
 Collot's Journey in North America, Paris, 1826 362
 Footnote 362
 Colman's Rural World 562
 Colonization Society 8, 41
 Colt, Thos. A. 117
 Columbia, Ill. 271
 Columbus, Ohio 581
 Colvis, Victor 265
 Combs, (Rev.) E. S. 243
 Comer, Allen 546
 Commerce, Ill. 506, 507
 Commerce, Ill. Later Nauvoo ... 94
 Committee of thirteen members of.
 Footnote 476
 Compton, Peter S. 123
 Comton, Margaret 525
 Comton, Nathan 525
 Conderry, (Miss) Lydia. Wife of
 Rev. Lemuel Foster 184, 185
 Condit, Ellenor 22
 Confederate Batteries 202
 Confederate Government, Cotton
 States secede and form a Confederate Government 202
 Confederate States of America ... 108
 Congregational Club, Chicago 443
 Congregational Church, Elmwood,
 Ill. 254
 Congregational Church. Plan of
 Union with Presbyterians.....
 190, 191, 399-400
 Footnote 190
 Congregational Historical Society
 of the middle West 184
 Congregationalists 187, 191
 Congress of the United States.....
 454-463,
 466, 469-472, 478, 483, 496, 498, 499
 Congressional Globe. Footnote...
 454-461, 463, 464, 468-
 471, 474, 475, 477, 480-493, 495, 498
 Conlin, James 127
 Conn, (Miss) ——— 75
 Conn, (Mrs.) ——— 26,
 29, 30, 32, 34, 40, 42, 44, 45, 48,
 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 71, 74, 81
 Conn, Eliza 30, 46, 118
 Conn, John 315
 Connally, John 125
 Connecticut State 196, 384
 Connecticut State, Burkhamsted,
 Litchfield Co., Conn. 183
 Connecticut State, Connecticut
 Bible Society 185
 Connecticut State, Hartford Co.,
 Conn. 185
 Connecticut State, Hartford, Conn. 194
 Connecticut State, Hartland, Hartford Co., Conn. 185
 Connecticut State, Litchfield Co.,
 Conn. 183
 Connecticut State, Niantic, Conn. 240
 Connell, Eliza M. 128
 Connell, Jno. L. 128
 Conrad—Deputy Warden of the
 Southern Penitentiary, Chester. 266
 Constitution of the United States
 468, 470
 Converse, H. A. 446
 Cook Co., Illinois 442, 443
 Cook Co., Illinois, Convention.... 503
 Cook, (Mrs.) Martha Susan..... 176
 Cooly, Jo 73, 82, 85
 Cooper, A. 122
 Cooper, (Sen.) James. Footnote. 476
 Copenbarger, John — Salt Creek
 District, Macon Co., Illinois, voting place held in home of..... 236
 Corcoran, (Mrs.) 151
 Corcoran, Artelissa J. 124
 Corcoran, Charles 129
 Corcoran, Charles Fenton 143
 Corcoran, Ellen R. 123
 Corcoran, Margaret N. 143
 Corcoran, Ophelia Matilda 151
 Corcoran, Sophrona 123
 Corcoran, Wm. H. 143
 Corcoran, (Mrs.) Wm. H. 120
 Corning, Ia. 520
 Cornland 588
 Corr, Paul Benjamin — Executive
 Secretary Northwest Territory
 Commission 268
 Corr, Paul Benjamin—George
 Rogers Clark Conquest of the
 Northwest, Fort Gage Sesqui-Centennial Observance 260-267
 Corr, Paul Benjamin—George
 Rogers Clark Sesqui-Centennial
 Observances. Trail from Fort
 Massac to Kaskaskia..... 268-272
 Corr, (Mrs.) Paul Benjamin..... 271
 Corwin, E. S. French policy and
 the American Alliance of 1778.
 Footnote 308
 Cottet, Jules 521
 County, Definition of the term.... 240
 Covenanters 3, 86
 Covell, (Mr.) Early settler in
 Bloomington, Ill. 193
 Covington, Ky. 409
 Cowdrey, Oliver 508
 Cox, (Rev.) of New York 15
 Cox, Nancy (Nancy Carr)..... 279
 Cox, Massacre 544
 Craig, Charles Edgar 155

- Craig, John William155, 157
 Craig, R. M. 555
 Craig, Sarah Ann155, 157
 Craig, Willard Dickey 157
 Craig, William Shelton 132
 Cranshaw, (Mrs.) James B. 535
 Craven, John117, 135
 Craven, Sarah Ann 135
 Crawford Co., Ill. 236
 Crawford Co., Illinois Territory.. 236
 Crawford, William. Early pioneer
 of Macon Co., Ill. 238
 Cresson, E. T. 563
 Crist, Joseph 157
 Crittenden Township, Champaign
 Co., Illinois 438
 Crocker, (Mrs.) 79
 Crook, (Dr.) 133
 Cross, (Rev.) Joseph116, 132
 Cross, Joseph, Jr. 133
 Crowther, Charlotte 125
 Cruzat, Francis295,
 296, 297, 298, 302, 313, 328, 329-357
 Footnote295, 297, 329,
 331-335, 337, 338, 339, 342, 343,
 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 354, 356-358
 Cuba 360
 Cultivator and Country Gentleman 562
 Cumberland, Ohio 363
 Cumberland Presbyterian Church.
 525-530, 549
 Cumberland road 540
 Cummings, (Mrs. General) 21
 Cunningham, James. Judge Okaw,
 Precinct, Macon Co., Ill..... 236
 Curci, (Madame) Galli233-234
 Curran, (Sangamon) Co., Illinois 252
 Curtis, Sarah 134
 Curtis, Thomas 134
- D—
- Daily, Margaret 125
 D'Almadoar, Marquis. Footnote.. 308
 Damon, Lindsay Todd 582
 Daniels, B. 129
 Daniels, Buker 123
 Daniels, E. 129
 Daniels, Isabelle 152
 Danites 510
 Dan Town or Newberg in Friends
 Creek Township, Macon Co.,
 Illinois 241
 Danville, Ill. Gov. Bradford Chap-
 ter, D. A. R. 252
 Darken, (Rev.) Edward John....
 116, 122, 127, 138, 139, 140
 Darken, Frances Louisa 139
 Darken, John Frederick Rigby ... 139
 Darmstadt, (Ill.)278, 279
 Darrow, (Rev.) 115
 Dartt, Anna 578
 Dartt, Arcadia 578
 Dartt, Augustine 578
 Dartt, John 578
 Dartt, John Parnell 575
 Dartt, Lucinda Rose 578
 Dartt, Luke 578
 Dartt, Mark 578
 Dartt, Robert 578
 Dartt, (Mrs.) Talitha Catherine,
 Illinois' only real daughter of
 the American Revolution ...573-578
 Darwin, Charles558, 560
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution 534-540
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution, Cahokia Mound Chapter,
 D. A. R. 272
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution, Illinois
 531-533, 535, 536, 542, 571
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution, Illinois mark "Indian
 Point" 269
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution. Illinois. Only real
 daughter 573-578
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution. Illinois. Petersburg .. 574
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution. Illinois. Pierre Menard
 Chapter252, 574
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution. Illinois. Springfield
 Chapter283, 573, 578
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution, Springfield Chapter mark
 site of the Kelley Cabin....242-252
 Daughters of the American Revo-
 lution. Sweeney, (Mrs.) Wil-
 liam Jackson, Illinois State Re-
 gent244, 247
 Daughters of 1812. Illinois. Kas-
 kaskia Chapter541-546
 Davenport, (Col.) George162, 586
 Davenport, Ia.9, 84
 Davenport, Ia. Academy of
 Sciences2, 9
 Davenport, Ia. Public Museum.. 9
 David, Lucas 307
 Davidson, (Mrs.)30, 31
 Davidson, (Mrs.) Amy 549
 Davidson, (Mrs.) Chas. E. 535
 Davidson, (Mrs.) Charles E.
 Bronze Memorial Tablet to sol-
 diers of 1812 buried in Bond Co.,
 Illinois541-546
 Davidson, (Mrs.) Elvira 176
 Davis, Ada 149

- Davis, Cicero 149
 Davis, Ebenezer T. 138
 Davis, Frank A. 535, 537
 Davis, George R. Director-General World's Columbian Commission, letter of, to Hon. J. R. Doolittle, dated Chicago, July 20, 1893 225
 Davis, Jefferson 96, 108
 Davis, (Sen.) Jefferson 460, 467, 481, 498
 Davis, Jefferson. Quoted as the perniciously meddlesome War President 216
 Davis, Jefferson. Stressed independence in the Civil War 215
 Daviss, (Mr.) 50
 Daviss, (Mrs.) 50
 Dawson, (Sen.) William C. ... 489, 490
 Day, Jeremiah 396
 Days, Benjamin. Early settler of Macon Co., Ill. 237
 Dayton, (Mr.) 81
 Dayton, Belle 134
 Dayton, Francis E. 123
 Dayton, Mary Estelle 132
 Dayton, Oliver 134
 DeBois, Dorothy 278
 Decatur, Illinois. 238, 239, 253, 255, 279
 Decatur, Ill. Named for Commodore Stephen Decatur 235
 Decatur, Ill. Republican Convention, 1856 590
 Decatur, (Macon Co.) Ill. Surveyed and platted out by Benjamin R. Austin 239
 Decatur, Township (Macon Co.) Ill. 241
 Decatur, Ill. Wards in 237
 Decatur, Women's Club Civic division 241
 Declaration of Independence. 223, 229, 262
 Dederding, Eliza 124
 De la Balme, Augustine Mottin 330, 331
 Footnote 331
 Delaware State 456, 470
 De Leyba, Fernando 298, 299, 301, 302, 303-305, 312, 315, 316, 317, 318, 321, 324, 325, 327
 Footnote 299, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 310, 313-318, 322, 323, 325
 De Leyba's (Fernando) Instructions 298-299
 De Leyba, Fernando. Relations with Clark 300, 301
 Delorie ——— 323
 De Medici Catherine 423
 Democratic Party 454, 458, 461, 468, 472, 476, 511
 Democratic Press and Staats Zeitung Newspaper 220, 221
 Denby, Elizabeth 122
 Deneen, Charles S. 570
 Denison, Edward E. 270, 570
 De Pauw — Draper Collection, Clark Mss. De Pauw Papers... 373
 Footnote 373
 Depew, (Mr.) Benjamin 191, 192
 De Pew, Chauncy M. Delivers address at Unveiling of bronze Statue of Gen. Grant at Galena. 417
 De Peyster, (Maj.) Schuyler.... 309
 Footnote 315
 De Pin, (Rev.) J. ——— 136
 De Portal, Isabel. Maid of Honor of Queen Catherine 424
 Derry, (Mrs.) Margaret M. 132
 Deseret ——— 462, 464, 475
 Des Moines River 305, 307
 De Soto House, Galena, Ill.... 412, 414
 Detroit, Mich. 196, 326, 330
 Dewey, Anna E.... 130, 131, 149, 155
 Dewey, Anna Mabel 135
 Dewey, Charles William.... 131, 155
 Dewey, W. D. 130
 Dewey, Wm. K.... 124, 131, 150, 155
 DeWitt Co., Illinois.... 235, 236
 DeWitt, M. Thomas Jefferson, Etude Historique sur la Democratie Americains. Paris, 1861 380
 Dickey, John. Early settler, Macon Co., Ill. 236, 237
 Dickinson, D. S. Footnote.... 476
 Dieckmann, Carl 555
 Dieppe, France 424
 Dijon, France 515
 Dingman, James. Early pioneer of Macon Co., Ill. 237
 Dintleman, (Mrs.) Etta 279
 Discovery of Record of Lincoln's Chicago Speech of Oct. 27, 1854. By Earl W. Wiley 218-223
 District of Columbia 453, 462, 464, 465, 474, 477, 494, 495
 District of Columbia, Slavery in 494, 495
 Dixie trail 538
 Dixon, (Mrs.) Eli—Ex-State Sec. Ill. D. A. R. 251
 Dixon, Ill. 233
 Dodge, (Miss) ——— 24, 25, 27, 28, 36, 37, 38, 41
 Dodge, (Mrs.) ——— 37
 Donaldson, (Lieut.) 103
 Donaldson, (Mrs.) ——— 120

- Doniol, H. Footnote 308
- Doolittle, (Hon.) James R. Fourth of July address which was not given 224-232
- Doolittle, (Hon.) J. R. Letter of George R. Davis. Director. General World's Columbian Commission to dated Chicago, Ill., July 20, 1893 225
- Doolittle, (Hon.) James R. Letter of W. Q. Gresham to, dated Washington, July 22, 1893 .. 225-226
- Donegal Church, Scotland 422
- Dorremus, (Mr.) ——— 23, 84
- Dosa Creek, St. Clair Co., Illinois. Block-house built on 276
- Doty, James D. 472, 473
- Douglas, Stephen A. 93, 108, 218, 219, 222, 453-505-509-511, 534
Footnote 93, 454, 456, 502, 503
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Author of the Compromise 497-499
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Called the Little Giant 479, 481
- Douglas and the Compromise of 1850, by George D. Harmon.. 453-505
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Letter of J. M. Clayton. 108
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Freeport. Reference 234
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold. On the Wilmot Proviso 466
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Peoria agreement between Lincoln and Douglas, Oct. 17, 1854. 218
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Replies to Owen Lovejoy in Princeton.. 219
- Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Visits Oquawka 161
- Douglasville, Penn. 424
- Dow, Lucia Ann 121
- Downing, E. E. 255
- Downs, (Sen.) Solomon U. 483
Footnote 476
- Draper Collection, Clark's Mss. 361
Footnote 371, 374
- Draper Collection, Clark Manuscripts No. I. Footnote. 368
- Draper Collection, Clark Mss. De Pauw papers. Footnote 373, 378
- Draper Collection, Clark Mss. Spanish papers 377
Footnotes 373, 377
- Draper Collections, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Clark De Pauw. J. Clark Spanish, Hammond and King's Mountain papers 381
- Draper District, (Macon Co.) Illinois 236, 237
- Draper, John, Macon Co., Illinois. 236
- Draper's Ward, Macon Co., Illinois 237
- Dresser, (Mr.) 117
- Dresser, (Rev.) Charles 122, 128, 136, 137
- Dresser, Mary 142
- Dresser, (Mrs.) Nancy 128, 142
- Dresser, Nathan 128, 142
- Ducharme 320, 323
Footnote 294
- Duchess of Devonshire 423
- Ducy, Wm. K. 118
- Dueker, Henry 265
- Duer, (Mrs.) Rush (Nancy Whitehead) 84
- Duff, (Mrs.) ——— 128
- Duguet. A merchant from Montreal 332
- Dummer, Richard W. 114
- Duncan, (Major) 89
- Duncan, Amy 40, 48
- Duncan, Ann. Daughter of James 41, 44, 51, 58, 60, 85
- Duncan, Ann Elizabeth 6, 27, 52, 53, 62, 88, 90, 92
- Duncan, Caroline. Daughter of James 33, 37, 51, 53-55, 60, 85
- Duncan, Catherine Clay 89, 90, 92
- Duncan, Elizabeth (Mrs. Joseph Duncan) 92
- Duncan, Ellen Marian 89, 92
- Duncan, Hannah Caldwell... 89, 90, 92
- Duncan, Henry St. Clair.. 87, 88, 89, 92
- Duncan Island, Pa. 424
- Duncan, (Mrs.) J. 43, 64
- Duncan, James. Brother of Joseph 33, 36, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 57, 61, 71-74, 84, 85
- Duncan, (Mrs.) James 40, 43, 45, 48, 50, 51, 53, 57
- Duncan, James Caldwell.... 87, 88, 92
- Duncan, Jane 75
- Duncan, (Gov.) Joseph. 1, 2, 5-7, 23, 25-28, 30, 32, 33, 35-39, 41-46, 48-50, 52-61, 62, 63-65, 68, 70, 72-76, 80, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 162, 163, 274
- Duncan, (Gov.) Joseph. Death of 70-75, 90
- Duncan, (Gov.) Joseph. Elected Governor 88
- Duncan, (Gov.) Joseph. In Black Hawk War 88
- Duncan, (Mrs.) Joseph. (Elizabeth Caldwell Smith) Ancestry 86, 92, 162

Duncan, (Mrs.) Joseph. (Elizabeth Caldwell Smith) Brief synopsis of life	86, 91
Duncan, (Mrs.) Joseph. (Elizabeth Caldwell Smith) Diary....	1-85
Duncan, (Mrs.) Joseph. (Harriett Stevens)	92
Duncan, Joseph, 1835-1906	10
Duncan, Julia (Mrs. Edward P. Kirby)	2, 9, 10, 30, 82, 89, 91, 92
Duncan, Marion	58, 63, 66, 67
Duncan, Mary	8, 27
Duncan, Mary Louisa (Mrs. Charles E. Putnam)	9, 37, 39, 74, 80, 85, 88, 90, 91, 92
Duncan Papers	2
Duncan, Polly Ann (Mrs. William Linn) Sister of Jos. Duncan..	34, 84
Duncan, Smith	89, 90, 92
Dunlap, Charles J.	124, 130, 158
Dunlap, Charles W.	130, 150
Dunlap, Emily Margaret	156
Dunlap, G. A.	117
Dunlap, Louisa Long	158
Dunlap, Mary Freeman	158
Dunlap, Mary L.	158
Dunlap, Mary S.	130
DuQuoin Co., Illinois	271
Durfee, Henry B. Early pioneer of Macon Co., Ill.	237, 238
Dusher, W. R.	445
Dustin, William M.	177
Dwight, (Miss) ———	41

—E—

Eames, (Mrs.) A. M.	29, 83
Earl, (Mrs.) Samuel	535
Easter, (Rev.) John D. 116, ...	133-135
Eastman, (Mrs.) S. Frank. Regent Pierre Menard Chapter, D. A. R.	252
Easton, Amanda	130, 152, 154
Easton, Charles Edgar	154
Easton, Edgar	130, 154
Easton, Edward	152
Easton, Jesse	152
East St. Louis, Ill. Downtown Business Men's Association....	272
East St. Louis, Ill. Hotel Broadview	271
Eaton, (Capt.) ———	103
Eccles, Joseph T.	554
Eddy, (Mr.) a clergyman.74, 75, 81-83	
Eddy, (Mrs.) ———	81
Edgar, (Gen.) John	265
Edinboro Gillespie Square, Edinboro	421
Edingboro University	421

Edmond, Charles Louis F. F. Genet, First Minister Plenipotentiary from France to the U. S. Journal of American History, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1912	381
Education, Academy at Bethel (Bond Co.) Ill.	195
Education, Ann Harbor, Mich. University, Medical Department	438
Education, Beloit College	396
Education, Cambridge, Ohio, Academy	581
Education, Chicago Law Institute	443
Education, Chicago Theological Seminary	184
Education, Chicago. University of Chicago	255
Education, Edinboro University..	421
Education, Federal Land Grant Universities of the United States	286
Education, Grinnell College	396
Education, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill....	187, 279, 285, 395, 408
Footnote	395
Education, Illinois, University of Illinois...253, 255, 256, 263, 286,	439
Education, Illinois University (Now Lutheran College) Springfield	446
Education, Jacksonville Female Academy	285, 286
Education, Knox College, Galesburg	396
Education, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa.	453
Education, Lincoln College of Law, Springfield, Ill.	382
Education, McKendree College, Lebanon	275, 279
Education, Monticello Seminary, Monticello	396
Education, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (Now College)	283
Education, Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.	413
Education, Normal Schools, Illinois	255
Education, Oberlin College	396
Education, Ohio Medical College, Cincinnati	438
Education, Princeton University..	190
Education, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.	359
Education, Rammelkamp, Charles H. Fundamentalism and Modernism in a Pioneer College.	395-408
Education, Seminary, early one in Bloomington, Illinois	193, 194

- Education, Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Ill. 275
- Education, "Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West" 404
- Education, Sturevant, J. M. Denominational Colleges in New Englander XVIII, 1860. Footnote 408
- Education, Turkey Hill School.... 279
- Education, University of Nauvoo.. 509
- Education, Wabash College 396
- Education, West Point, Military Academy 413
- Education, Wheaton College ..442, 443
- Education, Williamstown College in Massachusetts 183
- Education, Yale College..185, 190, 396
- Education, Yale Theological Seminary 184
- Edward, Eliza 149
- Edwards, (Mr.) ———— 66
- Edwards, (Mrs.) ———— 66
- Edwards, (Mrs.) John L. 264
- Edwards, (Miss) Josephine...264, 265
- Edwards Co., Illinois Territory... 235
- Edwards, Ninian. Gov. and U. S. Senator dies in Belleville in 1833 274
- Edwards, Ninian. History of Illinois 275
- Edwardsville, Ill. 272
- Edwardsville, Ill. Presbyterian Church 548
- Edwards, W. W. (Dean) The Laws in force in Illinois prior to its Statehood382-394
- Egbert, (Miss) ———— 118
- Egbert, Caroline 132
- Elizabeth, N. J. 283
- Elkhart, Ill.588, 589, 590
- Elliott, Andrew, Pioneer of Sangamon Co., Ill.250, 251
- Elliott, Hattie 135
- Elliott Home. Early home in Springfield, Illinois, location... 251
- Ellis, John M. 395
- Ellison, (General) "The Perils of Amateur Strategy" 216
- Elm Grove, *See* Jacksonville, Ill. Elm Grove "Duncan Home."
- Elmwood, Illinois. Academy early one in 253
- Elmwood, Illinois, Band 255
- Elmwood, Illinois. Congregational Church 254
- Elmwood, Illinois. Fleisher, S. R., Mayor of Elmwood 256
- Elmwood, Illinois Girls' Glee Club 256
- Elmwood, Illinois. Grade School Chorus 256
- Elmwood, Ill. Taft Lorado, born in April 29, 1860..... 253
- Elmwood, Illinois. Taft's pioneer group 253
- Elmwood, Ill. Taft Sculpture Committee254, 256
- Elson Readers582, 583
- Elson, Wm. H. 582
- Elwin, (Macon Co.) Illinois..... 241
- Ely, (Mr.) from Mass. 19
- Emancipation Proclamation 216
- Emmerson, Hannah 122
- Emmerson, Louis L. Secretary of State of Illinois 267
- Encyclopedia, Americana (The) XII 379
- Endicott, (Judge) J. M. 578
- Enfield, Illinois573, 574, 575, 578
- England216, 233, 382, 413, 421, 425
- England, Flag of 262
- England, France and England contended for the possession of North America 382
- England, Victoria, Queen of England, accession to the throne of 233
- English, (Capt.) ———— 106
- English, Charlotte 150
- English, Clara Louise 146
- English, Eliza145, 146, 150, 152
- English, Eliza Stryker 159
- English, Henry John 159
- English, Henry William 155
- English, (Mrs.) Henry W. State Librarian, Illinois D. A. R..... 251
- English in the Illinois Country 291-358
- English, James..118, 145, 146, 150, 152
- English, Jas. W.123, 159
- English, Julia Stryker 145
- English, Nathaniel 152
- English, Sara John. History of Trinity Church, Jacksonville, Ill.111-159
- English, (Lieut.) Wm. L. 135
- Entomological News 568
- Episcopal Church111-159, 276
- Episcopalians. Illinois. Jacksonville111-159
- Episcopal Recorder 113
- Epler, (Mr.) ———— 118
- Epler, Blanche Nettleton 152
- Epler, Carl 148
- Epler, Cornelia148, 150, 152, 153
- Epler, Cyrus 147, 148, 150, 152, 153
- Epler, Earnest 150
- Epler, Maud Ann 153
- Ernst, Colony536, 537
- Ernst, Jennie 554

Esher, Lord	216
Essex Co., Va.	273, 276
Essex Co., Va. District No. 5....	274
Essex Co., Va. Upper Essex, Baptist Church	277
Essminger, (Mr.) ———	120
Estey, Julia	414
Etzler, John	546
Europe	230, 440, 442
Evans, (Rev.) B. Barrett	440
Evans, J. H. One Hundred Years of Mormonism. Footnote	94
Evanson, Illinois	442
Ewing, (Gov.) W. L. D.	274, 547
Eyman, Abram. Early pioneer of Macon Co., Ill.	238

—F—

Fairbanks, (Miss) Maria. State Chairman, "Americanism" Illinois D. A. R.	251
Fairweather, (Miss).....	30
Falconer, (Mrs.).....	47
Falls of the Ohio.....	377
Fanshaw, D.....	276
Father of Waters "The Mississippi" so called.....	261
Fauchet—Genet's Successor.....	361
Fauchet, M.....	379
Fayette Co., Illinois.....	236, 545, 547
Fayette, N. Y. Mormons. Footnote	94
Fayetteville, Ill.....	279
Federalist Papers.....	581
Federal Land Grant. Universities of the United States.....	286
Feirich, Charles E.....	445
Fekete, (Major) T. L., Jr. President of the Northwest Territory Commission	264, 271, 272
Felt, B. F.....	410, 415
Felt, Katharine.....	414
Felt, L. S.....	410
Fergus Historical Series.....	2
Ferguson, Daniel.....	546
Ferne, Clyffe, Scenic Park, Johnson Co., Ill.....	268, 269
Fidler, Edwd.....	133
Fidler, Estella Moore.....	158
Fidler, John.....	134, 156, 158
Fidler, Mary.....	156, 158
Fidler, Walter Hart.....	156
Fielding, Joseph.....	142
Fielding, Richard.....	142
Fielding, Sarah.....	142
Fifer (Ex-Gov.) Joseph.....	256
File, Juanita.....	542, 543
Fillmore, (President) Millard....	490

Filson, C. E.....	269, 271
Finly, Ann.....	39, 40, 41, 42
Finley, Hannah (Mrs. George McKinley)	84
Finley, Robert. A cousin.....	41, 43, 84, 88, 92
Finley, (Mrs.) Robert S. (Esther Flint Caldwell).....	84, 92
Finley, Susan (Mrs. William Brown)	27, 30, 31, 34, 39, 40, 42, 48, 49, 51, 54, 58, 62, 84
Finn, Rebecca (Mrs. B. D. Walsh)	558
Fish, Hamilton.....	416
Fisher (Mr.) ———	13
Flack, Harry H.	129
Flack, John.....	119, 155, 156
Flack, Mary Emma.....	123
Flagg, Norman G.....	542
Flagg, Norman G. Address at Greenville, Ill.....	544-546
Flags—American Flag.....	254
Flags, Illinois Centennial Flag....	254
Fleisher, S. R.....	255
Fleisher, S. R. Mayor of Elmwood	256
Florida State.....	298, 383
Floyd, John.....	546
Foot (Mr.) ———	44
Foot, (Mrs.) ———	44
Foote, (Sen.) Henry S.....	463, 464, 474, 496
Footnote	465
Ford, (Gov.) Thomas.....	94, 95, 96
Ford, (Gov.) Thomas. History of Illinois quoted.....	95
Footnote	398
Foresman, Hugh A.....	581
Foresman, W. C.....	581
Forest Hymn (The). By William Cullen Bryant. Reference.....	233
Forrest, George W. Early pioneer of Macon Co., Illinois.....	238
Forsyth, Macon Co., Illinois.....	241
Fort Carlos III..	293, 305, 315, 316, 317
Fort Chartres.....	293
Fort Chartres Park, Ruins of Fort de Chartres.....	271
Fort Clark. Footnote.....	310
Fort Donelson, Tenn. War of the Rebellion	208
Fort Gage. Footnotes.....	294, 297
Fort Gage, Elbert Waller, Illinois Historian quoted on Fort Gage..	261
Fort Gage, Remnant of Fort Kaskaskia burned by the French Pioneers to prevent it being of service to English Conquerors..	261
Fort Gage, Sesqui-Centennial Commemoration of the capture of Kaskaskia and Fort Gage.....	271

- Fort Gage, Sesqui-Centennial Observance Relics exhibit at...264, 265
- Fort Gage, Site of, overlooks the spot where Kaskaskia once existed260, 261
- Fort Gage, Under the command of Rocheblave 262
- Fort Hills, Illinois..... 544
- Fort Hunter..... 425
- Fort Jones, Illinois..... 544
- Fort Kaskaskia. Burned by the pioneers to prevent its being of service to their English Conquerors 261
- Fort Louis..... 309
- Fort Massac. Clark's march from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia..... 272
- Fort Massac. George Rogers Clark, Sesqui-Centennial observances. Trail from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia. By Paul Benjamin Conn.268-272
- Fort Pitt..... 373
- Fort Sackville, capture of—Feb. 1799 263
- Fort Sumpter.....202, 212, 411
- Fort Sumpter, Firing on—April 12, 1861..... 411
- Fort Wayne, Ind..... 535
- Fortier, A. History of Louisiana. Footnote 308
- Forward, Olive..... 163
- Foster, Lelah—Macon County, Illinois, history.....235-241
- Foster, Lelah—Recorder of Deeds, Macon Co., Ill..... 241
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Advocate of the Temperance cause..... 199
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Against Slavery 199
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Born Nov. 24, 1799, at Burkhamstead. Litchfield Co., Conn..... 183
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Commissioned a Missionary to Illinois.. 184
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Contributor to periodicals. The Oberlin Evangelist and Truth Seeker Tracts 198
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Death of, in 1872 at his home in Washington Heights near Rock Island, Illinois 184
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Establishes early Seminary in Bloomington, Ill.....193, 194
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Journal of a pioneer missionary, The Rev. Lemuel Foster, edited by Matthew Spinka, M. D.....183-199
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Lecturer and writer on temperance and slavery 184
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Locates in an early day in Bloomington, Illinois 191
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Missionary in Illinois, commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society 185
- Foster, (Rev.) Lemuel—Pioneer cabin of, described.....188-189
- Foster, (Mrs.) Lemuel..... 184, 185, 189, 190
- Footnote 192
- Foster, (Mrs.) Lemuel—Early school teacher in Illinois..... 190, 191, 192, 194, 195
- Foster, Polly (Mrs. Joel Harrell). 574
- Fostoria, O..... 581
- Founder of Mormonism. By J. S. Riley. Footnote..... 94
- Fourier, ———, organizer of the Icarian movement 514
- Fox (Mr. and Mrs.) ——— 143
- Fox, Edmund.....119, 130, 131
- Fox Indians.....161, 275, 295-297, 301, 310, 311, 315, 323-325, 332
- Fox, Kate..... 131
- Fox River..... 311
- France3, 201, 203, 264, 266, 360, 423, 425, 514-516, 520, 521
- France, Clark, George Rogers—ready to expatriate himself from France 361
- France and England contended for the possession of North America 383
- France, expedition against Louisiana was contemplated by France as early as Nov. 1792..... 361
- France. Icarians organized in.... 514
- France, Napoleon III, Emperor of 521
- France, Relations between France and Spain strained..... 361
- France, Repeated designs of France to recover her control of the province of Louisiana..... 360
- Frankfort, Ky..... 380
- Franklin Park, Ill..... 266
- Fraternal Societies, Masons....446-447
- Frazer, (Rev.) William J..... 399
- Fredericksburg, Va.....205, 278
- Freeburg, Ill.....277, 279

- Freemasons 166
 Footnote 109
 Freemasons. Illinois. Chicago.
 William B. Warren Lodge..... 108
 Footnote 95
 Freemasons, Illinois. Grand
 Lodge 95
 Freeport, Illinois..... 504
 Freeport, Illinois. Lincoln-Douglas
 Debate, reference..... 234
 Free Silver party..... 166
 Frels, Anna Margaret, (Mrs. Marx
 S. Hauberg)..... 167
 French and Indian War.....382, 422
 French Archives.....361, 362, 380
 French and British possessions in
 North America..... 383
 French-Canadians 292
 French Flag..... 261
 French in Illinois..... 553
 French in the Illinois country..291-358
 French Republic.....360, 368
 French Revolution.....361, 367
 Freys, Alice..... 78
 Friends Creek, Macon Co., Ill..... 238
 Friends Creek, Macon Co., Ill.
 Named for George Friend..... 239
 Friends Creek, Township, Macon
 Co., Ill..... 241
 Frome, Worcestershire, Eng..... 558
 Fuller, Margaret (Countess Ossoli)
 guest at Hazelwood estate of
 Alexander Chartres on the Bluffs
 of Rock River..... 233
 Fulton, (Rev.) J. H. C..... 116
 Fulton, Sam..... 379
 Fundamentalism and Modernism
 in a Pioneer College. By Charles
 H. Rammelkamp.....395-408
 Funk, (Mr.) Isaac..... 192
- G—
- Galbraith, Bartram — Son of Col.
 James Galbraith 423
 Galbraith, Elizabeth—Work as a
 politician in Lancaster Co.,
 Penn. 422
 Galbraiths family421, 422, 423
 Galbraiths from the Red Tower,
 noblest of Scotland surnames.. 421
 Galbraith, Inc. 116
 Galbraith, James 422
 Galbraith, (Mrs.) James422, 423
 Galbraith, Sarah Huling, wife of
 Samuel Morris 2nd 421
 Galbreath, Ann Eliza 151
 Galbreath, Sarah Huling 425
 Gale, Ellen 568
 Galena Gazette 415
 Galena, Illinois. Grant Memorial
 Home 418
 Galena, Illinois. Grant Park..... 417
 Galena, Illinois. Kohlsaas Herman,
 gifts to Galena, Ill. 417
 Galena, Illinois. Presents home to
 Gen. Ulysses S. Grant 42
 Galena, Illinois. Turner Hall 416, 417
 Galena River 415
 Galena's Memories of Gen. Ulysses
 S. Grant. By Florence Gratiot
 Bale409-418
 Galesburg, Illinois84, 253, 255
 Gallagher, ———41, 52, 65, 67, 80
 Galland, (Dr.) Isaac162, 506
 Galland, (Dr.) Isaac. Builds first
 home in Oquawka 160
 Galvez, Bernardo de297,
 298, 301, 302, 305, 306, 315, 328, 330
 Footnote
 297, 299, 301, 302, 305, 306, 307,
 310, 315-319, 322, 323, 325, 327,
 328, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 337,
 338, 342, 343, 346, 349, 350, 353, 357
 Galvez Expedition. Footnote.... 309
 Galvez, J. de. Footnote 325
 Gardener. Convicted murderer... 47
 Garfield, James A. Nominated for
 President of the United States. 416
 Garland, Hamlin256, 257, 258
 Garland, Hamlin—Dedication ad-
 dress, Taft's pioneer group at
 Elmwood, Ill.257-258
 Garland, (Hon.) James M. Form-
 er Mayor of Springfield, Ill. 244, 250
 Garland, James. Revolutionary
 Soldier 250
 Garnett, Mary E. D. 276
 Garney, Mary Ann 135
 Garrison Hill Cemetery — bodies
 removed from old Kaskaskia to 261
 Garver, David. Early pioneer of
 Macon Co. 237
 Garver's Ward, Macon Co., Illinois 237
 Gasmann, (Rev.) I. G. 131
 Gayerre, C. E. A. History of Lou-
 isiana, Spanish domination.
 Footnote298, 300, 308
 Gelert, James. Sculptor of bronze
 statue of General Grant, pre-
 sented to Galena by Herman H.
 Kohlsaas 417
 Genalogical lists, Illinois State
 Historical Library 289
 Gendron, A. 265
 Genet (Minister)363, 365, 366, 367
 Genet. Clark, George Rogers, let-
 ter to Genet dated Feb. 5, 1793
 368-371, 372

- Genet. Called the Jacobin Incend-
iary Genet 379
- Genet, Chas. Ed. Communications
on the next election for Presi-
dent, N. Y., 1795 381
- Genet, Chas. Ed. Correspondence
with officers of the federal gov-
ernment, and instructions.
Phila., 1793 381
- Genet, Failure of Genet's West-
ern intrigue 379
- Genet, George C. Washington,
Jefferson and "Citizen" Genet,
N. Y., 1899 381
- Genet, Louis F. F. **Edmond Charles**
Genet, first minister Plenipo-
tentiary from France to the
United States 381
- Genet, Louis F. F. Recalled by
the French Government 360
- Genet, Michaux M. Genet's in-
structions to Michaux 376
- Genet's Western Intrigue. 1793-
1794. By F. R. Hall.....359-381
- Georgetown, Ky.93, 585
- Georgia State 473
- Footnote 476
- Georgia State. Sherwood Adiel,
Georgia Gazetteer 380
- Georgia State, Stevens, W. B.
Georgia Vol. II, N. Y., 1859..... 380
- Gerard, ———. Chosen president
of the Icarians 519
- Germaine, (Lord) George309, 321
- Footnote 309
- Germany 202
- German Empire, United States
Congress declared war against.. 200
- German War power 201
- Gettysburg, Battle of War of the
Rebellion 205
- Gettysburg, Pa. 446
- Giant City, State Park..... 270
- Gibson, (Rev.) J. 551
- Gill, Henrietta (Mrs. James Bax-
ter Caldwell) 92
- Gill, Jonathan 134
- Gill, William 158
- Gillespie, Janey 421
- Gillespie, John 421
- Gillette, (Mr.) ——— 7
- Gillett, (Dr.) B. 142, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150
- Gillett, (Mrs.) B.36, 126, 147
- Gillett, Bazaleel 111, 112, 114, 116, 132, 136, 138, 140
- Gillett, Carrie 155
- Gillett, Charles 119
- Gillett, Edward 136
- Gillett, Edward James 155
- Gillett, (Mrs.) Elizabeth131, 138
- Gillett, Elizabeth B.136, 140
- Gillett, Jessie Dean 589
- Gillett, John Dean 588
- Gillett, (Mrs.) John Dean (Le-
mira Parke) 588
- Gillett, Leslie 136
- Gillett, Margaret Saunders 138
- Gillett, Margaretta Caroline..125, 140
- Gillett, Maria Augusta123, 136
- Gillett, Nina 589
- Gillett, Norman Bezaleel 155
- Gilman's reports. Jarrot vs. Jarrot 275
- Gladstone, Ill. 163
- Gledhill, I. 116
- Gledhill, Joseph 128
- Glendale, California 442
- Glenn, John J.178, 179
- Glenn, John M.178-179
- Glenn, (Mrs.) John M. (Jeannie
Chapin) 179
- Glenn, Mary 179
- Glenn, Mary Jane, Patterson
Magaw 178
- Glenn, Robert 179
- Gloucester Co., N. J. 424
- Gochenour, H. J. 555
- Gochenour, (Mrs.) H. J. 540
- Gochenour, N. C. One hundredth
anniversary of Presbyterian
Church of Vandalia, Illinois 547-555
- Goheen, W. F. 156
- Golden Book of Venice..... 424
- Goldman, Mary. Daughter of
James Halbert of Essex Co., Va. 273
- Goldman, William 273
- Goodale, (Rev.) G. W. 551
- Goodall, John 136
- Goodall, Tom 126
- Goodill, (Mr.) ——— 136
- Goodill, Thomas 136
- Gordon, (Judge) J. W. 162
- Gordon, (Rev.) Joseph550, 551
- Gordon, Joseph A. 554
- Gore, (Mrs.) ——— 120
- Goreville, Johnson Co., Ill. 269
- Gorin, Martha 549
- Governor, (The) Honorary title
given to Alexander Chartres... 233
- Graham, (Mr. and Mrs.) 80
- Graham, Mary Jane 67
- Graham, Ronald Clifford 244
- Grant Army of the Republic..... 280
- Granite City, Illinois 280
- Grant Birthday Association 417
- Grant, Frederick 409
- Grant, (Gen.) Frederick D. 417
- Grant, (Mrs.) Frederick D. 417

- Grant, Jesse 409
 Grant, Jesse. Brother of Ulysses S. Grant 410
 Grant Memorial Home, Galena, Illinois 418
 Grant, Nellie 409
 Grant Park, Galena, Illinois 417
 Grant, Simpson. Brother of Ulysses S. Grant 410
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. 96, 203, 214, 447, 449, 560
 Grant, (Mrs.) Ulysses S. 410, 413, 414
 Grant, Ulysses, Jr. 409
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Bale, Florence Gratiot. Galena's Memories of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant 409-418
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Captain in the Mexican War 409
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Capture of Vicksburg—reference to 205
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses — Galena, Illinois, presents home to General Grant 412
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Kohl-saat, Herman H., presents Galena, Ill., with a bronze statue of General Grant 417
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Lincoln abdicates his military functions in favor of General Grant 206
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Lincoln's estimate of Ulysses S. Grant 209
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Plans for the general army in 1861... 210
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Presented with sword by the people of Jo Daviess Co., Illinois 412
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Purchases a home in New York City 416
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Tomb of—in Riverside Park, N. Y. City 416
 Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Why did not Lincoln select him in 1861 to command the army 208
 Grassey, Joseph 120
 Gratiot, Charles 314, 315
 Footnote 315
 Graves, Sarah K. 122
 Gray, Amanda V. 156, 157
 Gray, Asa 558
 Gray, Elizabeth Beasley 156
 Gray, Napoleon 156
 Gray, Rebecca Josephine 157
 Gray, William 273
 Gray, Wm. L. 156, 157
 Great Britian 202, 229, 454
 Great Lakes 383
 Great Millenial Bell 232
 Greenback party 166
 Greene, Evarts Boutell .. 287, 450, 592
 Greenlaw Literature and Life series 583
 Greenville, Ill. 535
 Greenville, Ill. Benjamin Mills Chapter, D. A. R. 540
 Greenville, Ill. Municipal Band.. 535, 539, 541-546
 Greenville, Ill. Tablet to Soldiers of 1812 541-546
 Greer, (Mr.) ——— 136
 Greer, Charles 135
 Greer, Wm. 135
 Gregg, (Rev.) F. M. 133
 Gregory, Abraham R. 126
 Gregory, Clifford—Editor of the "Prairie Farmer" 269, 270
 Gregory, (Mrs.) Mary Sophia.... 132
 Gregory, Wm. 132
 Gresham, W. Q. Letter to Hon. James R. Doolittle, dated Washington, July 29, 1893 225-226
 Gridley, (Mr.) Early settler in Bloomington, Illinois 193
 Grigg, Boling 546
 Griggs, S. C. & Company..... 581
 Grinnell College 396
 Grisson, Estella 569
 Grosvenor, Mason 395
 Grote, Augustus 563
 Grubb, (Rev.) Henry 552
 Grundy Co., Illinois 442, 443
 Guest, R. Albert 571
 Gulf of Mexico. Efforts of the men of the Western Waters to expel the Spanish power from the Gulf of Mexico 360
 Guyer, E. H. 556, 557, 558, 559
- H—
- Hack, John 151, 152
 Hack, (Mrs.) John 152
 Hack, M. 152
 Hacker, (Capt.) 103
 Haines, A. M. 410
 Haines, (Mrs.) A. M. 410
 Hagaty, E. 37
 Hakes, H. 564
 Haldimand, Frederick 307, 309-311
 Footnotes 307, 309, 310, 312, 315, 318, 320, 321 354
 Halbert, Amie 280
 Halbert, Ann 273
 Halbert, Anthony 273
 Halbert, Catharine 276, 277
 Halbert, Catherine, wife of Joseph McGuire 279

- Halbert, Charles. — Red Rock
Arizona 279
- Halbert, Clarissa 279
- Halbert, Cognomen 273
- Halbert, David 276
- Halbert, David William 277, 278
- Halbert, David William — In the
Mexican War 274
- Halbert, Elizabeth 273
- Halbert, Ella 278
- Halbert, Eugene 279
- Halbert Family 273-280
- Halbert, Farm 278
- Halbert, Frances 273
- Halbert, Hannah Newman 273
- Halbert, Harry 278
- Halbert, James 276
- Halbert, James — Father of John
Halbert, was a soldier of the
American Revolution 274
- Halbert, James. Listed in the
Heads of Families of Virginia,
first census 274
- Halbert, James, of Essex Co., Va. 273
- Halbert, James. Son of James
Halbert of Essex Co., Va. 273
- Halbert, James II 273
- Halbert, James S. 277
- Halbert, John 273
- Halbert, John B. 277, 279
- Halbert, John. Emigrated from
Virginia to Illinois in 1830.. 275-276
- Halbert, John. Founder of the
Halbert family of St. Clair to
Ill. 279
- Halbert, John. Fourth son of John
B. Halbert 278
- Halbert, John. Frees his slaves.. 275
- Halbert, John, of St. Clair Co., Ill.
Family history 273-280
- Halbert, John, of St. Clair Co., Ill.
Genealogical notes 277-280
- Halbert, John, of St. Clair Co., Ill.
Will 277
- Halbert, John Thomas 278
- Halbert, John III 276
- Halbert, John. Veteran of the
War of 1812 274
- Halbert, John. Wife, Martha, and
nine children settled in St. Clair
Co., Ill. 274
- Halbert, Joseph 276, 279
- Halbert, Joseph A. 277, 278
- Halbert, Josie White 278
- Halbert, Kate Reaney 278
- Halbert, Leonard 278
- Halbert, Lewis 273
- Halbert, Louis 278
- Halbert, Louis Wesley 278
- Halbert, Martha A. 277, 278
- Halbert, Martha. Wife of John
Halbert 274
- Halbert, Mary 273, 276, 277, 280
- Halbert, Oliver 278
- Halbert, Patty 273
- Halbert, Paul 279
- Halbert, Ralph 279
- Halbert, Robert A., of Belleville.
In the war of the Rebellion.... 274
- Halbert, Robert Alexander ... 277, 279
- Halbert, Robert, of St. Louis, Mo.
..... 278, 279
- Halbert, Robert S. 276
- Halbert, Sarah 273, 276, 277
- Halbert, Sarah. Wife of James
Halbert 273
- Halbert, Son of John B. Halbert.. 278
- Halbert, Thomas Jefferson
..... 273, 276, 279
- Halbert, William 278
- Halbert, William Corey 278
- Halbert, William Underwood 280
- Hale, George 133
- Hall, (Dr.) 80
- Hall, F. R. Genet's Western In-
trigue, 1793-1794 359-381
- Hall, Harry C. 541, 543
- Hall, James 549
- Hall, (Mrs.) James 549
- Hall, James B. 553
- Hall, (Mrs.) Mary Stuart member,
committee of Springfield Chap-
ter, D. A. R., to mark historic
spots 243
- Hall, (Rev.) N. H. 550
- Halsey, Julia (Mrs. James Smith)
..... 21, 84, 92
- Halsey, William 84
- Hamilton (Minister) 12, 20
- Hamilton Club, Chicago 443
- Hamilton, George 525
- Hamilton, (Lieut. Gov.) Henry..
..... 306, 307
- Footnote 307
- Hamilton, John 525
- Hamilton, Missouri 522
- Hamilton, Polly 525
- Hamilton, (Col.) Samuel 84
- Hamilton, (Mrs.) Samuel. (Anna
Maria Caldwell)
..... 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 84
- Hamilton, W. D. Early pioneer of
Macon Co., Ill. 238
- Hamner, Nicholas 250
- Hamner, William 250
- Hancock County, Illinois 508, 510, 511
- Handley, Texas 278
- Handy, ——— 79

- Hanecy, Elbridge 442
 Hanks, Nancy 500
 Hanley, (Mrs.) John Hamilton.
 Vice-President General from Illi-
 nois National Society, D. A. R. 251
 Hannant, (Mr.) 118
 Hannant, John 145
 Hannant, Mary 145
 Hannant, Morisco 145
 Hapier, Margaret 143
 Hardin, (Mr.) ——— 49
 Hardin, (Mrs.) ——— 48, 50
 Hardin, (Dr.) ——— 82
 Hardin, Elizabeth Smith 127
 Hardin, John 504
 Hardin, (Col.) John J. 84, 94, 95, 127
 Footnote 104
 Hardin, (Mrs.) John J. (Mrs.
 Reuben H. Walworth) 84
 Hardin, (Mrs.) Martin D. (Mrs.
 Porter Clay) 26, 31, 84
 Hardin, (Mrs.) Sarah E. 117, 127, 140
 Hardy, Samuel 386
 Hardy, (Rev.) Solomon P. 549
 Hargrave, (Mrs.) ——— 119
 Harlan, Bonham
 Harmon, George D. Douglas and
 the Compromise of 1850 453-505
 Harper's Encyclopedia of United
 States History, Vol. IV 379
 Harrell, Betsy 575
 Harrell, Clara 575
 Harrell, Dolly 575
 Harrell, Jeremiah 575
 Harrell, Joel 573-575, 578
 Harrell, (Mrs.) Joel (Arcadia
 Smith) 574
 Harrell, (Mrs.) Joel. Betsy
 Shoulders 574
 Harrell, (Mrs.) Joel. (Polly Fos-
 ter) 574
 Harrell, Joel, Jr. 576
 Harrell, Josiah 575
 Harrell, Kiddy Todd 575
 Harrell, Peter 575
 Harrell, Rebecca Jane 575
 Harrell, Sally 575
 Harrell, Theophilus 574
 Harris, Macon Co., Illinois..... 238
 Harris, Macon Co., Ill. Name
 changed to Harristown 238
 Harris, Thomas Harristown (Ma-
 con Co.) Named for 239
 Harrisburg, Pa. 426, 429, 430
 Harrison, (Mr.) ——— 136
 Harrison, Thomas 136
 Harrison, (Pres.) William Henry.
 First Governor of Indiana Terri-
 tory 261, 262
 Harrison, (Pres.) William Henry.
 Hero of Tippecanoe 262
 Harriss, Oscar 22
 Harristown, Macon Co., Illinois..
 238, 241
 Harristown, (Macon Co.) Ill.
 Named for Thomas Harris..... 239
 Harristown Township, (Macon
 Co.) Ill. 241
 Hartford, Conn. 194
 Hartford Co., Conn. 185
 Hartland, Hartford Co., Conn. 185
 Hartman, W. J. 265
 Harts, (Mrs.) H. B. 174
 Harwood, (Mrs.) ——— 121
 Hatch, Pascal E. 446
 Hauberg, John H. 536
 Hauberg, Marx D. 166-168
 Hauberg, Marx D. Locates in Illi-
 nois 166
 Hauberg, Marx D. Politics... 166, 167
 Hauberg, (Mrs.) Marx D. (Anna
 Margaret Frels) 167
 Haughton, (Rev.) Edward 588
 Haupt, Laura 279
 Haupt, Richard 279
 Havana, Illinois 430
 Hawes, David 564
 Hawk, (Rev.) J. H. 552
 Hawley, (Miss) Isabella. Wife of
 George M. Brinkerhoff 446
 Hawthorne, Joseph 575
 Hay, (Mr.) ———
 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
 Hay, (Mrs.) ——— 13
 Hay, John. Secretary to President
 Lincoln 213, 214
 Hays vs. Borders 393
 Haywood, John. History of Ten-
 nessee 380
 Hazelwood. Estate of Alexander
 Chartres. A draught of the
 franchise of the Ills. Central R.
 R. hangs on the wall of..... 234
 Hazelwood on the bluffs of Rock
 River, Estate of—purchased by
 Alexander Chartres 233-234
 Hazelwood on the bluffs of Rock
 River. Visitor's book 233
 Heard, Oscar E. 445
 Heman, (Macon Co.) Illinois.... 241
 Henderson, Archibald. Life of
 Stonewall Jackson 205
 Henderson Co., Ill. First white
 settler 160
 Henderson, Jackson 125
 Henderson's—Stonewall Jackson—
 quoted 216
 Hendrickson, (Mrs.) ——— 143
 Henkle, John H. 125
 Henry, (Mrs.) ——— 120

- Henry Co., Ill. 559
 Henry of Navarre 423
 Henry, Patrick 304
 Henry, Wm. 555
 Henshaw, Samuel 562, 565
 Heptonstall, F. H. Member of
 "The Elmwood-Taft Sculpture
 Commission" 254
 Herndon, William H. 500
 Herndon, William H. Biographer
 of Lincoln 218, 219
 Herndon, William H. Life of Lin-
 coln 500-502
 Footnote 500
 Herrin, Ill. News, Hal Trovillion,
 Editor 270
 Heslep, (Dr.) Augustus M. 117
 Heslep, Caroline Adalcar 148
 Heslep, (Mrs.) Cassandra
 127, 132, 137, 140, 141, 142
 Heslep, Hannah Vanlear 127, 137
 Heslep, Joseph
 117, 122, 127, 139, 141, 143, 148
 Heslep, Joseph Washington 143
 Heslep, Lucinda 127, 137
 Heslep, Philander Chase 139
 Heslep, Sarah 121, 139, 148
 Heslep, Sarah E. 127, 143
 Heslep, Thomas 137, 140, 141
 Heslep, Walter Rockwell 127, 139
 Heslep, William Gibson 140
 Hesse, Emmanuel 311, 312, 318
 Heuling family 423
 Heyer, (Rev.) Wm. Grant
 116, 122, 126, 137, 138
 Heyer, (Rev.) Wm. G. Burials..
 126, 127
 Heyl, Clarence W. 445
 Hickory, (formerly) Bull Point,
 Macon Co., Ill. 238, 239
 Hickory, Macon Co., Ill. Name
 changed to Hickory Point..... 238
 Hickory Point, (Macon Co.) Ill... 238
 Hickory Point, (Macon Co.) Ill.
 Named for "Old Hickory," An-
 drew Jackson 239
 Hickory Point Township, Macon
 Co., Ill. 241
 Hicks, Emma 153
 Hieronymus, R. E. Community
 Advisor, University of Illinois.. 253
 Hieronymus, R. E. Lorado Taft's
 Group at Elmwood, Ill. 253-259
 Higgins, (Mr.) ——— 118
 Higgins, (Mrs.) ——— .. 145, 152, 554
 Higgins, Clifford 554
 Higgins, (Mrs.) Eliza 155, 158
 Higgins, Henry 133, 154, 155, 157, 158
 Higgins, (Mrs.) Jennie R. 554
 Higgins, John 123
 Higgins, John V. 131
 Higgins, Julia Alice 158
 Higgins, Maria 155, 157, 158
 Higgins, (Dr.) R. T. 554
 Higgins, Tom 544, 545
 Hildreth, Charles Fremont. By
 Charles Francis Stocking.... 169-172
 Hill, (Uncle) Billy 528
 Hill, Isaac. Early family settle in
 St. Clair County, Illinois..... 276
 Hill, (Mrs.) Katharine Gillett.... 589
 Hill, Nathaniel. Early family of—
 settle in St. Clair Co., Illinois.. 276
 Hillsboro, Ill. 548
 Hillsdale, Illinois 167
 Hill's Fort, Ill. 544, 545
 Hillstown, St. Clair Co., Ills..... 276
 Hines, Emma 124
 Hinman, Grace A. 140
 Hinman, Nathan Kingsbury 140
 Hinman, Wm. A. 122, 140
 Hirambsburg, Ohio 581
 Historic Churches of Illinois. By
 Margaret Katherine Schnapp..
 525-530
 Historical Societies. Congrega-
 tional Historical Society of the
 middle West 184
 Hitchcock, (Gen.) Charles H. 283
 Hitchcock, Charlotte (Mrs. Arthur
 Prince) 283
 Hitchcock, Henry S. 283
 Hitchcock, (Mrs.) Henry S. (Mrs.
 Selby) 283
 Hoffman, (Dr.) of Chester, Ill. 265, 266
 Hogelom, ——— 147
 Holland, Jane A. 122, 139
 Holman, Fred 536
 Holmes, (Mr.) ——— 135
 Holmes, Ann Elizabeth 135
 Holmes, Edward Payson 149
 Holstein, Mathias 424
 Holston, Settlement on 369
 Home Missionary Society 192, 551
 Hook, (Mrs.) ——— 27
 Hook, Cornelius 130
 Hook, Frederick Vanderhoff 153
 Hook, J. W. 118, 131, 132, 153, 155, 158
 Hook, (Mrs.) J. W. (Matilda)...
 153, 156
 Hook, Thomas Johnson..... 151
 Hook, (Mrs.) Wash 118, 155, 158
 Hooker, (Gen.) Joseph 96
 Hooker, (Union Maj.) Gen. Joseph
 —War of the Rebellion 205
 Hoover, Herbert 577

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|----|
| Hornblower, (Miss) ——— | 20 | Hussy, ——— | 26 |
| Houck, L. History of Missouri. | | Hyliard, (Dr.) from Orange, N. J. | 13 |
| Footnote | 308 | | |
| Houck, L. Spanish regime in Mis- | | | |
| souri | 292 | | |
| Footnote | | | |
| 295, 296, 297, 324, 325, 328, 329, | 331 | | |
| Houghton, H. H. Counsel to the | | | |
| Sandwich Islands, Grant Admin- | | | |
| istration | 413 | | |
| Houston, (Mrs.) George | 540 | | |
| Houston, (Sen.) Samuel | 463 | | |
| Howard, (Capt.) Bushrod Brush. | 413 | | |
| Howard, Douglas | 413 | | |
| Howard, (Dr.) L. O. | 556, 561, 568 | | |
| Howard, Thomas Burton | 413 | | |
| Howe, Daniel | 131, 156 | | |
| Howe, Hiram | 156 | | |
| Howe, John Edward | 132 | | |
| Howe, Nancy | 131 | | |
| Howe, Nancy Ann | 156 | | |
| Howe, William | 156 | | |
| Howell, (Mrs.) Agnes | 176 | | |
| Howell, William. Early settler in | | | |
| Macon Co., Ill. | 236, 237 | | |
| Howorth, Thomas J. | 264 | | |
| Hubbard, Peter | 546 | | |
| Hubbel, (Mr.) ——— | 119 | | |
| Hubberd, (Master), a silhouette | | | |
| cutter | 16 | | |
| Huffaker, Jane | 123 | | |
| Huggins Hill, close by the banks | | | |
| of the Okaw or Kaskaskia River | 275 | | |
| Hughes, J. H. Early pioneer of | | | |
| Macon Co., Ill. | 238 | | |
| Hughes, May | 61, 67 | | |
| Hugo, Victor | 514 | | |
| Huguenots | 3, 86 | | |
| Huguenots. French families of | | | |
| Languedoc | 424 | | |
| Huling family | 425 | | |
| Huling, or (Heuling family) | 423 | | |
| Huling, Henrietta | 425 | | |
| Huling, Henrietta. Wife of Bar- | | | |
| tram Galbreath | 423 | | |
| Huling's Island in the Allegheny | | | |
| River | 425 | | |
| Huling Lars, (Lawrence) | 424 | | |
| Huling, Magdalena | 424 | | |
| Huling, Marcus | 424, 425 | | |
| Huling, (Mrs.) Marcus | 425 | | |
| Huling, Thomas Paul Frederick. | | | |
| Marquis de Huling | 423 | | |
| Hull, (Rev.) Lemuel B. | 136 | | |
| Hull, Morton D. | 570 | | |
| Humwell Hill, Randolph Co., Ill. . | 278 | | |
| Hunter, Joseph | 546 | | |
| Hurie, Wiley Lin | 529 | | |
| Hussey, (Mr.) ——— | 53 | | |

—I—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Iabina, Inc. | 117 |
| Iberville, River | 383 |
| Icarians arrive at Nauvoo | 516 |
| Icarians in Nauvoo | 514-524 |
| Ide, F. P. | 446 |
| Illini Country Club, Springfield . . | 448 |
| Illini Township, Macon Co., Ill. . . | |
| | 238, 241 |
| Illinois and Michigan Canal | 89 |
| Illinois Central R. R. | 170 |
| Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. | |
| | 25, 84, 275, 279, 285, 395-408 |
| Footnote | 395 |
| Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. | |
| Founders and Faculty were | |
| forced to stand trial for heresy | 399 |
| Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. | |
| Theological Controversy | 400-406 |
| Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. | |
| Yale band in | 187 |
| Illinois Country | 260, 264, 291, 358 |
| Illinois Country, Clark, George | |
| Rogers, Conqueror | 360 |
| Illinois Country, Under French, | |
| British and American Flags . . . | 261 |
| Illinois Day meeting of the Illinois | |
| State Historical Society, 1928. . | 571 |
| Illinois Farmer | 562 |
| Illinois in Mexican War | 96 |
| Illinois Manufacturer's Association | 178 |
| Illinois Monthly Magazine | 549, 553 |
| Illinois Patriot (Newspaper) . . . | 113 |
| Illinois River | 262, 312, 321, 369, 432 |
| "Illinois," song | 254 |
| Illinois State Art Extension Com- | |
| mittee | 253 |
| Illinois State Bar Association . . . | 443 |
| Illinois State Bar Association. | |
| Tribute to Hon. Orrin N. Carter | |
| | 443-445 |
| Illinois State Board of Health . . . | 439 |
| Illinois State Boundaries | 548 |
| Illinois State Capitol Building . . . | 521 |
| Illinois State Centennial Flag . . . | 254 |
| Illinois State, Central Illinois Pub- | |
| lic Service Company | |
| | 243, 249, 250, 252 |
| Illinois State, County of | 384 |
| Illinois State, Edward's History of | |
| Illinois | 275 |
| Illinois State Entomologist | |
| | 557, 561-563 |
| Illinois State, Entomologist, First | |
| | 557, 561 |

- Illinois State Entomologist, First Report 565
- Illinois State Fair 166
- Illinois State, Ford Thomas. History of Illinois. Footnote..... 398
- Illinois State, General Assembly, 1881-1882, 1885-1887 250
- Illinois State, General Assembly, Ninth 235
- Illinois State, Giant City State Park 270
- Illinois State Grand Lodge of the Masonic Order 95
- Illinois State, Halbert, John, emigrated from Virginia to Illinois in 1830 275-276
- Illinois State Historical Library.. 574
- Illinois State Historical Library. List of publications 211-213, 287-289, 450-452, 592, 593
- Illinois State Historical Library, Osborne, Georgia L., Librarian. 244
- Illinois State Historical Library. Ring given by Abraham Lincoln to Joseph Medill now owned by Library 572
- Illinois State Historical Society. 166, 263, 269, 283, 285, 419, 441, 443, 448, 519, 532, 533, 535, 536, 559, 561, 568, 585
- Footnote 552
- Illinois State Historical Society. Appeal to the Society and general public XI-XIII
- Illinois State Historical Society co-operates with the D. A. R. in marking the site of the Kelley cabin 242-252
- Illinois State Historical Society co-operates with the Northwest Territory Commission 260
- Illinois State Historical Society. Illinois Day meeting, 1928 571
- Illinois State Historical Society Journals 224, 270, 283, 289, 419, 439, 452
- Illinois State Historical Society. List of publications 211-213, 287-289, 450-452, 592-593
- Illinois State Historical Society, Schmidt, (Dr.) Otto L., President 251
- Illinois State Historical Society. Transactions 2
- Footnote 200
- Illinois State Horticultural Society 561-564, 566
- Illinois State Infantry. Mexican War. 1st Regt. 99, 100, 101, 103, 107, 109
- Footnote 101
- Illinois State Infantry. Mexican War. 2d Regt..... 99, 100, 107
- Illinois State Journal 448, 590
- Illinois State, Kaskaskia—Capital of Illinois 266
- Illinois State Legislature 459, 545
- Illinois State Legislature, Presents sword to Colonel Warren 107
- Illinois State, Part of the Northwest Territory 272
- Illinois State, Patterson, Robert W. Early Society in Southern Ill... 398
- Illinois State, Perrin, J. Nick. History of Illinois, quoted 275
- Illinois State, Pioneers of Illinois inscription on Lorado Taft's pioneer group at Elmwood, Illinois 253
- Illinois State, Pioneers of the Prairie State 257
- Illinois State, Population of 1840. 274-275
- Illinois State, Prairie State 270
- Illinois State, Prairies of Illinois 237, 274, 427
- Illinois State Register 449, 503-504, 590
- Footnote 503
- Illinois State Revolutionary Soldiers 573
- Illinois State Slavery, existed in Illinois in spite of Northwest Ordinance 469
- Illinois State, Slavery in Illinois, case of Jarrot vs. Jarrot, quoted 275
- Illinois State, Slavery. State freed from the evils of slavery..... 275
- Illinois State Society of Washington, D. C., (The) By O. F. James, Secretary 569-570
- Illinois State Supreme Court..... 95, 442, 443, 444
- Illinois State Supreme Court Reports 275, 444
- Illinois State, Taft's pioneer group statue, Elmwood, Illinois 253
- Illinois State, Teachers Association 269
- Illinois State, University of Illinois..... 253, 255, 263, 285, 439
- Illinois State, War of the Rebellion, 117th Regt., Ill. Vol..... 279
- Illinois Territory 235, 236, 393
- Illinois Territory, Act of Dec. 13, 1812 393
- Illinois Territory, Edwards, W. W. The Laws in force in Illinois prior to its Statehood 382-394
- Illinois Territory, Governor and Judges of—reference 393
- Illinois Territory, Laws 287
- Illinois Territory, Laws in force during that period 393-394

Illinois Territory, Territorial
Records 287
Independence Hall, Philadelphia.. 223
Indian Council at Cahokia..... 263
Indian Frontier 207
"Indian Point." Marker placed by
the D. A. R. 269
Indian problem and trade301-304
Indian trade 291
Indian Warfare in Pennsylvania. 425
Indian Wars363, 364
Indiana State 267
Footnote 476
Indiana State, George Rogers
Clark Memorial Commission... 261
Indiana State, Jackson (Gov.) Ed-
ward, of Indiana263, 271
Indiana State, Lockridge, Ross.
Indiana Historian 272
Indiana State, Part of the North-
west Territory 272
Indiana State, Terre Haute, Indi-
ana 439
Indiana Territory235, 393
Indiana Territory, Harrison, Wil-
liam Henry, Governor261, 262
Indians
160, 161, 261, 268, 274, 276, 291, 358
Indians, Black Hawk 275
Indians, Black Hawk War 275
Indians, Cahokia Indian Treaty .. 272
Indians, Fox Indians 275
Indians, Illinois534, 535, 544, 545
Indians, Kickapoo Indians 244
Indians, Pottawatomi Indians ... 244
Indians, Sac Indians 275
Indians, Winnebago Indians 275
Indians of the Upper Mississippi
..... 295, 296
Ingram, (Mrs.) Clara M. 131
Ingram, Robert J. 125
Insull, Samuel. Central Illinois
Public Service Co., of Chicago.. 252
Iowa Homestead 562
Iowa Indians295, 296
Iowa State 275, 292, 295, 513, 520, 523
Iowa State University556, 558
Ireland421, 425
Irwin, Benjamin F. 501
Irwin, E. F. 446
Irwin, Mary. Wife of Joseph A.
Halbert 278
Island Grove, Illinois 84
Isle Benevenue, Pa.423, 424, 425
Isle Benevenue (Later Duncan Is-
land) Penn. 424
Israel, (Miss) Hetty30, 45, 64
Israel, Isaac G. 136
Israel, Jane P. 136

Israel, (Mrs.) Sarah Jane
26, 27, 29, 30, 37, 40, 43, 45-47, 49, 64
Israel, Susan Jane52, 53, 56
Italy202, 515

—J—

Jabine, Frances L. 141
Jabine, Harriet Elizabeth 141
Jabine, James Thomas 141
Jabine, John 141
Jabine, Laura Jane 141
Jabine, Theodore Lewis 141
Jacinto 496
Jackson, (Gen.) 96
Jackson, Agnes A. 157
Jackson, Alexander 412
Jackson, Andrew29, 114, 162, 239
Jackson, Andrew, called "Old
Hickory" 239
Jackson, (Mrs.) Andrew 162
Jackson County, Missouri506, 508
Jackson, (Gov.) Edward, of Indi-
ana263, 271
Jackson, John 123
Jackson, Stonewall 210
Jackson, Stonewall. The first
American to graduate from a
modern War College 208
Jackson, Stonewall. Henderson's
Stonewall Jackson, quoted 205, 216
Jackson, Thomas 157
Jackson, (Lieut.) Thomas Jona-
than, Instructor in Virginia Mil-
itary Institute 207
Jackson, (Lieut.) Thomas Jona-
than. See Stonewall Jackson 207, 208
Jackson, (Lieut.) Thomas Jona-
than. Studies Presbyterian The-
ology and Napoleon's Campaign
.....207, 208
Jackson, William H. 157
Jacksonville, Illinois.
.....1, 3, 6, 9, 10, 84, 93, 251, 253
Footnote 109
Jacksonville, Ill. Art Association 286
Jacksonville, Ill. Centennial Cele-
bration. Mary Turner Carriel
chosen as the "Queen Mother".. 286
Jacksonville, Ill. Daniel Webster
visits 89
Jacksonville, Illinois. Duncan
Home6, 10
Picture 6
Jacksonville, Illinois. Education
Society 44
Jacksonville, Illinois. Elm Grove
.....6, 10, 88-91
(Duncan Home) 6

- Jacksonville, Illinois. Female Academy44, 75, 285-286
 Jacksonville, Illinois. First locomotive from Meredosia 89
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Hanging of murderer 47
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Illinois College25, 84
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Journal. Footnote93, 100
 Jacksonville, Ill. Maternal Society27, 31, 84
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Morgan House 47
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Sorosis Society 286
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Baptisms 135
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Burials126-135
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Deed to land..... 111
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Erection 113
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. History of, by Sara John English111-159
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Marriages121-126
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Members116-121
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Ministers116-159
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Oldest Episcopal church in Illinois111, 113
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Trinity Church. Parish register113-159
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Warren house 110
 Jacksonville, Illinois. Yale band located in 187
 James, Bennett 271
 James, Edmond J.287, 450, 592
 James, Edward H. 145
 James, Fannie Louise 145
 James, James Alton287, 288, 318, 450, 451, 592, 593
 James, James A. Clark papers. Footnote 331
 James, James A. George Rogers Clark papers. Footnote 291, 298, 303
 James, James A. Significance of the attack on St. Louis. Footnote298, 318, 321
 James, J. A. Spanish influence in the West. Footnote 300
 James, O. F. The Illinois State Society of Washington, D. C. 569-570
 James River 205
 James, Sarah C. 145
 James, Sarah (Sarah Halbert)... 277
 Jamestown, Va. 257
 January, P. W.48, 49, 50
 January, (Mrs.) P. W. ...48, 49, 50, 63
 Jarrot vs. Jarrot. Case of, quoted 275
 Jarrot, Pete 275
 Jayne, William501, 502
 Jefferson County, N. Y. 442
 Jefferson, Thomas ..360, 375, 386, 540
 Jefferson, Thomas. Letter to the Spanish agents 377
 Jefferson, Thomas. DeWitt, M. Thomas Jefferson, Etude Historique sur la Democratie Americains-Paris, 1861 380
 Jefferson's papers. Footnote..374, 375
 Jennings, (Mrs.) 63
 Jenny, (Mr.) E..... 75
 Jerauld, (Mrs.) Sarah 552
 Jett, Francis 546
 Jo Daviess Co., Illinois 548
 Jo Daviess Co., Illinois. Presents sword to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant 412
 Jo Daviess Co., Illinois. Spensley's History of Jo Daviess Co., Illinois 411
 John, (Rev.) Joseph Francis 116, 159
 Johnson, (Mr.) ——— 154
 Johnson, (Mrs.) ——— 158
 Johnson, A. L. Footnote..... 454
 Johnson, Alice Sarah 439
 Johnson, (Professor) Allen. Footnote477, 495, 503
 Johnson, (Professor) Allen. Life of Douglas. Footnote..474, 475, 495
 Johnson, (Dr.) Charles B. 252
 Johnson, (Dr.) Charles B. Biographical Sketch438-439
 Johnson, (Dr.) Charles B. Writings 439
 Johnson, (Mrs.) C. Harmon..... 283
 Johnson Co., Ill. Ferne Clyffe, Scenic Park268, 269
 Johnson Co., Ill. Vienna, County Seat 269
 Johnson, Fred Volentine 439
 Johnson, George Thompson 439
 Johnson, Hardesty 256
 Johnson, (Rev.) J. 551
 Johnson, James Edward 439
 Johnson, Laurence C. 124
 Johnson, Lew Wallace 152
 Johnson, Lewis Williams 439
 Johnson, Loraine Elmira 153
 Johnson, M. Elln 152
 Johnson, Samuel R. 115
 Johnston, (Gen.) Albert Sydney, Confederate General. War of the Rebellion 213

- Johnston, Harold W. 582
 Johnston, (Gen.) James D. Con-
 Federate General. War of the
 Rebellion204, 213
 Johnston, (Mrs.) James. Regent,
 Ninian Edwards Chapter, D. A.
 R., Alton, Illinois 252
 Johnston, Leslie J. 569
 Johnston, Therman 542
 Joliet, Louis 262
 Jones, (Dr.)
33, 36, 58, 66, 71, 72, 73, 79, 83
 Jones, (Mrs. Dr.)25, 29, 33, 61, 66
 Jones, Ann Jane 139
 Jones, Clara 139
 Jones, (Rev.) David Hugh 179
 Jones' Fort, Illinois 544
 Jones, J. Russell. Minister to Bel-
 gium, Grant Administration ... 413
 Jones, Jacob O. 139
 Jones, (Miss) Lotte E. 252
 Jones, Nancy Mahala. Wife of
 Louis Halbert 278
 Jonesboro, Ill. 278
 Jordan, (Mrs.) Harriet Bayne.... 176
 Journal of a Pioneer Missionary.
 The Rev. Lemual Foster, edited
 by Matthew Spinka, M. D...183-199
 Judd, Ella (Mrs. Phil Mitchell).. 585
 Judd, (Mr.) from Bloomfield 21
 Judd, (Dr.) F. H. 585
 Judd, (Mrs.) F. H. (Harriet J.).. 585
 Judea 228
 Junger, Louis 266
 Junger, (Mrs.) Louis 266
 Juniata River 424
- K—
- Kansas City, Missouri 508
 Kansas Indians324, 325, 326, 327
 Kansas-Nebraska bill. Lincoln
 speaks on, in North Market
 Hall, Chicago, 1854220-221
 Kansas. Ottawa, Kan. 448
 Kansas River. 326
 Footnote 327
 Kaskaskia, Illinois
299, 303, 312, 351, 536
 Footnotes303, 331
 Kaskaskia. Bell given to Kaskas-
 kia by King Louis of France,
 called the Liberty Bell of the
 Old Northwest 262
 Kaskaskia. Capital of Illinois.... 266
 Kaskaskia. Capture of by George
 Rogers Clark 260
 Kaskaskia Cemetery. Bodies from,
 removed to Garrison Hill Cem-
 etery 261
- Kaskaskia Chapter, Daughters of
 1812 541-546
 Kaskaskia. Clark's march from
 Fort Massac to Kaskaskia 272
 Kaskaskia. Corr, Paul Benjamin,
 George Rogers Clark Sesqui-
 Centennial observance. Trail
 from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia
 268-272
 Kaskaskia. French inhabitants of 263
 Kaskaskia, Illinois. Settlements
 in 264
 Kaskaskia Indians. Footnote ... 322
 Kaskaskia. King Louis XV of
 France presents bell to Kaskas-
 kia in 1773..... 264
 Kaskaskia. Moved to the mouth
 of the Kaskaskia River from
 the site on the Illinois River... 262
 Kaskaskia. Old Kaskaskia Bell
 brought from France to Kaskas-
 kia in 1773 264
 Kaskaskia Presbytery550, 551
 Kaskaskia River262, 275, 534
 Keays, Hiram David 588
 Keays, Hiram Gillett 589
 Kee, (Mrs.) Elizabeth 128
 Kee, William 143
 Keefer, Wm. E. 126
 Keene, Frances 21
 Kelley, (Mrs.) ——— 120
 Kelley, (Mr.) Benjamin. Grand-
 son of John Kelley 252
 Kelley Cabin. Marker, unveiling
 of—December 3, 1927. Spring-
 field, Ill.242-252
 Kelley Cabin, Osborne Georgia L.
 Brief history of 244
 Kelley, John. Descendants of....
244-245, 252
 Kelley, John. Marker, erected by
 the D. A. R. to mark cabin site
 242-252
 Kelley Marker, inscription 252
 Kellogg, B. P. Frontier retreat in
 the Upper Ohio. Footnotes 306, 312
 Kelly, (Rev.) Benjamin C. 552
 Kelly, (Mrs.) J. D. 155
 Kelly, John, of Curran, Illinois... 252
 Kemp, (Mrs.) Pauline. Member
 of "The Elmwood-Taft Sculpture
 Com." 254
 Kemper, (Bishop) Jackson 115
 Kenney, (Mrs.) V. M. (Agnes F.
 Wanen). Footnote 109
 Kentucky State
 216, 257, 363, 366, 367, 373, 374,
 457, 470, 473, 479, 487, 489, 496-498
 Footnote 476

- Kentucky State. Butler Mann, history of Kentucky 380
- Kentucky State. Covington, Ky. 409
- Kentucky State. Marshall Humphrey, history of Kentucky 380
- Kentucky State. Presbyterian Church 188
- Kentucky State, Shelby (Gov.) Isaac 374
- Keokuk and Hamilton Bridge Co. vs. The People. Case in law... 383
- Keokuk, Iowa 517, 522
- Kibbe, Rudolphia. Wife of Jonathan Baldwin Turner 285
- Kibby, (Mr.) ——— 77
- Kickapoo Indians 244, 297, 301
- Kimber, (Mrs.) J. A. Footnote.. 108
- Kincaid, Illinois 279
- King, B. Manager of ice plants, Central Illinois Service Company 243
- King, Charles 124, 129
- King, Francis M. 129
- King, Frederick 78
- King George III 264
- King, (Mrs.) James S. Ex-State Vice-Regent, Ill. D. A. R. 251
- King, (Mrs.) J. O. 27, 47
- King, Louis of France, presents bell to Old Kaskaskia 262
- King Louis XV, presents bell to Kaskaskia in 1773 264
- King, (Sen.) William R. 122
- Kingsbury, Grace A. 122
- Kinley, (Pres.) David. University of Illinois 255
- Kinny, (Mrs.) ——— 22
- Kipling, Rudyard 555
- Kirby, Edith Ross (Mrs. W. T. Wilson) 10
- Kirby, (Judge) Edward P. 10, 91
- Kirby, (Mrs.) Edward P. (Julia Duncan)... 2, 9, 10, 82, 85, 89, 91, 92
- Kirby, William 399
- Kirkpatrick, (Mrs.) Harold 440
- Kirtland, Ohio 508
- Kirtland, Ohio. Mormons. Footnote 94
- Kislingbury, Henry 132
- Kittoe, E. D. 417
- Kittoe, (Dr.) E. D. 410, 413
- Knobeloch, (Mrs.) George W.. 267, 272
- Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 396
- Knox Co. N. W. Territory 235
- Knox, (Mrs.) Irene De Haven. Member of Springfield Chapter, D. A. R. Committee to mark historic spots 243
- Knox, (Mrs.) Wm. E. 542, 543
- Knoxville, Tenn. 380
- Koch, (Mrs.) Eliza 144
- Koehler, John W. Early pioneer of Macon Co., Illinois 238
- Kohlsaat, Herman. Gifts to Galena, Illinois 417
- Kohlsaat, Herman H. Presents Galena, Illinois, with a bronze statue of Gen. Grant 417
- Kohn, Louis 568
- Koonce, Nicholas 546
- Koscealouski, Edward M. 129
- Kretschmar, Ella Morris Casey. Elizabeth Moore Morris Casey 419-436
- Kribs, (Hon.) Charles 271
- Krupp's Monster Cannon exhibited at the World's Fair, Chicago... 230
- Kutter, (Mrs.) ——— 32
- L—
- La Angostura. Footnote 101
- Laclede ——— 295, 301
- Footnote 301
- Lacon, Illinois 501
- Ladies Education Society 35
- La Encantada 100
- La Fayette, (Gen.) Marie Jean Paul Rock Yves Gilbert Motier 3, 265, 266
- La Fayette, (Gen.) Marie Jean Paul Rock Yves Gilbert Motier. Visit to Illinois in 1825. Reference 266
- Lafayette, Ind. 359
- La Grange, Illinois 440
- Lake Maurepas 383
- Lake Pontchartrain 383
- Lakeside Cemetery, Chicago 436
- Lakeside Cemetery, Pekin, Ills.... 436
- Lakin, J. L. 555
- Lamar, (Mrs.) Robert 577
- Lamb, A. A. 123
- Lamber, Edward 128
- Lamber, Hannah 128
- Lamber, Mary Ellen 128
- Lambert, Edward 117, 142
- Lambert, Hannah 142
- Lambert, Mary Ellen 142
- Lamon, Ward H. 500
- Land, (Mrs.) Chalon T. .. 573, 574, 575
- Langlade, (Capt.) ——— 312, 321
- Langton, (Rev.) Joseph F. 116
- Lansden, (Rev.) Alner W. 528
- La Rochelle, France 423
- Lathrop, ——— 45
- Laurie, (Mr.) ——— 8
- Law Clubs, Chicago 443

- Lawrence, Harriet. Second wife of John B. Halbert..... 278
- Laws in force in Illinois, prior to its Statehood, by W. W. Edwards, Dean of Lincoln College of Law. Springfield, Ill.....382-394
- Lawton, James 135
- Lawton, (Mrs.) Mary 132
- Lax, Edward C. 118, 123, 130, 146, 148, 149, 157
- Lax, George 146
- Lax, Harriet130, 149
- Lax, Harriet A.131, 146, 148
- Lax, Hattie 133
- Lax, Mattie149, 152
- Lax, Virginia Vane 148
- Layne, (Miss) Margaret 267
- Leach, Eliza Douglass 145
- Leach, John 145
- Leavenworth, Kan. Military School 207
- Le Baron, Wm. 563
- Le Bron, L. M. 416
- Leduc, Baptista 294
- Lee, (Mrs.) ———— 19
- Lee, Arthur 386
- Lee, Laura 134
- Lee, (Gen.) Robert E. 96, 203, 205, 214, 215
- Lee, (Gen.) Robert E. Decided to go with his native State. War of the Rebellion 208
- Lee, (Gen.) Robert E. Offered the command of the Union Army 206, 207
- Lee, (Gen.) Robert E. Surrender at Appotomattox April 9, 1865 417
- Lee, (Gen.) Robert E. Quoted on, General McClellan214, 215
- Leech, ————48, 49, 61
- Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 453
- Leidig, John 537
- Lemen, (Capt.) James 271
- Lemen, (Capt.) James. Monument to, in Monroe Co., Ill. 271
- Lenzburg, Mary James 279
- Lenzburg, William James 279
- Lenzburg, (Mrs.) William (Sarah Halbert) 279
- Le Saulnier, (Dr.) ———— 265
- Leslie, Miron 126
- Letters. Baldwin, Theron. Letters to J. M. Sturtevant. Dated Monticello, May 16 and 30, 1843. Footnote 401
- Letters. Blount's letter to Robertson, dated Knoxville, Jan. 18, 1794378, 379
- Letters. Breckenridge to Gov. Shelby, Jan. 10, 1794. Quoted.. 378
- Letters. Clark, George Rogers, letters to Genet368-372
- Letters. Davis, George R. to Hon. J. R. Doolittle, dated Chicago, July 20, 1893 225
- Letters from the Orient. By Erasmus H. Scott 583
- Letters. Genet's letter of introduction to M. Michaux375-376
- Letters. Gresham, W. Q. to Hon. James R. Doolittle, dated Washington, July 22, 1893.....225, 226
- Letters. Madden, M. B. Letter to the editors of the Press of Chicago, dated Chicago, July 10th, 1893 226
- Letters. Patterson, R. W. to J. B. Turner, dated Chicago, October 28, December 10, 1844. Footnote 401
- Letters. Portell, Commander of New Madrid, extract from letter of, to Gov. Robertson 378
- Letters. Sturtevant, J. M. to Theron Baldwin, dated Illinois College, May 2, 1843. Footnote.... 401
- Letters. Sturtevant, J. M. to Theron Baldwin, April 23, 1856. June 2, 1856. Footnote 406
- Letters. Sturtevant, J. M. Letter to Theron Baldwin, dated June 1, 1858. Footnote 407
- Letters. Turner, Jonathan Baldwin to R. W. Paterson, dated Illinois College, Dec. 4, 1844. Footnote 401
- Lewis, (Mrs.) ———— 27
- Lewis and Clark Expedition..... 272
- Lewis, Maria L. Wife of Dr. Charles B. Johnson 439
- Lewis, Sinclair 434
- Lexington, Ky. 550
- "Liberty Bell of the Old Northwest" 262
- Lichtenberger, James. Early pioneer of Macon County, Illinois 238
- Lightfoot, (Mrs.) Cornelia....119, 130
- Lighton, Thomas 564
- Lincoln, Abraham 93, 108, 173, 447, 449, 500-505, 511, 534, 545, 570, 575, 590
- Lincoln, Abraham. Abdicates his military functions in favor of General Grant 206
- Lincoln, Abraham, at Rock Island, Illinois 585

- Lincoln, Abraham. Attends court in Urbana, Illinois 223
- Lincoln, Abraham. Ballard, (Gen.) Colin R. The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln 216
- Lincoln, Abraham. Congressman, elect 1847 219
- Lincoln, Abraham. Criticized, on the ground that he played politics in the conduct of the Civil War 215
- Lincoln, Abraham. Criticized with interfering with his generals in the Civil War 204
- Lincoln, Abraham. Debate with Douglas in Peoria, Illinois 500, 501
- Lincoln, Abraham. Emancipation Proclamation 216
- Lincoln, Abraham. Estimate of General Grant 209
- Lincoln, Abraham. Forced to conduct a great war without the aid of trained commanders and trained staffs 210
- Lincoln, Abraham. Guard of honor 572
- Lincoln, Abraham. Herndon, William H. Lincoln biographer 218, 219
- Lincoln, Abraham. Kansas-Nebraska bill. Lincoln speaks on, in North Market Hall, Chicago, 1854 220-221
- Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, by Ward H. Lamon 500
- Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, by William H. Herndon. 500
- Footnote 500
- Lincoln, Abraham. Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, reference 234
- Lincoln, Abraham. Member of Congress, 1847 221
- Lincoln, Abraham. Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln (The). By General Colin R. Ballard 216
- Lincoln, Abraham. Name on statue of Madonna of the Trail. 540
- Lincoln, Abraham. Palmer (Brig. Gen.) John McAuley, President Lincoln's War Problem 200-217
- Lincoln, Abraham. Patience and forbearance with General McClellan 214, 215
- Lincoln, Abraham. Peoria agreement between Lincoln and Douglas, October 17, 1854 218
- Lincoln, Abraham. (The) Peoria Truce 500-505
- Lincoln, Abraham. Political campaign of 1858. Lincoln quoted on 212
- Lincoln, Abraham. Quoted as a model war executive 216
- Lincoln, Abraham. Quoted on the Civil War 212
- Lincoln, Abraham. Read and understood Von Clausewitz great treatise on the fundamental nature of war 211
- Lincoln, Abraham. Ring given by Lincoln to Joseph Medill now owned by Illinois State Historical Library 572
- Lincoln, Abraham. Schooling himself for war in the little town of Springfield, Illinois 212
- Lincoln, Abraham. Speaks in Chicago for Zachary Taylor, 1848.. 220
- Lincoln, Abraham. Speech in North Market Hall, Chicago, 1854 219, 220
- Lincoln, Abraham. Stressed the Union, in the Civil War 215
- Lincoln, Abraham. Visits Oquawka, Illinois 161, 162, 163
- Lincoln, Abraham. Whitney, Henry C., Lincoln biographer.. 219
- Lincoln, Abraham. Why did he not select General Grant to command the army in 1861.... 208
- Lincoln, Abraham. Wiley, Earl W. Lincoln's Chicago speech of Oct. 27, 1854 218-223
- Lincoln Centennial Association... 448, 500
- Lincoln College of Law, Springfield, Ill. 382
- Lincoln-Douglas Debates 287
- Lincoln-Douglas Markers. Freeport 172
- Lincoln Highway 538
- Lincoln Home, Springfield, Illinois 253
- Lincoln, Illinois. Brainerd Park.. 174
- Lincoln Monument Association ... 448
- Lincoln Monument, Springfield, Illinois 253
- Lincoln Square, Springfield, Ill... 250
- Lind, Jenny 7
- Lindsey, Henrietta 143
- Lindsey, John 117, 143, 145
- Lindsey, John Joseph 145
- Lindsey, Margaret 145
- Lindsey, Mary 143
- Lingan, Ann (Mrs.) Elias B. Caldwell II 92
- Lingle, D. 564

- Linisey, John 140
 Linisey, Margaret 140
 Linisey, Samuel David 140
 Linn, (Mr.) ——— 6, 50
 Linn, (Mrs.) ——— 48, 50, 51, 52
 Linn, Duncan 34
 Linn, William. Brother-in-Law of
 Jos. Duncan 6, 34, 84
 Linn, William. Defaulter 6, 84
 Linn, (Mrs.) William (Polly Ann
 Duncan) (Sister of Jos. Dun-
 can) 34, 84
 Lippincott, (Rev.) Thomas
 196, 395, 549
 Lippincott's Magazine, Sept., 1877.
 Quoted 422
 Litchfield, Co., Conn. 183
 Little Osage Indians 293,
 294, 296, 297, 301, 302, 326, 327, 328
 Lively, John. Early family settle
 in St. Clair Co., Illinois 276
 Lively, Reuben. Early family set-
 tle in St. Clair Co., Illinois..... 276
 Lloyd, Rachel 420
 Lloyd, Thomas 421
 Lloyd, Thomas. First Deputy Gov-
 ernor of Pennsylvania 419, 420
 Loar, Mary 569
 Lochard, (Maj.) 573
 Lockhark, Calvin. Early settler of
 Macon Co., Illinois 240
 Lockhart, (Macon Co.) Now called
 Niantic 240
 Lockridge, Ross F. 272
 Lockridge, Ross F. Biographer of
 George Rogers Clark 263, 271
 Lockwood, (Mrs.) Mary 42
 Logan, (Gen.) John A. 84
 Lomax, Illinois 160
 London, England 365
 London, England. "The Court of
 the Inner Temple" 233
 London Field 558
 London Town, Maryland 421
 Long, (Miss) 36
 Long Creek, Macon Co., Illinois..
 238, 239, 241
 Long, Elizabeth 146
 Long, J. Voyages and Travels.
 Footnote 322
 Long, Joseph 124
 "Long Knives," Clark's men so
 called 262, 268
 Long, Lizzie Bross 146
 Long, Mary S. 124
 Long, Owen M. 146, 158
 Long, (Dr.) O. M. 119
 Long, (Mrs.) O. M. 27
 Long Point, (Macon Co.) Ill.
 Known as Prairie City 240
 Longstreet, (Gen.) James. Con-
 federate general. War of the Re-
 bellion 205
 Lord, Frances 124
 Lord, Hugh 294
 Footnote 294
 Lorimer, William 442, 443
 Los Angeles, Cal. 442
 Los Mis 331
 Lott, (Mrs.) Marion Webster..... 259
 Lott, (Mrs.) Marion Webster,
 Chairman, "The Elmwood Taft
 Sculpture Com." 254
 Louis, F. F. Edmond, Charles.
 Genet, First Minister plenipo-
 tentiary from France to the U.
 S. Journal of American History.
 Vol. 6, No. 2, 1912 381
 Louisiana, province of. Repeated
 designs of France to recover her
 control of the province of
 Louisiana 360
 Louisiana Purchase 272
 Louisiana State 292, 293, 298, 327
 Footnote 476
 Louisiana State. Clark's proposal
 for the whole of Louisiana for
 France 368-379
 Louisiana State. Expedition
 against Louisiana was contem-
 plated by France as early as
 Nov., 1792 361
 Louisiana State. Genet, expedition
 against 360
 Louisiana State. Plans for the
 conquest, in the papers in the
 French Archives 361
 Louisiana State. Retrocession of
 Louisiana to Napoleon 362-364
 Louisiana State. Spanish rule in,
 weakness 360
 Louisiana Territory. French
 Archives show a continuity of
 interest in the plan of regain-
 ing Louisiana Territory from
 1789 to 1800 362-364
 Louisiana, Upper 328, 329
 Louisville, Ky. 377
 Loup Indians 326
 Lourie, (Mr.) ——— 61
 Louvre, France 424
 Lovejoy, Elijah Parrish. Martyr
 to freedom 199
 Lovejoy, Owen 501, 503

Loveless, Milo J.	287, 592
Low, Andrew. Voting place. Okaw Precinct, Macon Co., Illi- nois	236
Lowden, Frank Orren	255
Lowe's "Bellum Helveticum"	581
Lowry, (Mr.) ———	64, 65
Lucas, Charles Saunders	127
Lucas, Della A.	127, 138
Lucas, I. M.	116
Lucas, Josiah M.	122, 127, 138
Lucas, Mary Jane	138
Lucas, Saml. W.	117
Lutz, (Mrs.) Caroline	590
Lynn, (Mr.) ———	119
Lynn, Chassia D.	126
Lynnville, Ill.	115
Lyon, (Mrs.) Edith	256

—M—

McAdams, Joseph	546
McAllis, S. G.	136
McAllis, Wm. Frederic	136
McAllister, J. W.	563
McAvity, George W.	572
Footnote	572
McAvity, (Mrs.) George W.	572
Footnote	572
McCabe, H. J.	255
McCain, (Mrs.) (Miss Mary Dixon)	130
McCarthy, (Mrs.) ———	135
McCarty, ———. Footnote	331
McCarty, Anna	18
McCarty, R. Footnote	310
McClellan, (Gen.) George B.	96, 204, 205, 208, 213, 214
McClellan, (Gen.) George B. Gen- eral estimate of his military ability, etc.	214, 215
McClellan, (Gen.) George B. Lee, (Gen.) Robert E. Quoted on McClellan	214, 215
McClernard, John A.	473, 474
Footnote	474
McClure, Elizabeth H.	126
McClure, H. B.	11, 117
McClure, (Mrs.) H. B.	29, 30, 145
McClure, (Mrs.) Harriet	131, 146, 151
McClusky, Ellen	53
McClusky, John	88
McConnel, Bella	150
McConnel, Earle	130, 149
McConnel, Eliza	131, 144, 145, 147, 149, 150
McConnel, George M.	119, 129, 130, 149, 151, 154, 157
McConnel, John L.	119, 130, 150
McConnel, Maria A.	129, 130, 132, 149, 151, 154, 155, 157
McConnel, Mary	153
McConnel, Murray	119, 132
McConnel, Robert Brewster	154
McConnell, Edward	143
McConnell, (Mrs.) Eliza	151
McConnell, Ella	144
McConnell, George M.	123
McConnell, John	144, 145
McConnell, (Mrs.) M.	117, 143
McConnell, Marilla	122
McConnell, Mary	143
McConnell, Minerva	123, 143, 144
McConnell, Murray	143
McConnell, Murry Dennison	145
McCool vs. Smith	386
McCord, Calvin	551
McCord, David A.	554
McCord, David C.	554
McCord, J. N.	551, 554
McCracken, (Mrs.) Floyd	542
McCracken, (Mrs.) Mary	120
McCracken, Mary L.	151
McDonal, (Mr. and Mrs.)	129
McDougall, (Mrs.)	143
McDougall, Howard	147
McDougall, James A.	122
McDougall, John	123, 147
McDougall, (Mrs.) Marilla	118, 143
McDougall, Minerva	147
McDowell, (Gen.) Irvin ...	96, 101, 104
McElhinney, (Mrs.) ———	120
McEvers, (Mr.) ———	118
McFadden, (Mrs.) George. Regent of the Cahokia Mound Chapter, D. A. R.	272
McFerron, Eliza	279
McFerron, Mary	279
McFerron, Robert	279
McGee, (Mr.) ———	67
McGevch, (Mr.) from Penn.	191
McGuffey Readers	583
McGuire, (Catherine Halbert) ...	277
McGuire, Joseph	279
McGuire, Lizzie	279
McKee, (Rev.) D. D.	550
McKellar, A. S.	554
McKendree College, Lebanon, Illi- nois	275, 279
McKinley, (Rev.) George	84
McKinley, (Mrs.) George (Han- nah Finley)	84
McKinley, (Sen.) William	84
McKinney, (Mrs.) S. D. Ex-State Historian, Illinois, D. A. R.	251
McKirby, (Mr.) ———	81

- McLafferty, Helen P. (Mrs. Charles Fremont Hildreth) 171
- McLain, Harry 542
- McLean County, Illinois 191
- McMaster, J. B. History of the People of the United States. Vol. 2. 380
- McMasters, (Rev.) S. J. 150
- McMichael, (Dr.) Thomas Hanna. 179
- McNeil, Daniel, Jr. 162
- McNeil, (Mrs.) Daniel 162
- McQuilkin, Rachel G. 127
- McQuiston, Hugh 255
- Machiquawish, Indian Chief 311, 315
- Mack, ——— 153
- Mackinac 321
- Macomb, Ill. 253
- Macon, Nathaniel, of North Carolina, Macon County, Illinois, named for 235
- Macon, (Macon Co.) Illinois ..241, 279
- Macon Co., Ill. Austin, formerly called Montgomery 238
- Macon Co., Ill. Board of Supervisors. Remuneration, etc....240-241
- Macon Co., Ill. Clifton, Josiah, Salt Lake district in Macon Co., home of voting place 236
- Macon Co., Ill. County Seat, controversy over238, 239
- Macon Co., Ill. Days, Benjamin. Early settler of Macon Co., Illinois 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Dickey, John. Early settler in236, 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Draper district 236, 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Draper, John. election held in home of, 1833. Macon Co., Ill..... 236
- Macon Co., Ill. Early judges in 237
- Macon Co., Ill. First Board of Supervisors organized in April 30, 1860, list of members of 237, 238
- Macon Co., Ill. Foster, Lelah. Recorder of Deeds, Macon Co., Ill. 241
- Macon Co., Ill. Friends Creek... 238
- Macon Co., Ill. Hickory (formerly Bull Point) Macon Co., Illinois238, 239
- Macon Co., Ill. History. By Lelah Foster235-241
- Macon Co., Ill. Howell, William. Early settler in Macon Co. 236, 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Long Creek..238, 239
- Macon Co., Ill. Low, Andrew, voting place Okaw Precinct, Macon Co., Ill. 236
- Macon Co., Ill. Marion District in Macon Co., Ill. 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Marquis, A. Early settler 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Marquis, election district 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Marriage license first one in, secured by John Whitmore 240
- Macon Co., Ill. Mills. Smallwood's Mill, Macon Co., Ill. 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Named for Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina 235
- Macon Co., Ill. Names of townships in 241
- Macon Co., Ill. Okaw Precinct... 236
- Macon Co., Ill. Organized in 1829 235
- Macon Co., Ill. Piatt, James. Early settler in Macon Co., Ill. 236
- Macon Co., Ill. Prior to its organization part of the following counties 235
- Macon Co., Ill. Salt Creek District 236
- Macon Co., Ill. Smallwood, Parmenus. Voting place in Macon County 236
- Macon Co., Ill. Snider, Henry. Judge in Okaw Precinct, Macon Co., Ill. 236
- Macon Co., Ill. Thomason, John. Judge Okaw Precinct, Macon Co., Ill. 236
- Macon Co., Ill. Town Board.... 241
- Macon Co., Ill. Township organization adopted at an election held in Nov., 1859 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Voting of precincts known as wards in 1859, list ... 237
- Macon Co., Ill. Ward, James. County Court of Macon Co., held in the home of, June 1, 1829 236
- Macon Ward, Macon County, Illinois 237
- Madden, M. B. Letter to the editors of the Press of Chicago, dated Chicago, July 10, 1893.... 226
- Madison, Illinois 238
- Madison Co., Ill. 279
- Madison Co., Ill. Territory 235
- Madison Ward, Macon Co., Illinois 237

- Madison's Journal of the Constitutional Convention 581
- Madonna of the Trail (Statue) 534-540
- Madrid, Spain 365
- Magruder, Margaret H. (Mrs. Josiah F. Caldwell) 92
- Maine State 488
- Malbo 331
- Malloy, W. M. Treaties between U. S. and other powers. Footnote 308
- Man of Courage and Vision (The). By Dr. John Timothy Stone.... 571
- Manchester, New York 507
- Mangourit, correspondence, American Historical Association report, 1897 380
- Mangum, W. P. Footnote 476
- Mapes, (Mr.) 119
- Mapes, Elizabeth 123, 143
- Mapes, Harriet 143
- Mapes, Ira 143
- Maps. The West, 1777. Footnote 327
- Marcy. Footnote 98
- Marietta, Ohio 363
- Marion District, Macon Co., Illinois 237
- Marion, Illinois. Merchants Association 270
- Marion, Illinois. Public Library.. 270
- Marissa, Illinois 279
- Marker, John Kelley Marker, inscription 252
- Markers, Kelley Cabin. Unveiling of the Kelley Cabin marker, Dec. 3, 1927 242-252
- Markie, (Mrs.) Rebecca 130
- Markley, Joseph W. 575
- Markoe, Ellen 124, 139
- Markoe, Emily 141
- Markoe, Frank 149
- Markoe, Hettie 146
- Markoe, Lela 144
- Markoe, Rebecca 139, 141, 144, 146, 147, 149
- Markoe, Samuel 117, 139, 141, 146, 147, 149, 152
- Maroa, (Maroa Township) Macon Co., Ill. 241
- Maroa, Macon Co., Ill. Named for a small section of the Algonquin tribe of Indians 239
- Maroa Ward, Macon Co., Ill. 237
- Marquette, Father James 262
- Marquis, Abraham. Early settler of Macon Co., Ill. 237
- Marquis Election District, Macon Co., Ill. 237
- Marsh, (Mr.) 119
- Marsh, Martha Jane 147
- Marsh, Sarah Mehitable 147
- Marshall, (Col.) 102
- Marshall, (Mrs.) Fred. (Mary Ann Halbert) 279
- Marshall, Humphrey. History of Kentucky 380
- Marshall, John 279
- Marshall, Louise 279
- Marshall, Mary Ann. (Mary Halbert) 277
- Martin, F. X. A. History of Louisiana. Footnote 308
- Martin, Victor V. 569
- Martin Co., N. C. 573
- Martinez, B. Footnote 327
- Martinez, Juan Bautista de..... 313
- Maryland State 213, 470
- Maryland State. Ann Arundel Co. 421
- Maryland State. Colonial Annals 420
- Mascuten Indians 297, 301
- Masby, Wm. 120
- Mason, (Mr.) 136
- Mason, Elizabeth 136
- Mason, (Sen.) James A. 463
- Mason, (Sen.) James M. Footnote 476
- Mason, Timothy 124
- Mason Co., Ill. Cunningham, James. Judge Okaw Precinct, Macon Co., Ill. 236
- Masons. *See* Freemasons.
- Massachusetts State 257, 384
- Massachusetts State. Amherst ... 283
- Massachusetts State. Fight for religious freedom in, reference... 395
- Massachusetts State Historical Society. (Pickering papers VII).. 381
- Massachusetts State. Williamstown College in—Massachusetts 183
- Maternal Society, Jacksonville, Ill. 27, 59, 64, 84
- Mather, (Col.) Wesley 44, 84
- Mather, (Mrs.) Wesley 44, 84
- Matingly, (Mrs.) 120
- Matthews, (Mr.) 22
- Matthews, (Rev.) R. L. 551
- Mattingly, (Mrs.) Ann Blackburn 131
- Mattingly, Shelton J. 125
- Mattoon, Ill. 539
- Mattoon, Ill. Presbytery..... 551, 552
- Maunie, Ill. 573, 577, 578
- Maurepas Lake 383
- Maurice, (Gen.) Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War. Quoted 216
- Maxcutero Indians 301

- Maxent, ——— 305
 Maxent, Madame 306
 May, (Capt.) ——— 573
 May, (Rev.) Montgomery 552
 Mayer, William C. Early pioneer
 of Macon Co., Ill. 238
 Mayo, Wm. L. 148
 Mayo, Wm. M. 150
 Meade, (Maj.-Gen.) George G.
 Union general. War of the Re-
 bellion 205
 Medill, Joseph 443, 572
 Medill, Joseph. Ring given to, by
 Abraham Lincoln, now owned
 by Illinois State Historical
 Library 572
 Meese, W. A. Rock River in the
 Revolution. Footnote 322
 Melton, Julia 147
 Menard, (Lieut. Gov.) Pierre 265
 Menard, Pierre, Illinois home 261
 Menard, Pierre, mansion of 266
 Menominee Indians 311, 314, 315
 Meredosia, Ill. First locomotive
 to Jacksonville 89
 Merker, Charles F. 272
 Merriss, Eliza Jane 124
 Messenger, (Rev.) ——— 549
 Metamora, Illinois 255
 Methodist Church 190, 191, 440
 Methodist Church, Princeton, Ill. 440
 Metropolis, Illinois 268
 Meuse-Argonne, Offense, World
 War 203
 Mexican Cession (The) 456, 459, 496
 Mexican War. *See* War with Mex-
 ico.
 Mexico 206, 207, 326, 327, 467, 470, 471, 474
 Footnote 95
 Mexico City 96
 Mexico City, Battle of 97
 Meyers, (Mr.) 106
 Miami River 330
 Michaux Andre. Distinguished
 French Botanist 374, 375
 Michaux, Andre. Genet's instruc-
 tions to Michaux 376
 Michaux, Andre. Journal, Proceed-
 ings of American Phil. Soc.,
 1889 380
 Michigan State 267, 461
 Footnote 476
 Michigan State. Historical So-
 ciety 261
 Michigan State. Part of the North-
 west Territory 272
 Michilimackinac 311, 312, 314, 320, 326, 331
 Footnote 321
 Middle West 216
 Milam, (Macon Co.) Ill. 238, 239
 Milam Township, Macon Co., Ill. 241
 Milburn, (Mr.) Nicholas 76
 Milburn, (Mrs.) Nicholas 37
 Military Schools. No system of
 Military Schools during War of
 the Rebellion 207
 Miller, Ada F. 149, 152, 153
 Miller, C. 120
 Miller, Charles Terry 138
 Miller, Cicero D. 138, 152, 153
 Miller, Daniel 131
 Miller, Delilah. First Marriage
 license in Macon Co., Ill., is-
 sued to John Whitmore and Del-
 ilah Miller 240
 Miller, Dorothy A. 121
 Miller, Ebenezer T. 113, 114
 Miller, Emily Leavens 153
 Miller, E. T. 116, 150
 Miller, Fannie L. 124
 Miller, Frances Lucinda 138, 152
 Miller, (Mrs.) Franklin M. 546
 Miller, John E. 269, 270, 271
 Miller, John E. Quoted on the
 Northwest Territory 272
 Miller, John E. Representative of
 the Northwest Territory Com-
 mission 269
 Miller, John K. 473
 Miller, Joseph 138
 Miller, (Mrs.) L. 150
 Miller, Loraine 153
 Miller, (Mrs.) Lucinda 138, 142, 149, 150, 152, 153
 Miller, (Rev.) T. N. 150
 Miller, Walter 126
 Miller, Wm. 150
 Miller's Ward, Macon Co., Ill. 237
 Milligan, (Dr.) H. W. 120, 157
 Milligan, (Mrs.) H. W. 157
 Mills, Smallwood's Mill, Macon
 Co., Ill. 237
 Millspaugh, A. C. 446
 Milwaukee, Wis. 224
 Minion, (Gen.) ——— 100
 Minnesota State 267
 Minnesota State Historical Society 261
 Minnesota State. Part of, part of
 the Northwest Territory 272
 Minomine Indians (Menomonee?) 311
 Minonk, Illinois 255
 Missionary Society 529

- Mississippi River 471, 506, 514, 516, 521-523, 553
- Mississippi River 160, 206, 260-262, 274, 292, 294, 295, 298, 310-312, 316, 321, 323, 328, 360, 363-367, 369, 376, 382, 383
Footnote 291
- Mississippi River, called "The Father of Waters" 261
- Mississippi River. Clairborne, J. F. H. Mississippi, Jackson, 1880 380
- Mississippi River, (Controlled by Spain) 300
- Mississippi River. Ogg, F. A. Opening the Mississippi 379
- Mississippi River, policed by British 314-315
- Mississippi State 463, 459
- Mississippi Valley 261, 263, 291-358, 426
- Mississippi Valley Band of Chester 266
- Missouri Compromise 455, 456, 469, 472, 500
- Missouri Compromise, repeal of, in 1854 218
- Missouri Indians 293, 294, 296, 297, 301, 326
- Missouri River 305, 307, 310, 311, 316, 323, 324, 325, 326, 471
Footnote 327
- Missouri State 261, 278, 470, 488, 506-508, 511, 520, 521
- Missouri State. Cheltingham 520
- Missouri State. During the Revolutionary War, Spaniards ruled 261
- Missouri State. Jackson County 506
- Missouri State. National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution 264
- Missouri State. St. Louis 520, 521
- Missouri Valley 293, 302, 323
- Mitchell, Ada 546
- Mitchell, Archibald 546
- Mitchell, Ardo W. 585
- Mitchell, Ben. J. 585
- Mitchell, (Capt.) Edward. At the surrender of Yorktown 250
- Mitchell, Frederick L. 585
- Mitchell, Harry 546
- Mitchell, (Rev.) Herbert H. 116
- Mitchell, Leon W. 585
- Mitchell, P. L. 564
- Mitchell, Phil 585-587
- Mitchell, (Mrs.) Phil (Ella Judd) 585
- Mitchell, Philemon Leon 585
- Mitchell, Philemon Libby 585
- Mitchell, (Mrs.) Philemon Libby (Catherine Norris Hall) 585
- Mitchell, Robert C. 585
- Mitchell, (Rev.) William 116, 159
- Moccassin Gap Marker 269
- Modern Woodmen of America 166
- Moline, Illinois 564
- Monmouth, Illinois 163, 251, 253
- Monmouth, Illinois, Atlas 178
- Monongahela River 425
- Monroe, James 386
- Monroe Co., Ill. New Design, First Baptist Church in the State 271
- Montardy, Pedro 313
- Montclova, Mex. 97, 99, 105
- Monterey, Mex. 98, 100
Footnote 97
- Montgomery, (Col.) 314, 321
Footnote 314, 322
- Montgomery, John R. 445
- Montgomery, Macon Co., Ill. 238
- Monticello, Ill. Allerton Place... 253
- Monticello Seminary, Godfrey, Ill. 36, 396
- Montreal, Canada 331, 332
- Moor, Elizabeth 158
- Moore, Ben 58
- Moore, Ensley, "The Warrens" Footnote 93
- Moore, Father 188, 189, 190
- Moore, H. 55
- Moore, (Dr.) Mordecai 420, 421
- Moore, Mother 189
- Moore, Rachel (wife of Samuel Morris) 421
- Moore, Richard 420
- Moore, W. H. 549
- Moore, Wm. H. 554
- Moreen 120
- Morgan, (Capt.) 101, 103
- Morgan, (Mrs.) Lucy 527
- Morgan Co., Ill. Court House.... 112
- Morgan Co., Ill. Historical Society 285
- Morgan Co., Ohio 581
- Morgan Journal. Footnote 100
- Morgan, Susan. Wife of Leonard Halbert 278
- Morlatton. Swedish Settlement on the Schuylkill River 424
- Mormon Charters 509-510
- Mormon Church, Fayette, New York 508
- Mormon Movement. Inception of the 507
- Mormon Settlements. Footnote .. 492
- Mormon Temple, Nauvoo, Illinois 511
- Mormons 507-514, 518, 519, 522-524

- Mormons. Burning of houses of the Mormons513-514
- Mormons in Illinois94, 95
- Mormons, Nauvoo, Illinois509-514
- Mormons, Nauvoo, (Ill.) House.. 524
- Mormons. Nauvoo, Ill. Mormon and I c a r i a n occupation by Thomas Rees506-524
- Mormons Temple. A Capital of the Mormon Temple brought to Springfield, Ill.518-519
- Moro, Ill. 542
- Morris, (Mr.) ——— 43
- Morris, Elizabeth Moore 419
- Morris, Elizabeth Moore, daughter of Samuel Morris 2d421, 427
- Morris, John C. 145
- Morris, Samuel421, 425
- Morris, Samuel 2d421, 425, 426
- Morris Family 421
- Morris Family. Trip to Illinois 1830 427
- Morrison, (Mrs.) ——— 146
- Morrison, A. B. 148
- Morrison, (Mrs.) A. E.149, 153
- Morrison, (Mrs.) Ada 265
- Morrison, Addie 156
- Morrison, Alfred Tucker Welbourn 150
- Morrison, Anna R. 150
- Morrison, Frank Allen129, 146
- Morrison, Frederick Huston 148
- Morrison, Henry William 150
- Morrison, Isaac L. 117, 120, 123, 126, 148, 150, 154, 156
- Morrison, Isabella 146
- Morrison, Miriam Amelia 148
- Morrison, (Mrs.) Otto 265
- Morrison, Susan Caroline 147
- Morrison, (Rev.) T. N.116, 123-126, 134, 145-150-151-155, 159
- Morrison, (Rev.) T. N. Marriages 123-126
- Morrison, (Mrs.) T. N.146, 148, 150, 151
- Morton, (Col.) ——— 120
- Morton, Joseph 570
- Mosbey, Wm. B.120, 132
- Mosby, Ellen 152
- Mosby, Ellen M.157, 158
- Mosby, Emma Garetson132, 157
- Mosby, Ethel 158
- Mosby, Harry Edward 152
- Mosby, Wm. B. 152
- Mosby, Wm. Howard 152
- Mosby, Wm. R.124, 157, 158
- Moses, John "Illinois." Footnote93, 100, 104, 107, 108
- Moss, (Mrs.) Bess D. Statue of the Madonna of the Trail at Vandalia unveiled by D. A. R. 534-540
- Moss, (Mrs.) John Trigg 535, 537, 539
- Motard 323
- Motardy. Footnote 327
- Moultrie, (Gen.) William 376
- Moultrie Co., Illinois 235
- Mound Meadow 139
- Mt. Carroll, Illinois 504
- Mount Holyoke. Female Seminary (Now College) 283
- Mount Kennedy. A rise of ground overlooking Rock River 234
- Mt. Sterling, Illinois 253
- Mt. Zion, (Macon Co.) Illinois. Formerly called Wilson238, 239
- Mt. Zion Township, Macon Co., Illinois 241
- Mowry, Duane. Contribution of an undelivered 4th of July address of James Doolittle224, 232
- Mulcaster, John 270
- Muny, John 123
- Murphy, Nancy 144
- Murray, (Mrs.) ——— 158
- Murray, (Rev.) Samuel Brooks.. 552
- Mussolini, Benito 515
- "My Own Times" by John Reynolds274, 275
- Myers Arithmetics 582
- Myers, (Dr.) George W. 582
- N—
- Napoleon III. Emperor of France 521
- Nasatir, A. P. Indian trade and diplomacy of the Spanish, Illinois, 1763-1792. Footnote 292
- Nasatir, A. P. The Anglo-Spanish frontier in the Illinois country during the American Revolution 291-358
- Nashville, Illinois 278
- Nashville, Tenn. 497
- Nast, Thomas. "Peace in Union," work of—in Galena, Illinois ... 417
- Natchez, Miss311, 364
- Natchez Trail 538
- National Old Trails Committee 534-540
- National Road 187
- National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution 264
- Nauvoo, Illinois506-524
- Nauvoo, Ill. Bought by Mormons 94
- Nauvoo, Ill. Charter. Footnote.. 95
- Nauvoo, Ill. Continental Hotel .. 523

- Nauvoo Expositor 94
 Nauvoo, Ill. Icarians in 514-524
 Nauvoo, Ill. Mansion House..... 524
 Nauvoo, Ill. Mormons 94, 95
 Nauvoo, Ill. Nauvoo of today.. 521-524
 Nauvoo, Ill. Once called Commerce 94
 Nauvoo, Ill. Under Mormon and Icarian occupation by Thomas Rees 506-524
 Navarro, ——— 328
 Nebraska Bill. Lincoln speech on, in Chicago, Oct. 27, 1854..... 218
 Nebraska State 279
 Nebraska Territory 461, 471
 Needles, Clara Halbert 280
 Needles, Henry Mace 280
 Neely, (Rev.) Henry Ritchie 116
 Neill, (Miss) Hattie 539
 Nelson, (Mrs.) C. W. 110
 Footnote 93, 95, 107, 108, 109
 Neuruch, (Mr.) 119
 New Amsterdam. Landing of the Dutch in—reference 257
 Newark, N. J. 1, 3, 18, 84
 Newark, N. J. Institute.... 11, 15, 16
 New Athens on the Darmstadt road. St. Clair County, Illinois 275
 New Athens, Randolph Co., Ill. ... 278
 Newby, Elza 546
 New Design, Monroe Co., Illinois. First Baptist Church in the State built 271
 Newell, (Mr.) ——— 117
 Newell, Everard Ignatius 142
 Newell, Mason W. 142, 143
 Newell, Sarah L. 142, 143
 Newell, Traver 143
 New England 285, 400
 New Englander (Periodical) 1857 407
 Newhall, (Miss) Frances L. 123
 New Haven, Conn. 589
 New Haven, Conn. Yale Band from— 398
 New International Encyclopedia (The) Vol. IX 379
 New Jersey State. Elizabeth N. J. 283
 New Jersey, Gloucester Co. 424
 Newman, (Maj.) ——— 130
 New Mexico 371
 New Mexico Boundry 488, 489, 493, 498
 New Mexico Territory 453-458, 461-466, 468, 470, 472, 474, 480, 485, 486, 488, 496-499
 New Orleans, La. 292, 298, 299, 306, 320, 326, 363, 364, 515, 522
 Footnote 328-329
 Newspapers. Bureau Co. Republican, Aug. 9, 1928 441
 Newspapers. Chicago Daily Journal, Oct. 25, 1854 219, 220
 Newspapers. Illinois. Chicago Daily Journal. Footnote 504
 Newspapers. Illinois. Chicago Daily Journal, Oct. 30, 1854.... 220
 Newspapers. Chicago Democrat.. 220
 Newspapers. Illinois. Chicago Times 503
 Newspapers. Chicago Times-Herald 417
 Newspapers. Chicago Tribune 240, 443
 Newspapers. Democratic Press and Staats Zeitung 220, 221
 Newspapers. Galena, Illinois, Gazette 415
 Newspapers. Herrin News 270
 Newspapers. Illinois State Journal 448
 Newspapers. Illinois State Register. 449, 503, 504
 Footnote 503
 Newspapers. Illinois. Jacksonville Journal 101
 Footnote 93
 Newspapers. Illinois. Morgan Journal 100
 Newspapers. Illinois. Nauvoo Expositor 94, 511
 Newspapers. Peoria Star. Quoted 258, 259
 Newspapers. Illinois. Rock Island Argus 556, 557
 Newspapers. Illinois. Urbana Union. Footnote 504
 New York City 1, 3, 4, 11, 257, 276, 380, 381, 440
 New York City. Grant, Ulysses S., purchases a home in New York City 416
 New York City. Riverside Park 416
 New York State 216, 257, 384, 506-507
 Footnote 476
 New York State. Binghamton, N. Y. 283
 New York State. Jefferson Co., N. Y. 442
 Niantic, (Macon Co.) Ill. 238, 240, 241
 Niantic Township, Macon Co., Ill. 241
 Niantic, Madison Co., Ill..... 235
 Nigger Dick 162
 North America. France and England contended for the possession of North America 382
 North Carolina. Macon, Nathaniel, of North Carolina 235

- North Carolina State202, 470
Footnote 476
North Market Hall. Chicago, Lincoln's speech in, Oct. 27, 1854219, 220, 221
North Sangamon 191
Northern Army, 1862. Trained leadership and general staff organization in army totaling—lacking in 209
Northwest Ordinance (The) 469
Northwest Territory235, 260, 378
Northwest Territory. Clark, George Rogers, Conquest of the Northwest. Fort Gage, Sesqui-Centennial observance260-267
Northwest (Old). Clark, George Rogers, Conqueror of the Old Northwest 267
Northwest. Clark, George Rogers, Conquest of the Northwest 268-272
Northwest Territory Commission. Corr, Paul Benjamin. Executive Secretary 268
Northwest Territory Commission. Fekete (Major) T. L., Jr., President 264
Northwest Territory Commission. John E. Miller, member 269
Northwest Territory Commission. Sesqui-Centennial observance .. 260
Northwest Fur Trade. By Wayne E. Stevens. Footnote 291
Northwest Territory. Great heroes in the development of—..... 272
"Northwest." Liberty Bell of the "Old Northwest" 262
Northwest Territory. Ordinance of 1787 387
Northwest Territory. States carved from272, 392
Norton, (Rev.) Augustus T. J.. 405
Norton, A. T. History of the Presbyterian Church in Illinois 399, 405, 551, 553, 554
- O—
- Oakland Cemetery. Princeton, Illinois 440
Oakley, (Macon Co.) Illinois 238, 240, 241
Oakley Township, Macon Co., Illinois 241
Oak Ridge Cemetery. Springfield, Illinois250, 284, 446
Oberlin College 396
Oberlin, Evangelist 198
O'Fallon, ———278, 371
Ogden Family1, 86
Ogden, Hannah (Mrs. James Caldwell) 1, 3
Ogg, F. A. Opening the Mississippi 379
Ogle, ——— 136
Ogle, Amanda Malvina (Mrs. Charles) 137
Ogle, Charles116, 121, 126
Ogle, (Mrs.) Chas. (Amanda Malvina) 137
Oglehurst, Ill.588, 589, 590
Oglesby, (Mrs.) Emma Gillett (Mrs. Richard J.)588-591
Oglesby, Felicite (Countess Alessandro Cenci Bolognetti)..... 589
Oglesby, Jasper 589
Oglesby, John Gillett 589
Oglesby, Richard James ..588, 590, 591
Oglesby, Richard James, Jr..... 589
Oglesby, (Mrs.) Richard J. (Emma Gillett) 588-591
Oglevee, (Dr.) C. S. 174
Ohio Medical College, Cincinnati 438
Ohio River196, 221, 260, 268, 269, 272, 274, 307, 326, 330, 363, 364, 365, 369, 378, 386, 425
Ohio State ...193-240, 267-275, 239-473
Ohio State. Admitted to the Union Feb. 19, 1803 392
Ohio State. George Rogers Clark, Memorial Committee 261
Ohio State. Part of the Northwest Territory 272
Ohio State. Western Reserve 386
Ohio Valley 372
Okaw Precinct, Macon Co., Ill. ... 236
Okaw River275, 276, 536
"Old Hickory," nickname for Andrew Jackson 239
One Hundredth anniversary of Presbyterian Church of Vandalia, Ill. By N. C. Gochenour 547-555
One Hundred Years of Mormonism. By J. H. Evans. Footnote 94
Oquawka, (Ill.) Celebrates its 100th anniversary, article by Elizabeth Smith160-163
Oquawka, Ill. Community orchestra 163
Oquawka, Ill. Douglas visits 161
Oquawka, Ill. First settlers 160
Oquawka, Ill. Home talent Chau-tauqua161, 162
Oquawka, Ill. Lincoln visits ... 161, 162, 163
Oquawka, Ill. Methodist Church. 161
Oquawka, Ill. Pageant 162
Ordinance of 1787 275, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 394

- Oreana in Whitmore Township,
Macon Co., Ill. 241
- Oregon Bill 453, 454, 492, 496
- Oregon City, Illinois 504
- Oregon Territory
..... 453-455, 471, 492, 496
- Ormsby, (Rev.) M. P. 551
- Osborn, M. B. 559
- Osborne, Georgia L. Librarian,
Illinois State Historical Library
..... 2, 242,
243, 244, 289, 451, 452, 525, 572, 593
- Osborne, Georgia L. Member of
Springfield Chapter, D. A. R.
Committee to mark historic
spots 243
- Osborne, Georgia L. Secretary,
Illinois State Historical Society XII
- Osborne, Rosa Lee 156
- Ossoli Countess. *See* Fuller, Mar-
garet 233
- Ostrom, (Mrs.) James A. 542, 543
- Oto Indians 327
- Ottawa, Kan. 448
- Outagamie Indians 320
- Owsley, Catherine F. 176
- Owsley, Ella W. (Mrs. Ben H.
Brainerd) 173-177
- Owsley, Henry 175
- Owsley, Henry Hawkins 175, 176
- Owsley, John E. 176
- Owsley, (Miss) Kate 175
- Owsley, Martha Bayne 175
- Owsley, Mary Finley 175
- Owsley, (Capt.) Thomas 175
- Owsley, William 176
- Owsley, (Gov.) William 175
- Ozark College 529
- P—
- Pacific Ocean 260, 455, 471
- Paice, (Mrs.) ———— 37
- Paine, Linn. National Trustee of
the Sons of the American Revo-
lution 264
- Palmer, ———— 120, 130
- Palmer, Abraham 149
- Palmer, (Mrs.) Jennie 155
- Palmer, (Brig-Gen.) John McAu-
ley, President. Lincoln's War
Problem 200-217
- Palmyra, New York 507
- Palomas Pass 105
- Palomas Road 103, 104, 105
- Pammel, L. H. Benjamin Dann
Walsh 556-568
- Panama, Yosemite, Yellowstone.
By Erastus H. Scott 583
- Pank, Christopher W. 125
- Papin, ———— Footnote 327
- Paris, France 519
- Parker, ———— 120
- Parker, Cynthia G. 125
- Parker, James S. Early pioneer
of Macon Co., Ill. 238
- Parras, Mex. 98, 99, 100, 105
Footnote 97
- Pasfield, George. 446
- Pathfinders. Adventurous path-
finders 257, 258
- Patterson, ———— 38
- Patterson, James 575
- Patterson, (Col.) John B. 162
- Patterson, Melissa 575
- Patterson, R. W. Letters to J. B.
Turner, dated Chicago, Oct. 28,
and Dec. 10, 1844. Footnote .. 401
- Patterson, Robert W. Early Soci-
ety in Southern Illinois 398
- Patti, Adelina. Guest at the estate
of Alexander Chartres. Hazel-
wood on the bluffs of Rock
River 233
- Patuxent River 420
- Payson, Illinois 253
- Pearce, (Sen.) James A. 493, 494
- Pease, (Prof.) Theodore Calvin..
..... 2, 263, 288, 451, 593
- Peck, (Mr.) ———— 119
- Peck, (Mrs.) ———— 151
- Peck, Fred 134
- Peebles, R. H. 550
- Pekin, Illinois 421, 423
- Pekin, Illinois. Morris family lo-
cate in 428
- Pencour, (St. Louis) 311, 314, 320
- Peninsula, Campaign. War of the
Rebellion 213
- Penn, William 420
- Pennsylvania State
191, 205, 213, 216, 240, 257, 383, 425
Footnote 476
- Pennsylvania State. Adams Co... 446
- Pennsylvania State. Gettysburg,
Pa. 446
- Pennsylvania State. Harrisburg,
Pa. 426
- Pennsylvania State. Indian War-
fare in— 425
- Pennsylvania State. Isle Ben-
venue (later Duncan Island)..
..... 423, 424
- Pennsylvania State. Lancaster Co. 422
- Pennsylvania State. Lloyd
Thomas, first Deputy Governor
of Pennsylvania 419
- Pennsylvania State. Valley Forge 422

- Penny vs. Little. Case in law 383, 384
 Pensacola, Florida306, 370
 People vs. United States 392
 Peoria, Illinois 252, 255, 428, 500, 501
 Peoria, Ill. Agreement between
 Lincoln and Douglas, Oct. 17,
 1854 218
 Peoria, Ill. Lincoln speech in 1854 222
 Peoria, Ill. Peoria agreement be-
 tween Lincoln and Douglas, Oct.
 17, 1854 218
 Peoria, Ill. Star Newspaper,
 quoted258, 259
 Peoria, Ill. (The) Truce by Paul
 M. Angle 500-505
 Peoria Indians. Footnote 322
 Perils of Amateur Strategy (The)
 By General Ellison 216
 Periodicals. Lippincott's Maga-
 zine, Sept., 1877. Quoted 422
 Periodicals. New Englander, 1857 407
 Periodicals. New Englander, Vol.
 XVIII, 1860. Footnote 408
 Periodicals. Oberlin Evangelist.. 198
 Periodicals. Prairie Farmer 269, 270
 Periodicals. Truth Seekers Tracts 198
 Perkins, (Mrs.) B. W. 540
 Perkins, John. Early family set-
 tle in St. Clair Co., Illinois 276
 Permosti vs. First Municipality .. 392
 Perrault, ———303, 323
 Perrin, J. Nick. History of Illi-
 nois, quoted 275
 Parrot, ———. Footnote 327
 Perry Co., Illinois270, 271
 Pershing, (Gen.) John J.203, 204
 Pershing, (Gen.) John J. Arrival
 in Paris. World War 203
 Petersburg, Ill. Pierre Menard,
 Chapter, D. A. R. 252
 Petersburg, Va. 205
 Pettit, Cassandra, Jane 142
 Pettit, Harriet N. (Mrs. Horatio
 N.)137, 142
 Pettit, Horatio H. 142
 Pettit, (Mrs.) Horatio N. 137
 Pettit, John 222
 Pettit, (Mrs.) Wm. 556
 Pfau, Frank, Jr. 175
 Pflug, (Rev.) George A. 552
 Phelps, Alexis161, 162
 Phelps, (Mrs.) Alexis 162
 Phelps Brothers, of Oquawka 160, 162
 Phelps, S. S.160, 161, 162, 163
 Phelps, (Mrs.) S. S. 162
 Phelps, (Sen.) Samuel S. Footnote 476
 Phelps, William160, 161
 Philadelphia, Pa.196, 363
 Philadelphia, Pa. Entomological
 Society560, 562, 563
 Philadelphia, Pa. Friend's Burial
 Ground 421
 Philadelphia, Pa. Preston, Sam-
 uel, Mayor 420
 Philadelphia, Pa. Spanish and
 English Ministers in Philadel-
 phia 365
 Phillips, ———55, 56, 120
 Phillips, Ann 150
 Phillips, Caroline Hawley 150
 Phillips, (Sergt.) J. F.311, 312
 Phillips, James 150
 Phillips, Louisa M. 133
 Phillips, William 125
 Philpot, (Mrs.) ——— 119
 Philpot, Adelene 149
 Philpot, Harriet Adelene 149
 Phoebe vs. Jay 1, Illinois 391
 Piatt Co., Ill. 235
 Piatt, James. Early settler in Ma-
 con Co., Ill. 236
 Pickerel, J. H. Early pioneer of
 Macon Co., Ill. 238
 Pickering Papers VII. Massachu-
 setts Historical Society 381
 Piernas, Pedro293, 294, 295, 301
 Footnote293, 294, 295
 Pierson, (Dr.) Azel7, 71, 73, 75
 Pierson, (Mrs.) Azel 75
 Pierson, Joseph Henry 152
 Pierson, Maria151, 152
 Pierson, Maria Louise 151
 Pierson, Ornan124, 151, 152
 Pike, (Capt.) ———102, 105
 Pinckneyville, Illinois264, 278
 Pinckneyville, Illinois. Chamber
 of Commerce 270
 Pioneer of the Prairie State..... 257
 Pioneers. Clothing 548
 Pioneers of Illinois. Inscription
 on Lorado Taft's Pioneer Group
 at Elmwood, Illinois 253
 Piquenard, Alfred H.520, 521
 Pitkin, (Rev.) Caleb J. 551
 Pitkin, Thomas N. 554
 Pitt, ——— 216
 Pittsburg, Pa.259, 423, 425, 552
 Pittsfield, Ill. 253
 Plan of Union between Presbyter-
 ian and Congregational Church
 399-400
 Plant, (Mrs.) ——— 63
 Platte River326, 327
 Footnote 327
 Plattsburg, Battle of 99
 Pleasant View, (Macon Co.) Illi-
 nois238, 240, 241
 Plymouth, British Settlement, in 257
 Pocahontas, (Bond Co.) Ill. ..438, 544
 Poe, (Mrs.) Stella..... 120

- Political Parties 439
 Political Parties. Democratic....
 454, 458, 461, 468, 472, 476, 497, 511
 Political Parties. Democratic Con-
 vention at Nashville, Tenn. 497
 Political Parties. Free Silver ... 166
 Political Parties. Greenback 166
 Political Parties. Populist 166
 Political Parties. Republican
 Party 442, 447
 Political Parties. Whigs
 93, 454, 461, 472, 511
 Polk, (Mr.) ———— 54
 Polk, (Pres.) James K.
 95, 96, 454-458, 496
 Footnote107, 454, 455
 Polk, (Pres.) James K. Address
 to Congress 455
 Pollitz, (Mrs.) Marion Brown ... 256
 Pollock, Oliver299, 300, 302
 Pond, Peter 295
 Footnote 295
 Pontchartrain Lake 383
 Pontiac, Indian Chief 266
 Populist Party 166
 Porie, Jacobs 331
 Portell. Commander at New Ma-
 dred, extract from letter to Gov.
 Robertson 378
 Porter, Charles. Mayor of Galena 418
 Porter, (Dr.) Eliot 177
 Posey, (Mr.) William C.26, 27, 66
 Posey, (Mrs.) William C. 32
 Post 45, 60
 Post St. Vincennes 369
 Post, (Dr.) Truman M.
 3, 24, 45, 60, 74, 75, 84, 88
 Post, (Mrs.) Truman M. 29
 Potosi 105
 Pottawatomie Indians ...244, 315, 332
 Potter, Elvira J. 122
 Potts, Roy F., Co. 266
 Potts, Stringer 546
 Pouree, Eugenio (Don) 313
 Powers, Serena 564
 Practical Entomologist561, 563
 Prairie City, (Macon Co.) Ill.
 Long Point, early known as.... 240
 Prairie City, Ward. Macon Co.,
 Ill. 237
 Prairie du Chien 312, 314, 318, 322, 323
 Footnote 310
 Prairie-du-Rocher260, 271
 Prairie-du-Rocher. Illinois settle-
 ments in 264
 Prairie Farmer269, 270, 561, 562
 Prairie of Illinois237, 274, 427
 Prairie Schooners 258
 Pratt, (Mrs.) Louis265, 266
 Prattville, Ala. 169
 Prentice, (Capt.) ————101, 103
 Prentiss, (Capt.) ———— 101
 Presbyterian Church3, 190-192
 Presbyterian Church. First New
 School, Presbyterian Church... 191
 Presbyterian Church. Galena, Illi-
 nois 416
 Presbyterian Church. Jacksonville,
 Ill. 286
 Presbyterian Church. Norton, A.
 T. History of the Presbyterian
 Church in Illinois 405
 Footnote 399
 Presbyterian Church of Kentucky 188
 Presbyterian Church. Plan of
 Union with Congregationalists
 399-400
 Footnote 190
 Presbyterian Church. Springfield,
 Illinois 446-447
 Presbyterian Theology and Napol-
 eon's Campaign, Thomas Jona-
 than Jackson makes a study of 207
 Presbyterians, Illinois 548
 Presbytery, Illinois 549
 Preservation of Historic Spots
 Committee, Springfield Chapter,
 D. A. R. 243
 Preston, Margaret (wife of Rich-
 ard Moore) 420
 Preston, Rachel Lloyd 420
 Preston, Richard 420
 Preston, Samuel. Mayor of Phila-
 delphia 420
 Price, Ann Dorsey. Footnote 109
 Price, David 546
 Price, Franklin 150
 Primm, J. S. 529
 Primm, Wilson. Footnote 325
 Prince, (Mrs.) Arthur E. 283
 Princeton, Illinois500, 501, 503
 Footnote 503
 Princeton, Ill. Methodist Church
 440, 441
 Princeton, Ill. Oakland Cemetery 440
 Princeton University 190
 Princetown, England 543
 Prize Essay525-530, 571
 Prize Essay. Remarks of Mrs. W.
 J. Sweeney on presenting the
 medal 531-533
 Prosser, Edward C. 152
 Prosser, Harriet 144
 Prosser, Harriet A. 123
 Prosser, Louisa 144
 Prosser, (Mrs.) Mary E. 131
 Prosser, Mary Eliza 147
 Prosser, Mary Louisa 147
 Prosser, Samuel 152
 Prosser, (Dr.) Saml. M. 114, 116, 144

- Puant Indians 311
 Public Career of William Barton
 Warren. By Erwin J. Urch 93-110
 Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind. 359
 Pursley, (Mrs.) William 545
 Pursley, Wm. 546
 Putnam, Benjamin Risley 92
 Putnam, Charles E. 9, 91
 Putnam, (Mrs.) Charles E. (Mary
 Louisa Duncan) 9, 37, 39, 88, 91
 Putnam, Charles Morgan 92
 Putnam, Edward Kirby 2, 92
 Putnam, Elizabeth Duncan 92
 Footnote 1
 Putnam, Elizabeth Duncan. Editor
 of Diary of Mrs. Joseph Duncan 1-85
 Putnam, Elizabeth Duncan. "Life
 and services of Joseph Duncan" 2
 Putnam, Elizabeth Duncan. "Life
 of May Louisa Duncan Putnam" 2
 Putnam, George Rockwell 84, 92
 Putnam, Hamilton 92
 Putnam, Henry St. Clair 92
 Putnam, James Berthored 92
 Putnam, John Caldwell 92
 Putnam, Joseph Duncan 9, 92
 Putnam, May Louisa Duncan. Life
 of. By Elizabeth Duncan Put-
 nam 2
 Putnam, William Clement 9, 10, 92
- Q—
- Quakers 421
 Quaton, E. 59
 Quebec Act 263, 264
 Queen Victoria's Accession to the
 throne of England 233
 Quincy, Illinois
 253, 283, 503, 504, 506-508, 510
 Quinn, Mayme 554
- R—
- Raffleja, (Mrs.) 38
 Railroads. Chicago and Eastern
 Ill. Railroad 269
 Railroads. First from Meredosia
 to Jacksonville, Illinois 89
 Railroads. Illinois Central R. R. 234
 Rainey, Henry T. 570
 Rainey, (Mrs.) Henry T. 569
 Rainey, Isaac. Early family settle
 in St. Clair Co., Illinois 276
 Rammelkamp, Charles H. Funda-
 mentalism and Modernism in a
 Pioneer College 395-408
 Rammelkamp, Rhode Capps. Biog-
 raphical sketch of Mary Turner
 Carriel 285-286
 Ramsay, David. History of South
 Carolina, Vol. I 380
 Ramsey, 130
 Randall, James G. 288, 451, 593
 Randolph Co., Ill. 278
 Randolph Co., Ill. Committee of
 the Northwest Territory Com-
 mission 261
 Randolph Co., Ill. County Clerk's
 office 265
 Randolph Co., Ill. Early records
 displayed 266
 Randolph Co., Ill. Marriage con-
 tract in French from records in
 the office of Circuit Clerk 265
 Randolph, (Mrs.) J. M. 265
 Rangers 544
 Ranson, Elizabeth 139
 Ranson, James 139
 Ranson, John 139
 Ranson, Mary Ann 139
 Ranson, Peter 139
 Ranson, Sarah 139
 Ranson, William 139
 Rapalje, (Mrs.) Ann 143, 144
 Rapelje, Ann B. 123
 Rapidan River, Va. 205
 Rappahannock River 277
 Rapp, (Major) Fred G., of Colum-
 bia, Ill. 271
 Rathbone, (Capt.) H. R. 570
 Rathbone, Henry R. 569, 570
 Rawlings, (Mrs.) Isaac D. 578
 Rawlings, (Mrs.) Isaac D. Re-
 gent, Springfield Chapter, D. A.
 R. 242, 244
 Rawlins, John A. 410, 411
 Rawlins, (Gen.) John A. Secre-
 tary of War
 Ray, Martha E. 125
 Rea, James 125
 Reaney, Kate 278
 Rear, George O. 121
 Rearick, Geo. 112
 Reavis, Isham 546
 Rebman, (Miss) Emma 269
 "Recollections of a Little Girl in
 the 'Forties,'" by Mrs. Paul
 Selby 283
 Red Bud, Ill. 265
 Red Cross Societies 529
 Redman, (Capt.) 160
 Red Oak, Illinois 559
 Red River 515
 Red Rock, Arizona 279
 Reed, Catherine B. 122
 Reed, (Dr.) M. L. 34, 44, 88
 Reed, Sarah E. 122
 Reed, Wm. 554
 Rees, (Mrs.) 66

- Reese, Thomas. Nauvoo, Illinois, under Mormon and Icarian occupation 506-524
- Reeves, Walter 442, 443
- Reid, Frederick. President, Springfield Chapter, Children of the American Revolution 244
- Reid, Rachel Emily 123
- Relics, exhibited at the Fort Gage Sesqui-Centennial Observance 264-265
- Remann, F., Jr. 554
- Remann, Fred G. 554
- Remann, Frederick 551, 554
- Remann, Henry C. 554
- Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 218
- Republican Party 439, 442, 447
- Republican Party Conventions ... 590
- Republican Party, Illinois 590
- Revolutionary War... 1, 3, 84, 291-358
- Rew, Horatio G. 121
- Reynolds, Ann 122
- Reynolds, John. Gov., Congressman, Historian 114, 162, 274, 275
- Reynolds, (Mrs.) John 162
- Reynolds, John. Died in Belleville, Ill., 1865 274
- Reynolds, (Rev.) J. G. 552
- Reynolds, John. "My Own Times," quoted 274-275
- Rhenard, (Fox) Indians 311
- Rhode Island State. Coggeshal, John. First Governor of Rhode Island 419
- Rhodes, (Dr.) 118
- Rice, (Dr.) 79
- Richards, G. W. 119
- Richards, George Washington 130, 148
- Richards, (Rev.) Leonard B. 116
- Richards, Margaret Elizabeth 157
- Richards, Mary Elizabeth 157
- Richards, William Henry 157
- Richardson, Anna 139
- Richardson, J. D. Messages and Papers of the Presidents. Washington, 1899 381
- Richardson, Mary Jane 139
- Richardson, William 139, 473
- Richmond, Va. 204, 205
- Richmond, Va. Advance on War of the Rebellion 204
- Rickert, J. W. 271
- Ricketts, John G. Early pioneer of Macon County, Illinois 237
- Rigdon, Sidney 507, 508
- Riggs, Illinois 553
- Riggs, Romulus 552, 553
- Riley, (Dr.) Charles V. .. 560-566, 568
- Riley, J. S. Founder of Mormonism. Footnote 94
- Ring given by Abraham Lincoln to Joseph Medill. Now owned by Illinois State Historical Library 572
- Ringgold, (Mrs.) 46
- Rio Grande 99, 488, 489
- Ripley, R. S. War with Mexico. Footnote 107
- Riu (Rios, Francisco) 295
- River Side Park, New York City. Tomb of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant in— 416
- Rives, G. L. The United States and Mexico. Footnotes 97, 100
- Roads, U. S. 538
- Roanoke River 574
- Robb, C. 131
- Robb, Carrie 133
- Robb, Catherine B. 129, 133, 140, 142, 144-146, 151, 153
- Robb, Charles W. 130
- Robb, Charlie W. 151
- Robb, Clara B. 125, 140
- Robb, D. 153
- Robb, (Mrs.) D. 157
- Robb, Daniel 118
- Robb, David 117, 122, 129, 131, 144, 145, 151
- Robb, David E. 140, 142, 146, 148
- Robb, Emma Reed 140
- Robb, Fannie 146
- Robb, Harry McFarland 153
- Robb, Holmen 146
- Robb, John Fuller 145
- Robb, Mary Kate 142
- Robb, Warren L. 148
- Robb, Wm. Charles 144
- Robbins, (Judge) 33, 44
- Roberts, (Mrs.) 119
- Roberts, Austin J. 124
- Roberts, (Mrs.) Ella Carriel 285
- Roberts, (Dr.) F. T. 264
- Robert's Rules of Order 582
- Roberts, Thomas 411
- Robertson, 130
- Robertson, (Gov.) Blount's letter to — dated Knoxville, Jan. 18, 1794 378, 379
- Robertson, Charlotte 148
- Robertson, H. T. 148
- Robertson, J. A. Louisiana under Spain. Footnote 329
- Robertson, Julia M. 148
- Robertson, Mss. Vol. I. Letters Nos. 94-95. Quoted. Footnote.. 378
- Robertson, (Gov.) Portell. Commander of New Madrid. Extract from letter of, to Gov. Robertson 378, 379
- Robertson, (Mrs.) Robert S. (Maria Caldwell) 92

- Robinson, Harrison 576
 Robinson, Martha Ann 124
 Rocheblave, Phillippe Francois de
 Rastel, Fort Gage under the
 command of 262, 296, 297
 Rock Creek, Illinois. Church.. 525-530
 Rock Creek, Illinois. Presbyterian
 Church 571
 Rockford, Illinois 504
 Rock Island, Illinois. 166,
 251, 535, 556-569, 567, 585, 586, 587
 Rock Island, Illinois
 556, 557, 564, 568, 586
 Rock Island, Illinois. Chippian-
 nock Cemetery 557, 558, 564, 568, 586
 Rock Island Co., Illinois. Histori-
 cal Society 166, 585
 Rock Island Co., Illinois. Old Set-
 tlers' Association 166, 167
 Rock Island, Illinois. Tanner's
 Club 560
 Rock River 292, 314
 Rock River Campaign 322
 Rock River. Hazelwood estate on
 the bluffs of Rock River, pur-
 chased by Alexander Chartres
 233-234
 Rockwell, A. 117
 Rockwell, Arthur Carlton 158
 Rockwell, Dennis
 .. 71, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 131, 153
 Rockwell, (Mrs.) Dennis 9
 Rockwell, Eliza (Mrs. Dennis
 Rockwell)
 Rockwell, George Dennis 153
 Rockwell, Laura C. 153, 154, 158
 Rockwell, Mary H. 133
 Rockwell, William .. 120, 153, 154, 158
 Rockwell, William Austin 155
 Rocque, (Monsieur) 321
 Rodgers, (Dr.) John R. B. ... 4, 84, 86
 Rogers, (Mrs.) John R. B. (Han-
 nah Caldwell Smith)
 1, 4, 5, 18, 84, 87
 Rodgers, (Dr.) Kerney 87
 Rodgers, Margaret. Wife of Leon-
 ard Halbert 278
 Rodolph, (Mr.) 119
 Roe, Robert 118
 Rogers, (Lieut.) John 314
 Rogers, Rebecca. (Daughter of
 Mrs. Rebecca) 142
 Rogers, (Mrs.) Rebecca 142
 Rogers, Samuel 142
 Roosevelt, (Pres.) Theodore 209
 Roosevelt, (Pres.) Theodore. Win-
 ning of the West, Vol. IV 380
 Root, Elihu. Credit for General
 Staff System and development
 of our Schools for Military Ap-
 plication, due to 209
 Root, Elihu. United States Secre-
 tary of War under Roosevelt 209-210
 Rosedale, Kan. 535
 Rose Hill 11
 Rose, Minerva 140
 Roseville, Illinois 251
 Ross, Anna E. 124
 Ross, Martha. Wife of John Hal-
 bert 273-276
 Rowen, (Dr.) 18
 Rowley, Louis 415
 Rowley, William R. ... 410, 414-415, 416
 Rucker, John. Early pioneer of
 Macon Co., Illinois 238
 Rugh, (Rev.) John D. 547, 552
 Rushville, Illinois 114, 253
 Rural, New Yorker 562
 Rusk, (Sen.) Thomas S. 486
 Russel, (Mr.) 12
 Russell, Ruth 549
 Russell, (Mrs.) Ruth 549
 Russell, Samuel 549, 554
 Russia 201
 Rutledge, Ann 500
 Rutledge, Herbert W. 569
- S—
- Sac Indians 161
 275, 292, 295, 296, 297, 301, 310,
 311, 315, 320, 322, 323, 324, 325, 332
 Sacramento Valley, Calif. 471
 St. Ange de Bellerive 295
 St. Annes Parish, Essex Co., Va.
 273, 277
 St. Bartholomew's Massacre 423
 St. Clair, (Gov.) Arthur (Sin-
 clair) 309-311, 314, 315, 318, 320-322
 Footnotes
 310-312, 315, 318, 320, 321, 354, 378
 St. Clair, (Gov.) Arthur, of the
 Northwest Territory 378
 St. Clair, (Gen.) Arthur. Letter
 to Haldimand 311
 St. Clair Co., Illinois ... 269, 275, 277
 St. Clair Co., Illinois. Early fami-
 lies in— 276
 St. Clair Co., Illinois. Halbert,
 John. Family, genealogical
 notes 277-280
 St. Clair Co., Illinois. Halbert,
 John. His wife, Martha, and
 nine children settle in St. Clair
 Co., Illinois 274

- St. Clair Co., Illinois. Halbert family 279
- St. Clair Co., Illinois. Territory 235
- St. Clair Co., Illinois Indiana Territory 235
- Ste. Genevieve, Mo. 312, 317, 327
- Ste. Genevieve, Mo. Census, 1779 313
- St. Joseph 332
- St. Lawrence River 382
- St. Louis, Mo...7, 294-297, 301-303, 311, 312, 316, 320-330, 332, 335, 341-344, 369, 517, 520, 535, 536, 537
- Footnote 299, 320, 329
- St. Louis, Mo. Attack on 311-322
- St. Louis, Mo. Census, 1779 313
- St. Louis, Mo. Defense of 316-318
- St. Louis. Grant family leave from St. Louis to make home in Galena, Ill. 409-410
- St. Louis, Mo. Militia 313
- St. Louis Valley Farmer 562
- St. Michel, a Canadian 331
- St. Mihiel. Battle of World War 203, 209
- St. Paul, Minn. 522
- Salem, Illinois. State Park (Old Salem) 253
- Salt Creek 237
- Salt Creek District, Macon Co., Ill. 236
- Saltillo, Mex. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107
- Footnote 97, 101, 102, 103, 105, 109
- Sampsell, Marshall E. 252
- Sampsell, Marshall. President Central Illinois Public Service Co. 243
- San Antonia 105
- San Antonio, Tex. 99, 100
- Sandburg, Carl 502
- Sandburg, Carl. Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie years 502
- Footnote 502
- Sanders, (Mrs.) Lon 535
- Sandwich Islands. Houghton, H. H. Counsel to the Sandwich Islands. Grant Administration .. 413
- Sangamo Club. Springfield, Ill... 448
- Sangamon County 184, 188
- Sangamon Co., Illinois 192, 235
- Sangamon Co., Illinois. Historical sketch 244-249
- Sangamon Presbytery 190, 528
- Sangamon River 237, 239, 250
- Sangamon River, North Fork ... 236
- San Joaquin Valley, California... 470
- San Juan Bautista 99
- San Luis, Potosi 99
- Santa Anna 100, 101, 106
- Footnote 102
- Santa Fe, New Mexico.... 326, 327, 370
- Sapp, (Mrs.) H. E. 541, 546
- Sarah vs. Borders 391
- Sarpy, Indian trader 323
- Saunders, (Mr.) 7
- Saunders, Della A. 122
- Saunders, (Miss) M. 145
- Saunders, Margaret 140
- Saunders, Sarah Chase 136
- Saurer, Harold Dale 256
- Sawyer, (Mrs.) C. K. 156
- Sawyer, Charles 153, 154
- Sawyer, Charles Briggs 154
- Sawyer, Clifford 153
- Sawyer, Helen 153
- Sawyer, Howard Irving 154
- Sawyer, Ida Virginia 156, 158
- Sawyer, Kate 151
- Sawyer, Lou Virginia 151
- Sawyer, Virginia.... 145, 151, 153, 154
- Scharf, J. T. History of St. Louis City and County. Footnote 325
- Schmidt, (Dr.) Otto L. President of the Illinois State Historical Society 251
- Schmidt, (Mrs.) Otto L. 251
- Schnapp, Margaret Katherine 571
- Schnapp, Margaret Katherine. Historic churches in Illinois ... 525-530
- Schnepp, (Mrs.) E. E. 540, 542
- Schofield, (Mr.) 130
- Schuykill River 424
- Scioto, Ohio 363
- Scioto River. French emigrants on the Scioto 365
- Scot 129
- Scot, (Mr.) 34, 79
- Scot, William 47, 71, 76
- Scotland 1, 3, 5, 425
- Scott, Addison 584
- Scott, (Mrs.) Catherine 279
- Scott, Edward 123
- Scott, Erastus Howard 581-584
- Scott, (Mrs.) Erastus Howard (Fannie Bradley) 584
- Scott, (Mrs.) Erastus Howard (Felicia Hiatt) 584
- Scott, Francis 581
- Scott, Franklin William .. 287, 450, 592
- Scott, John 122, 584
- Scott, John W. 581
- Scott, Judson 279
- Scott, Miriam Thompson (Mrs. John W.) 581
- Scott, Sanford — Beeson — Latin Program 583
- Scott, Willis 584
- Scott, (Gen.) Winfield 96, 97, 98, 100, 206
- Footnote 98
- Scott, (Judge) Winfield 162

- Seagraves, Bennet 546
Seares, (Dr.) Theodore C. 179
Seeley, (Hon.) Roy M. City At-
torney of Springfield, Ill. 244
Selby, (Dr.) Emily H. 283
Selby, Paul 178, 283
Selby, (Mrs.) Paul. Biographical
sketch 283-284
Selby, (Mrs.) Paul. "Recollections
of a Little Girl in the Forties".. 283
Service Star Legion 286
Seven Year War, Europe 298, 382
Seward, William H.
..... 206, 213, 467, 488, 495
Footnote 488
Seyler, Mary Ellen 124
Seymour, (Miss) A. 30
Seymour, (Bishop) George F. 159
Seymour, (Mrs.) Goudy 40
Sharon, Ill. Presbyterian Church 548
Shawneetown, Illinois 576
Sheahan, J. W. Footnote 477, 495, 498
Shelby, (Gov.) Isaac, of Kentucky
..... 374, 377, 378
Sheppard, Joseph 118
Sherman, Roger 445
Sherman, William T. 96
Sherwood, (Bishop) Granville.... 159
Sherwood, (Mrs.) Granville..119, 147
Sherwood, Adiel. Georgia Gazet-
teer 380
Sherwood, Blanch 147
Sherwood, George 581
Shiloh, Battle of 575
Shively, H. J. 255
Shoal Creek, Ill. Presbyterian
Church 548
Short, Albert 133
Short, George 158
Short, (Rev.) W. S. 132
Shoulders, Betsey (Mrs. Joel Har-
rell) 574
Shover, (Lieut.) 103
Shurtleff College. Upper Alton,
Ill. 275
Shurtliff, Alfred Pearson 136
Shurtliff, Edward 136
Shurtliff, Hannah 136
Shurtliff, Jane Catherine 136
Sierra Madre Mts. 98
Sierra Nevada Mountains 456
Sigler, (Mrs.) 144
Sigler, Amanda Carlton 141
Sigler, Charles 131
Sigler, Charles Edward 142
Sigler, Clara M. 125
Sigler, Clarissa 142
Sigler, Cornelia 144
Sigler, I. T. 117
Sigler, John, Jr. 129
Sigler, John T. 141, 142
Sigler, John Thomas 145
Sigler, Louisa Emma 141
Sigler, Mary 141, 142, 145
Sigler, Mary Ellen 141
Sigourney, (Mrs.) Lydia Huntly 25, 48
Silhouettes 16
Silvis, (Mrs.) C. L. 557
Simmons, Barton W. 126
Simms, (Maj.) 116
Simms, Harriet 128, 137
Simms, Harriet Adeline 128, 137
Simms, Ignatius R. 114, 128, 137
Simms, Jane P. 122
Simms, (Mrs.) May Eliza 147
Simms, Middleton Ward 137
Simpson, James 118, 122
Sims (Mrs.) Ann M. 174, 175, 176
Sioux Indians
295, 296, 310, 311, 312, 321, 324, 326
Sir Galahad. Poem by Tennyson,
stanza quoted 418
Slavery 93, 94,
195, 215, 216, 275, 277, 453-457,
459, 461-474, 481-483, 494, 495, 499
Slavery. District of Columbia
Slavery 494, 495, 499
Slavery, Foster (Rev.) Lemuel.
Against Slavery 199
Slavery, Foster (Rev.) Lemuel.
Writer on Temperance and Slav-
ery 184
Slavery. Fugitive Slave Bill 494, 499
Slavery. Henderson Co., Illinois 162
Slaves. Halbert, John, frees his
slaves 275
Smallwood Parmenus. Voting
place of Macon County held in
home of 236
Smallwood's Mill. Macon County,
Illinois 237
Smith, (Mrs.) 48, 126
Smith, (Mrs. Dr.) 27
Smith, (Mr.), from the Grove.... 30
Smith, (Mrs.), from the Grove... 30
Smith, Alfred Abel 148
Smith, (Mrs.) Amanda, M. F. 121
Smith, (Rev.) Ambrose 416
Smith, Anna (Mrs.) Matthew St.
Clair Clarke 5, 77, 86, 87, 92
Smith, Anne Maria 145
Smith, Arcadia (Mrs. Joel Har-
rell) 574, 576
Smith, (Bishop) Benjamin Bos-
worth 113, 114
Smith, Charles 118, 144, 145
Smith, Cornelia E. 158
Smith, Dorothy 140
Smith, Edmund Thomas 148
Smith, Eliza Jane 138

- Smith, Elizabeth. Oquawka celebrates its 100th anniversary 160-163
- Smith, Elizabeth Caldwell. (Mrs. Joseph Duncan) Diary1-85
- Smith, Emma 158
- Smith, Emma Laura Swals 158
- Smith, (Mrs.) Esther 87
- Smith, G. W. Illinois and her people. Footnote99, 107
- Smith, Harriet Ann 148
- Smith, Hyrum.... 94, 95, 512, 513, 524
- Smith, Hyrum. Death of 513
- Smith, I. Orval. Director of Public Relations of the Northwest Territory Commission266, 267
- Smith, J. H. War with Mexico... 97
- Footnote 97
- Smith, J. K. 554
- Smith, J. Edson. Member of Executive Committee, Elmwood Taft Sculpture Committee 254
- Smith, J. Emil. Mayor of Springfield, Ill. 252
- Smith, James39, 92
- Smith, (Mrs.) James (Julia) later Mrs. Zabriskie85, 92
- Smith, James D. 125
- Smith, James R.1, 3, 4, 84, 86
- Smith, (Mrs.) James R. (Hannah Ray Caldwell)1, 84, 86
- Smith, Jeanette (Mrs. John X. Clarke)76, 77, 92
- Smith, John 17
- Smith, Joseph 94, 95, 158, 507-513, 524
- Smith, Joseph. Death of 513
- Smith, Joseph. "The Fatal Tragedy" 511-513
- Smith, June C. 445
- Smith, M. M. City Clerk of Springfield, Ill. 243
- Smith, Martha 138
- Smith, Mary Ann 148
- Smith, Mary Jane 144
- Smith, Mary Topliff 283
- Smith, Porter 283
- Smith, Samuel R.117, 121
- Smith, Sarah144, 145
- Smith, Thomas H. 138
- Snider, Brainerd C. 176
- Snider, Henry. Judge in Okaw District, Macon Co., Illinois... 236
- Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West 404
- Soldiers of 1812. Buried in Bond Co., Ill.541-546
- Some reminiscences of pioneer Rock Island Women. By K. T. Anderson (Mrs.) 167
- Sommerville 11
- Song, America 254
- Sonnemann, Mary L. 554
- Sonora stone quarries 519
- Sons of the American Revolution 264, 448
- Sons of Veterans. Illinois, Greenville 542
- Sorosis Society. Jacksonville, Illinois 286
- Soule, (Sen.) Pierre485, 486
- South Carolina State202, 476
- South Carolina State. Ramsey, David. History of South Carolina, Vol. I 380
- South Macon, (Macon Co.) Ill... 238, 240, 241
- South Wheatland, Macon Co., Illinois238, 240, 241
- Spain 368
- Spain. Clark, George Rogers, offers his services to Spain in return for a land grant 361
- Spain declares war on England... 308
- Footnote 308
- Spain enters the Revolutionary War 308-309
- Spain. Relations between France and Spain strained 361
- Spangler, (Mrs.) George Minor. State Registrar of Illinois, D. A. R. 252, 574
- Spangler, Jacob. Early pioneer of Macon County, Illinois 237
- Spaniards. Enemies of Great Britain 263
- Spaniards. Not the friends of the United States 263
- Spaniards Aid to the Americans during the Revolution.....299-301
- Spanish America 370
- Spanish Illinois311, 326, 327
- Footnote 291
- Spanish in the Illinois Country 291-358
- Spanish rule in Louisiana, weakness 360
- Sparks, Edwin Erle287, 450, 592
- Sparta, Illinois 267
- Spensley's History of Jo Daviess Co., Ill. 411
- Speulda, Alta Mae542, 543
- Speulda, Alta Mae. Chairman, Springfield Chapter, Committee to mark historic spots 243
- Speulda, Alta Mae. Presents boulder to the city of Springfield and land owners for the D. A. R. 244

- Speulda, Alta Mae. Unveiling of the Kelley Cabin marker ...242-252
- Spillman, (Rev.) Thomas A. 549
- Spindel, (Dr.) E. T. Great-grandson of John Kelley244, 252
- Spinka, Matthew, Ph. D. Journal of a pioneer missionary. The Rev. Lemuel Foster.....183-199
- Spottswood, (Miss) ——— 126
- Spring Creek 250
- Springfield, Illinois23, 25, 255, 500, 518-519, 542, 550, 562, 588
- Springfield, Illinois. Bergen, (Rev.) John G. Pioneer preacher, in188, 189
- Springfield, Illinois. Capital moved from Vandalia to Springfield, Illinois 274
- Springfield, Illinois. Capital of the Mormon Temple, brought to 518-519
- Springfield, Illinois. Chapter D. A. R. authorized to mark site of first cabin in Springfield, Kelley cabin 242-243
- Springfield, Illinois. D. A. R. Chapter242, 243, 244, 283
- Springfield, Illinois. Chapter D. A. R. Frederick Reid, President of children of the American Revolution 244
- Springfield Chapter, D. A. R., grant permission to the Committee on Preservation of Historic spots to mark location of Kelley Cabin 243
- Springfield, Illinois. Debates by Lincoln and Douglas in— 500
- Springfield, Illinois. Elliott home, early home in Springfield, Ill. Location 251
- Springfield, Illinois. First home site in, marked by the Springfield Chapter, D. A. R.242-252
- Springfield, Illinois. Garland (Hon.) James M., former Mayor of Springfield, Ill. 244
- Springfield, Illinois. Historical sketch 244-249
- Springfield, Illinois. Illini Club.. 448
- Springfield, Illinois. Iron Co. 447
- Springfield, Illinois. Kelley Cabin. Unveiling of tablet to mark site of—Dec. 3, 1927242-252
- Springfield, Illinois. Lincoln Home, Lincoln Monument located in— 253
- Springfield, Illinois. Lincoln Square 250
- Springfield, Illinois. Oak Ridge Cemetery250, 284, 446
- Springfield, Illinois. St. Paul's Episcopal Church 588
- Springfield, Illinois. Sangamo Club 448
- Springfield, Illinois. Seeley (Hon.) Roy M. City Attorney of Springfield, Illinois 244
- Springfield, Illinois. Smith, J. Emil, Mayor of Springfield, Ill. 243
- Springfield, Illinois. Smith, M. M. City Clerk of Springfield, Ill.... 243
- Springfield, on Sangamon, is beginning to stand with Stratford-on-Avon, as a shrine 217
- Sproule, Sarah 122
- Sprowell, Elizabeth 140
- Sprowell, Ellen 140
- Sprowell, Robert 140
- Sprowell, Sarah 140
- Sprowetts, (Mrs.) ——— 117
- Stafford, (Rev.) James 551
- Stamer, (Rev.) John116, 127
- Standard Service Arithmetics ... 582
- Stanton, Edward M. Sec. of War 205
- Starkey, Angelina Christina 155
- Starkey, Simon J. 155
- Starkey, Sophia J. 155
- Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War, by General Maurice. Quoted 216
- Statue. Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S. Bronze Statue of, presented to Galena, Ill., by Herman H. Kohl-saat 417
- Statue of the Madonna of the Trail unveiled at Vandalia, by D. A. R. By Mrs. Bess D. Moss ...534-540
- Statue. Taft's Pioneer Group at Elmwood, Ill.253-259
- Stephens, A. H.473, 474
- Footnote 473, 474
- Stephens, R. Allan 445
- Stephenson, (Mrs.) ——— 27
- Stephenson, Nathaniel Wright. Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln 503
- Stevens, Frank E. Life of Stephen A. Douglas 502
- Footnote 502
- Stevens, Harriet (Mrs. Joseph Duncan)10, 92
- Stevens, W. B. History of Georgia. Vol. 2. N. Y., 1859.. 380
- Stevens, W. B. St. Louis. Foot-note 325
- Stevens, Wayne E. Footnote 291
- Stevenson, Joseph 554
- Stewart, ———118, 129
- Stewart, C. D. 555
- Stewart, George 422

- Stewart, (Rev.) John 551
 Stewart, W. K. 163
 Stewart, (Rev.) Wm. K. 549, 550
 Stickney, (Rev.) G. W. 132
 Stocking, Charles Francis. Charles
 Fremont Hildreth 169-172
 Stone, George 270
 Stone, (Dr.) John Timothy 571
 Stookey, Sophia Hannah 132
 Stout, Walter Scott 572
 Stratford-on-Avon 217
 Stringham, Eunice A. 124
 Stringham, John M. 125
 Stringham, Martha A. 123
 Stringham, Martha Ann 144
 Strong, ——— 120
 Stryker, Charlotte 149, 150, 152
 Stryker, Eliza 123
 Stryker, (Mrs.) Elizabeth 159
 Stryker, Harriet McClure 135
 Stryker, Henry 117, 143, 146,
 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 156, 157, 158
 Stryker, Henry, Jr.
 120, 126, 147, 157
 Stryker, Jane Ann 129
 Stryker, Louisa 146, 151, 153, 156, 158
 Stryker, Maria 124
 Stryker, Sophia A. 149
 Stryker, Sophia Hurd 149
 Stuart, John T. 511
 Stuarts of England 273
 Stubblefield, Reuben. Early family
 settle in St. Clair Co., Ill. 276
 Sturtevant, (Dr.) Adams 41
 Sturtevant, C. 36
 Sturtevant, (Mrs.) Henry 33
 Sturtevant, Hulda 36
 Sturtevant, Julian M. Autobiog-
 raphy. Quoted. Footnotes 397, 399
 Sturtevant, Julian. Denomina-
 tional Colleges in New England-
 er, Vol. 8, 1860. Footnote..... 408
 Sturtevant, Julian M. Letter to
 Theron Baldwin, dated Illinois
 College, May 2, 1843. Footnote 401
 Sturtevant, Julian M. Letters to
 Theron Baldwin, April 23, 1856,
 June 2, 1856. Footnote 406
 Sturtevant, Julian M. Letter of
 Theron Baldwin to—dated June
 11, 1856. Footnote 406
 Sturtevant, Julian M. Letter to
 Theron Baldwin, June 1, 1858.
 Footnote 407
 Sturtevant, Julian M. President,
 Illinois College
 30, 36, 58-60, 66, 74, 81,
 187, 395-397, 399, 400, 401, 404-407
 Footnote 397, 399
 Sturtevant, Julian M. Services
 for the cause of higher educa-
 tion 407, 408
 Sumner, Benjamin 142
 Sumner, Sarah 142
 Sumner, Sullivan 142
 Supreme Court Reports, Illinois
 State 275
 Susquehanna River 424, 425, 432
 Swanzy, Andrew. Biographical
 sketch 440-441
 Swanzy, (Dr.) James 440
 Swearengen, (Mrs.) ——— 118
 Sweatland, Jno. B. 122
 Sweden 423, 424
 Sweeney, (Mrs.) Bess C..... 535, 539
 Sweeney, (Mrs.) William Jackson.
 Regent, Illinois D. A. R.....
 244, 251, 531, 571
 Sweeney, (Mrs.) William Jackson.
 Remarks on presenting the
 prize Essay Medal 531-533
 Sweetin, James 575
- T—
- Taft, Don Carlos. Father of Lor-
 ado Taft 253
 Taft, (Miss) Emily 256
 Taft, Lorado. Born at Elmwood,
 Ill. April 29, 1860 253
 Taft, Lorado. Statue, pioneer
 group at Elmwood, Ill. 253-259
 Taft, Lorado. Studio on the Mid-
 way, Chicago 255
 Taft, (Mrs.) Lorado 254
 Taft's Pioneer Group at Elmwood,
 Ill. Hamlin Garland's dedica-
 tory address 257-258
 Talbot, Martha. Daughter of John
 Halbert 276
 Talleyrand 360
 Tallula, Illinois. Rock Creek
 Church 525-530
 Tamaroa, Illinois 263, 269
 Tampico 98, 100
 Footnote 97
 Taos 327
 Tappahannock, Va. 273
 Tappan, (Mr.) ——— 21
 Tarbell, Ida. Life of Abraham
 Lincoln 502
 Footnote 502
 Tardiveau, ——— 366
 Tarpy, M. E. Member of The Elm-
 wood-Taft Sculpture Committee 254
 Taylor, D. S. 525
 Taylor, Polly Ann 525
 Taylor, Sally 525

- Taylor, Samuel 124
 Taylor, President Zachary
461, 487, 488, 497
 Taylor, (Gen.) Zachary
96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 107, 109
 Footnote... 97, 98, 102, 103, 104, 109
 Taylor, Zachary. Lincoln speaks
 in Chicago for Zachary Taylor,
 1848 220
 Taylor, Zachary. Nominated for
 President 461
 Taylorville, Illinois 552
 Tayon, Carlos 313
 Temperance. Foster, (Rev.) Lem-
 uel, advocate of Temperance.... 199
 Temperance. Foster, (Rev.) Lem-
 uel, writer on Temperance and
 Slavery 184
 Temperance Society 8
 Tennessee State 202, 257, 457, 465, 470
 Footnote 476
 Tennessee State. Haywood, John.
 History of Tennessee 380
 Tennessee State. Knoxville, Tenn. 380
 Tennyson, Alfred418, 531
 Tennyson, Alfred. Extract from
 poem 418
 Tenyck, C. H. 156
 Tenyck, Charles Henry 156
 Tenyck, Clara Josephine 156
 Terre Haute, Ind. 439
 Texas State453, 454, 462-
 465, 467, 476, 480-491, 493, 494, 515
 Texas State. Boundary Question
 462-464, 465,
 476, 480, 486-491, 493, 494, 497, 499
 Texas State. Handley, Texas ... 278
 Thacker, Allen 546
 Thwaites, Early Western Travels.
 Footnote 322
 Thayer, (Mr.) 47
 Thayer, (Mrs.) 47
 Thayer, Charles 52
 Thente, (Mr. and Mrs.) 130
 Rhodes, 130
 Thomas, 96
 Thomas, (Rev.) John T. 284, 446, 530
 Thomason, John. Judge, Okaw
 Precinct, Macon Co., Illinois ... 236
 Thompson, (Mrs.) 59
 Thompson, Alfred C. 133
 Thompson, Charles Manfred
287, 450, 592
 Thompson, Ellen 133
 Thompson, Louise C. 125
 Tilton, Martha133, 134, 157
 Tilton, Peter 119, 124, 131, 133, 134, 157
 Tilton, (Mrs.) Peter 131
 Tilton, Robert 157
 Tobin, (Mrs.) J. Ralph. Member
 of Committee, Springfield Chap-
 ter, D. A. R., to mark historic
 spots 243, 244
 Todd, (Mr.) 61
 Todd, (Rev.) Hugh W.551, 552
 Todd, John 304
 Todd, (Dr.) John, of Springfield,
 Ill. 72, 85
 Todhunter, George 140
 Todhunter, John 140
 Todhunter, Martha 140
 Toler, (Miss) 22
 Tolfree, Caroline 138
 Tolfree, John E. 138
 Tolfree, Mary Harriet 138
 Tolono, Champaign Co., Ill. 438
 Tolpree, Inc., E. 117
 Tomelson, (Mrs.) 151
 Tomlin, (Mrs.) 120
 Toombs, Robert Washington 473, 474
 Toronto, Can. 572
 Toulouse, France 424
 Town, (Mr.) 46
 Townsend, (Rev.) I. L.
133, 155, 156, 157, 158
 Townsend, (Mrs.) I. L. 157
 Townsend, L. Josephine156-158
 Trail from Fort Massac to Kas-
 kaskia. George Rogers Clark
 Historical Expedition 268-272
 Trail from Kaskaskia to Cahokia 272
 Trail, George Rogers Clark. "In-
 dian Point," marked by the D.
 A. R.'s 269
 Trails 534-540
 Transylvania University 93
 Travelers Aid Society 583
 Treat, Samuel H. 121
 Treaty of Paris, 1763 383
 Trelease, (Dr.) Wm. 556
 Tremont House, Chicago, Illinois. 503
 Trigg Co., Ky. 574
 Trinity Church, Jacksonville, Ill.
 See Jasksonville, Illinois 111
 Trotter, (Rev.) 162
 Trovillion, Hal. Editor of the
 Herrin News 270
 Trude, Daniel P. 445
 True American Creed (The) 227, 228
 Truman, (Judge) Harry S. 536
 Trumbull, Lyman 275
 Truteau, J. B. Chanson de L'annee
 du Coup. Footnote 325
 Truth Seekers Tracts 198
 Tucker, (Mr.) 38
 Tucker, (Mrs.) Edna Armstrong..
 559, 560, 561, 568
 Tucker, Jona. (Mr.) 117

Tull, (Judge) Jessie	569
Tunney, (Mrs.) ———	118
Turkey Hill School	279
Turkey River	314
Turner, (Prof.) Frederick	2
Turner, Frederick J. Historian..	360
Turner Hall, Galena, Illinois	416, 417
Turner, Jonathan Baldwin....	285, 405
Turner, Jonathan Baldwin. Letter to R. W. Patterson, dated Illi- nois College, Dec. 4, 1844. Foot- note	401
Turner, Jonathan Baldwin. Life of—by Mary Turner Carriel....	286
Turner, Jonathan Baldwin. Orig- inal of the Land Grant System for Agricultural Colleges	286
Turner, Jonathan Baldwin. Pro- fessor in Illinois College ...	400, 401
Footnote	401
Turner, (Mrs.) Jonathan Baldwin	36
Turner, Post	41
Turney, Wm. A.	123
Turney, (Mrs.) Wm. A. (Maria Watkins Warren). Footnote..	109
Tuscaroras Indians	21
Tuttle, (Mrs.) ———	14

—U—

Ulrich, (Miss)	23
Ulrich, Mary	38
Underwood, Emma Louise. Wife of Robert Alexander Halbert..	279
Underwood, (Sen.) J. R.	487
Underwood, (Judge) Wm. H.	279
Underwood, Wm. H.	275
Union Armies	208
Union League Club, Chicago	443
United States Army	200
United States. Articles of Con- federation and Perpetual Union between the States	384, 386
United States and Mexico. By G. L. Rives. Footnote	97
United States Congress. Declared war against the German Empire	200
United States Congress. Lincoln, Abraham, member of Congress, 1847	221
United States. Constitution of	453, 459, 460, 512
United States. Daughters of 1812, Illinois, Kaskaskia Chapter	541-546
United States. Daughters of 1812, Illinois, Sangamo Chapter	542, 543
United States Dept. of Agriculture	556
United States District Court	219

United States. McMaster, J. B. History of the People of the United States. Vol. 2	380
United States Senate Committee of Thirteen ...	475-481, 484-488, 495-497
United States Senate Committee on Territories	477, 480, 482, 499
United States Senate. Omnibus Bill	455, 465, 479, 480, 481, 486, 487, 491, 495, 497, 498, 499
United States War Department...	203
Unzaga	293
Footnote	293, 294, 295
Upper Alton, Illinois	198
Upper Essex Baptist Church, Vir- ginia	277
Urbana, Champaign, Illinois	255
Urbana, Illinois	504
Urbana, Illinois. Lincoln attends court in	223
Urbana, Illinois. Political speech in	219
Urch, Erwin J. The Public Career of William Barton Warren...	93-110
Urrea	105
Utah. Footnote	95
Utah. Mormons. Footnote	94
Utah Territory	464, 465, 472, 474, 477, 480, 485, 492, 496, 499, 513, 514, 523
Utah Territory Bill	492

—V—

Vail, Robert P.	445
Valley Forge, Penn.	422
Valmeyer Orchestra	266
Valois, Marguerite de	423
Van Alstine, Elder T.	140
Van Alstine, John Edson	140
Van Alstine, Olive E.	140
Van Burensburg	551
Vance, C. A.	255
Vandalia, Illinois	6
Foonote	537
Vandalia, Illinois. Capital of the State	187
Vandalia, Illinois. Capital moved from Vandalia to Springfield, Illinois	274
Vandalia, Illinois. Chamber of Commerce	534, 536, 540
Vandalia, Illinois. General As- sembly, State of Illinois, con- venes in	235
Vandalia, Illinois. Land district	547
Vandalia, Illinois. Manion Band	535
Vandalia, Illinois. Pageant...	534, 535

- Vandalia, Illinois. Presbyterian Church 547-555
 Vandalia, Illinois. Presbyterian Church Bell 552-553
 Footnote 552
 Vandalia, Illinois. Statue, Madonna of the Trail 534-540
 Vanderhoeff, (Miss) (Mrs. Wash. Hook) 118
 Vanderpool, (Miss) ——— 15
 Vanderveer, Margaret 18, 22
 Vandon, J. Livingston 22
 Van Doren, Livingston 87
 Van Doren, Maria 22
 Van Myck, (Mrs.) (Mrs. John E. Caldwell) 92
 Van Riper, Gertrude 569
 Varner, Cornelia Dartt 578
 Vasquez, Benito 313, 318
 Footnote 327
 Vaughn, Nancy C. 125
 Velde, Franklin L. 445
 Vera Cruz, Mex. 96, 98
 Vera Cruz, Mex. Battle of..... 97
 Verdun. World War 203
 Verlie, Emil Joseph 288, 451, 593
 Vermont State 359
 Vermont State 457
 Footnote 476
 Vermont State. Windsor 507
 Vicksburg, Miss. Capture of—by Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, reference to 205
 Victoria 100
 Victoria, Queen. Accession to the throne of England 233
 Vienna, Ill. County Seat of Johnson Co., Ill. 269
 Vigo, Francisco 303, 323
 Vincennes, Clark marches on.... 263
 Vincennes, Ind. 303, 307, 331
 Virginia 299
 Virginia. House of Delegates, Nov. 23, 1778. Thanks George Rogers Clark 272
 Virginia Military District 386
 Virginia Military Institute. Lieut. Thomas Jonathan Jackson, instructor in 207
 Virginia State 250, 257, 260
 Virginia State 470, 492
 Footnote 476
 Virginia State. Colonial Annals 420
 Virginia State, Essex Co., Va. 273
 Virginia State. Flag of 263
 Virginia State. Halbert, John, emigrates from Virginia to Illinois in 1830 275
 Virginia State. Militia, 1781 274
 †Virginians 268
 Vogeles, ——— 568
 Vollentine, Wm. 546
 Volsey, ——— 295
 Von Clausewitz. Definition of War 213
 Von Clausewitz. Treaties on the Fundamental nature of War... 211, 212, 213
 Voris, H. E. 271
 Vredenburg, W. R. 446

 —W—
 Wabash College 396
 Wabash River 274, 312, 369
 Wabasha, Sioux Chief .. 312, 315, 321
 Footnote 312
 Wade, Wm. 123
 Wahl, E. L. 554
 Waibel, C. D. 255
 Waidel, Lloyd 255
 Wainwright, (Mr.) ——— 15
 Wakely, (Dr.) ——— 119, 120
 Wakely, Agnes Audby 153
 Wakely, (Mrs.) Ann 131
 Wakely, Lucy B. 125
 Wakely, Sarah Ann 129
 Wakely, (Dr.) T. A. 153, 157
 Walker, James 135
 Walker, (Mrs.) Harriet J. 573
 Walker, (Sen.) J. P. 459, 460, 461
 Walker, Waitie (wife of Andrew Swanzy) 441
 Walker, (Macon Co.) Illinois 241
 Wallace, (Mrs.) Ida B. 267
 Waller, (Mr.) ——— 120
 Waller, (Hon.) Elbert 263, 270, 271, 272
 Waller, (Hon.) Elbert. Historian 269
 Waller, Elbert. Quoted on Fort Gage 261
 Walls, (Mrs.) E. ——— 154
 Walnut Hill Cemetery, Belleville, Ill. 280
 Walsh, Benjamin Dann. By L. H. Pammel 556-568
 Walsh, (Mrs.) Benjamin Dann... 558
 Walters, Fredk. 122
 Walton, Ruben 124
 Walworth, (Chancellor) Reuben Hyde 84
 Walworth, (Mrs.) Reuben H. (Mrs. John J. Hardin) 84
 War between Spain and England 308-309
 War College. Jackson, Stonewall, the first American to graduate from a modern War College.... 208
 War Colleges. None at the time of the Civil War 207
 War of 1812 274, 544

- War of 1812. Prisoners buried in England 543
- War of 1812. Soldiers of, buried in Bond County, Illinois 541-546
- War of the Rebellion 235, 409
- War of the Rebellion. Antietam, battle of 210
- War of the Rebellion. Army of Northern Virginia, brilliant operation of 208
- War of the Rebellion. Army of the Potomac 213
- War of the Rebellion. Battle of Bull Run 201, 204, 210
- War of the Rebellion. Battle of Chattanooga 205
- War of the Rebellion. Battle of Gettysburg 205
- War of the Rebellion. Grand Army of the Republic 280
- War of the Rebellion. History of, shows that soldiers can be trained for effective fighting ... 209
- War of the Rebellion. Illinois, 117th Regiment, Ill. Volunteer Inf. 274, 279
- War of the Rebellion. Lee, (Gen.) Robert E. Decides to go with his native State in the War of the Rebellion 208
- War of the Rebellion. Lincoln, Abraham, situation in — compared with that of Wilson in World War 202
- War of the Rebellion. Lincoln criticized on the ground that he played politics in the conduct of the Civil War 215
- War of the Rebellion. Maurice, (General) Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War. Quoted 216
- War of the Rebellion. Northern Army in 1862, effective trained leaderships and general staff organization in—totaling, lacking 209
- War of the Rebellion. No War Colleges or Military Schools at the time of 207
- War of the Rebellion. One Hundred and Thirtieth Illinois Infantry 438
- War of the Rebellion. Peninsula Campaign 213
- War of the Rebellion. United States entered in without an army and also without a trained overhead competent to lead an army 210
- War of the Rebellion. Vicksburg, capture of—by Gen. Grant..... 205
- War of the Revolution 260, 261, 264, 265
- War of the Revolution. Quebec Act 263
- War of the Revolution. Yorktown, surrender of 250
- War with Mexico..... 95-99, 274, 360
- War with Mexico. By J. H. Smith. Footnote 97
- War with Mexico. By R. S. Ripley. Footnote 107
- War with Mexico. Grant, Captain in the War with Mexico 409
- War with Mexico. Troops called for 96
- Ward, (Dr.) ——— 23
- Ward, Alice Elizabeth 138
- Ward, Artemus. Guest of Alexander Chartres at Hazelwood estate on the bluffs of Rock River 233
- Ward, Emmerson 138
- Ward, Hannah 138
- Ward, James. County Court of Macon Co. held at the house of —June 1, 1829 236
- Ward, John 138
- Ward, Margaret Ann 138
- Ward Program 583
- Warfield, (Mr.) ——— 118, 120
- Warne, Edward Edgar 154
- Warne, J. Lenbrock 125
- Warne, J. Tenbrock 154
- Warne, Margaretta C. 154
- Warren, Agnes Fountleroy (Mrs. V. M. Kenney). Footnote 109
- Warren, (Miss) Ann 153
- Warren, (Mrs.) Ann 153
- Warren, Chas. Boynton. Footnote 107
- Warren, Louisa M. 125
- Warren, Margaret Johnson. Footnote 109
- Warren, Margaret Johnston.. 131, 153
- Warren, Maria 123
- Warren, Maria Watkins (Mrs. Wm. A. Turney). Footnote 109
- Warren, Mary Louisa (Mrs. Thos. Booth). Footnote 109
- Warren, Philemon. Footnote 109
- Warren, William Barton. Clerk of Illinois Supreme Court 107
- Warren, William Barton. Governor of Saltillo 104
- Footnote 103
- Warren, William Barton. Presented with sword by Illinois legislature 107

- Warren, William Barton. Public career of. By Erwin J. Urch 93-110
- Warren, (Mrs.) William..... 28, 29, 42, 118, 156
- Warren, Wm. Monroe. Footnote 109
- Warren Family 109
- Warren, Ann 147
- "Warren, The." By Ensley Moore. Footnote 93
- Warrensburg, Macon Co., Illinois 241
- Warsaw, Illinois 516
- Washburn, (Mr.) A. C.191, 192
- Washburne, (Hon.) Elihu B. 288, 411, 413, 451, 593
- Footnote 409
- Washburne, (Hon.) Elihu B. Minister to France..... 413
- Footnote 409
- Washington, D. C.2, 5, 213, 223, 495, 569-570
- Washington, D. C., Club 569
- Washington, D. C., Colonization Society 84
- Washington, D. C. Grant's residence in—at the White House.. 413
- Washington, D. C. Illinois State Society 569-570
- Washington, D. C. To be adequately guarded. War of the Rebellion 204
- Washington Co., Illinois 279
- Washington Heights, near Rock Island, Ill. 184
- Waterloo, (Monroe Co.) Illinois.. 271
- Watson, (Rev.) C. 195
- Wayner, Charles 554
- Waynesville, Illinois 193
- Weatherford, (Col.) William 94
- Footnote 104
- Weber, Jessie Palmer 287, 289, 450, 451, 592, 593
- Webster, (Capt.)101, 103
- Webster, (Mrs.) 120
- Webster, Carrie 155
- Webster, Daniel 476
- Webster, Daniel 459, 465, 467, 468, 476, 487, 496
- Footnote 476
- Webster, Daniel. Visits Jacksonville, Ill. 89
- Webster, (Dr.) Wayne H. 255
- Webster Groves, Mo. 535
- Weeks, Sally 575
- Wegener, E. H. Mayor of Chester, Illinois 261, 264
- Weghoft, Henry 124
- Weightmann, Hanson 49
- Welch, (Aunt) 17
- Weller, Jesse 134
- Wells, (Mr.) 23
- Wells, (Mr.) from New Rochelle 20
- Wells, (Mrs.) Mary Eliza 154
- Wells, Murry Angle Reynolds.... 154
- Werts, E. L. 163
- Wesley, Edgar B. Footnote 103
- West, E. H. The Indian Policy of Bernardo de Galvez. Footnote 292
- West, Wm. H. 554
- West Florida328, 359
- West Point Military Academy.... 413
- Western Reserve, Ohio 386
- Western Rural Magazine 562
- Westward March of the Pioneer. Dedication address by Hamlin Garland at Taft's Pioneer Group at Elmwood, Illinois257-258
- Weymouth, (Lord). Footnote... 308
- Wheatland, (South) Macon Co., Ill. 238, 240
- Wheaton College 442, 443
- Wheaton, International Law 383
- Wheeler, (Capt.) 103
- Wheeler, J. S. 542
- Whelpley, (Mr.) 18
- Whig National Convention, 1839 93, 108
- Whig Party..... 454, 461, 472, 473, 511
- Whilley, (Rev.) H. C. 133
- White, David 546
- White, (Rev.) James 527
- White, Josie 278
- White, Robert 554
- White, Walter C. 554
- White Co., Illinois. Land Grants 575
- White Co., Illinois. Revolutionary Soldiers 573
- Whitehead, Daniel 125
- Whitehead, Nancy (Mrs. Rush Duer) 84
- Whitehouse, (Bishop) 148
- Whitemann, (Mrs.) Olivia..... 536, 537, 539, 552
- Footnote 537
- Whitmore, John. First marriage license in Macon Co. 240
- Whitmore, Macon Co., Illinois 238, 240
- Whitmore Township, (Macon Co.) Illinois 241
- Whitney, Henry C. Life on the circuit with Lincoln. Quoted.. 502
- Whitney, Henry C. Lincoln biographer 219
- Wierheim, (Miss) Anna 267
- Wiley, Earl W. Lincoln's Chicago speech of October 27, 1854 218-223
- Wilkenson, J. P.36, 43, 59
- Wilkenson, (Mrs.) J. P. 6, 27, 35, 36, 43, 47, 49, 75, 61
- Wilkenson, (Mrs.) O. 36
- Wilkinson, (General)363, 366

- Willeford, W. W. 542, 543
 Williams, ——— 59-63, 64, 66-69
 Williams, (Mrs.) 66
 Williams, (Rev.) Edward 585
 Williams, Hannah 125
 Williamson, Thomas 272
 Williamson, William. Member of
 the Ninth General Assembly,
 State of Illinois 235
 Williamson Co., Illinois 270
 Williamstown, College in Massa-
 chusetts 183
 Willing, (Capt.) ——— 300
 Willis, ——— 118
 Willis, (Mrs.) ——— 118
 Willis, Charles W. 128
 Wills, (Rev.) W. W. 551
 Wilmot, Proviso
 454, 459, 462, 466-468, 484, 485
 Wilson, (Mr.) 118, 120
 Wilson, Charles 144
 Wilson, (Mrs.) Clara 176
 Wilson, D. K. Early pioneer of
 Macon Co., Ill. 238
 Wilson, George H. 445
 Wilson, (Senator) Harry 271
 Wilson, (Macon Co.) Ill. Mt. Zion
 formerly called Wilson..... 238, 239
 Wilson, John C. 574
 Wilson, (Mrs.) Mary 176
 Wilson, Sarah 144
 Wilson, W. T. 10
 Wilson, (Mrs.) W. T. (Edith Ross
 Kirby) 10
 Wilson, Wm. Frank 144
 Wilson, William Frink 128
 Wilson, (Pres.) Woodrow 201
 Wilson, (Pres.) Woodrow. Selec-
 ted and supported a competent
 commander. World War, 1917 206
 Winchester, Illinois 253
 Windson, Vt. 507
 Winnebago Indians 275
 Winning of the West. By Theo-
 dore Roosevelt, Vol. IV 380
 Winsor, Justin. Narrative and
 Critical History of America. Vol.
 VII 380
 Wisconsin River 311, 323
 Wisconsin State
 267, 275, 459, 472, 490, 548
 Wisconsin State. Boundaries 548
 Wisconsin State. Draper Collec-
 tion. George Rogers Clark Manu-
 scripts. Footnote 371
 Wisconsin State Historical Society 381
 Wisconsin State. Part of the
 Northwest Territory 272
 Wisconsin State University 556
 Wolcott, Elihu 41
 Wolcott, (Miss.) ——— 30
 Wolseley, (Lord) British General
 205, 216
 Wood, Elizabeth 525
 Wood, John 525
 Wood, Margaret 525
 Wood, Milo 525
 Woods, (Rev.) W. E. 161
 Woodstock, Illinois 504
 Wool, (Gen.) John E. 97-99,
 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109
 Footnote 93, 106
 World War 200, 201, 216
 World War. Contrast between the
 Civil War and World War..... 209
 World War. End of World War,
 Nov. 11, 1918 203
 World War. Meuse-Argonne Of-
 fense 203
 World War. St. Mihiel 203
 World War. St. Mihiel, battle of,
 World War 209
 World War. St. Mihiel, trained
 leadership and general staff or-
 ganized in 209
 World War. United States had a
 trained army overhead compe-
 tent to train an army and to
 lead it when trained 210
 World War. Verdun 203
 World's Columbian Exposition,
 Chicago, 1893 224, 225, 588
 World's Fair, Chicago, 1893.... 224-232
 Worth, (Gen.) Wm. J. 98
 Worthington, Elizabeth Ann 128
 Worthington, James Edward 141
 Worthington, Jane A. 141
 Worthington, (Rev.) John T.....
 116, 122, 123,
 127, 128, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145
 Worthington, (Mrs.) John T. 144, 145
 Worthington, (Dr.) Rowland Mad-
 ison 144
 Worthington, Sarah M. A. 128
 Wright, (Rev.) J. G. 541
 Wyatt, Margaret Josephine 244
 Wyckoff, (Aunt) ——— 17
- X—
- "X. Y. Z. Papers" 379
 Xosciouski, Edward M. 146
- Y—
- "Yale Band" 396
 Yale College, New Haven, Conn....
 185, 190, 396

Yale College, Theological Seminary	184	Young, Joseph	525
"Yanada." Japanese servant of General Grant	414	Young, Zilpha	535
Yates, Richard, Jr.	442, 443, 570	—Z—	
Yellow Banks. Now Oquawka, Ill.	160	Zabriskie, Abraham Oothout.....	85
Yorktown. Siege of	573	Zabriskie, (Mrs.) Abraham Ooth-	
Yorktown, Va. Surrender of	250	out, (Mrs. James Smith)	77
Young, (Mr.) ———	21	Zabriskie, (Dr.) C. B.	117
Young, Brigham....	513, 514, 523, 524	Zabriskie, Christian B.	138
Young, Hannah	525	Zabriskie, Elias Brevoort	138
Young, James	525	Zabriskie, Josephine	138

